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THE
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A Journal of Theology, Art, Science, and Literature,

FOR

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THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, MDCCCLV.

- ART. I.—1. *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; translated out of the original Greek. Appointed to be read in Churches.* 1854.
2. *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland.* 1854.

THE sole object proposed in this article is, to examine the following published confession of faith of the Rev. George Antony Denison, Vicar of East Brent, and Archdeacon of Taunton :—

“The body and blood of Christ, being present naturally in heaven, are supernaturally and invisibly, but really, present in the Lord’s Supper, through the elements, by virtue of the act of consecration.”

We understand these words to imply that, by the act of priestly consecration, the body and blood of Christ are really brought down to earth from heaven (where they are said to be), so as to have a definite earthly *locus*, through the sacramental bread and wine; that is to say, somehow the body of Christ is added to, and is in the “consecrated” bread, as a new element to be taken into the human body; and the “blood of Christ” is added to, and is in the “consecrated” wine for the same purpose. We propose to examine, by the laws of speech and actions, how far this awful view of the Lord’s Supper, or any reasonable approximation to it, is truly deducible from the New Testament and the formularies of the Book of Common Prayer, without reference to the opinions of other writers, not one of whom has been consulted for the purpose.

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As our Lord ascended up into heaven *visibly*, in the presence of spectators, as described in the 1st chapter of the Acts, he ascended in his body, and this must have been at his resurrection changed from an earthly into a heavenly body; because the apostle expressly and distinctly reveals to us (1 Cor. xv. 20) that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven." We desire to ask, therefore, upon what authority it is known, that Christ's heavenly body consists of body and blood; whereas the apostle states, that such a body cannot inherit heaven? Yet Mr. Denison presumes to affirm, that the "body and *blood* of Christ are present naturally in heaven." This anatomical mode of stating a supernatural fact concerning Christ's heavenly body is of human invention. Mr. Denison goes so far as to determine and designate the component materials of the immaterial body. He instructs us that they consist of body and blood, though the apostle's revelations to us indicate this to be impossible. For, ignorant as we are of the essential nature of this heavenly body, yet we can say thus much negatively of it, that it is imperceptible by earthly bodily or spiritual faculties, so long as they act in union; that it consists not of either flesh or *blood*; and that it will never die (Rev. xxi. 4). Hence, then, Christ's heavenly body, being wholly different in its nature from earthly materials, and being immortal, to propose bringing it down from heaven for the purpose of uniting and amalgamating it with earthly substances, is to propose changing again the immortal into the mortal.*

The sacramental doctrine of the Church of England is thus set forth in the 28th Article:—"The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner." This phraseology might well have been suggested by the *earthly* manner in which the elements of the Pascal Supper were taken and eaten by the first disciples, in the actual presence of Christ, as described by St. Matthew, chap. xxvi. Now, in examining the evangelist's account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, we shall take for granted that much of the phraseology of the Gospels cannot be understood and interpreted to others, unless its oriental imagery is translated into those practical truths which, as the purpose of the speaker on each occasion makes clear to all, they were intended to teach. No canon of interpretation can be less open to discussion than this. Hence Western preachers ac-

* It will be necessary to bear in mind the circumstances related of Christ's body after his resurrection.

count it profitable or needful to preach whole sermons upon such exaggerated (according to Saxon modes of speech) statements as these:—"I am the door; I am the shepherd; I am the way; I am the life; I am the vine, ye are the branches; my Father is the husbandman." None of Christ's auditors, however, amidst all the questions they so freely put to him upon other matters which they did not understand, thought it needful to ask him to reduce such figures of speech to the prose of ordinary life: none of them are reported to have asked him *how* he could be a door, or a vine. And, in like manner, we are bound to infer, in the absence of distinct proof to the contrary, that the disciples did not think it needful to ask questions for their information when, upon a particular occasion which so naturally suggested the imagery, he called the Pascal bread, "my body," and the wine, "my blood of the New Testament;" for they would be aware of no more difficulty in this kind of phraseology, than in that of his regular instructions on former occasions. We shall again recur to this point.

All depends, therefore, upon the mode of interpreting the words which it pleased Christ to employ when eating his last Pascal Supper with his disciples, just before his body was actually broken, and his blood literally shed on the cross. Did he, on that occasion, speak in his *usual* figurative manner; or did he, changing this without notice, declare a literal, physical fact? Certainly, the silence of the inquisitive disciples seems to suggest *one* reply at least to the implied difficulty. If, however, we are required to interpret the words, "take eat, this is my body," and "drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament," as affirming physical facts, must we not then believe, that Christ actually deprived himself of a portion of his existing earthly flesh, and of a portion of the blood then flowing in his veins, transferring them to the bread and the wine before him, without which it is impossible for such minds as ours and theirs to conceive *how* they could be *his* body, and *his* blood? Certainly, if it can be shown that this statement of the case, or any such approximation to it as can be made intelligible to human reason can be true, then we do right in speculating upon possible changes in the elements of the Lord's Supper now. But it is plain that the whole controversy depends upon the true interpretation of our Lord's acts, and the words which expressed them, upon the occasion of his eating with his disciples his last Pascal Supper.

Now it is to be remarked, that no information was given

to the disciples upon this occasion that a miracle was about to be, or had been performed; for the absence of any such notice by the writers must certainly be accepted as one species of evidence of this: and the peculiarity of the language employed, being that of one with whom figurative language was not peculiar but common, as has been remarked, in the absence of other proofs, is not evidence. Nor, so far as we know, is it elsewhere intimated, that Christ selected this occasion for the display of a last miracle, that so far transcended his first miracle of turning water into wine. *That* act, moreover, was declared by St. John to have been miraculous, the proof of which was submitted to the senses of the guests at the feast. Nor do we know of any difficulty, either from the nature of the cases or the language of the narratives, in distinguishing our Lord's other miraculous from his ordinary actions: but there is a difficulty, both from the nature of the case and from the consideration that figurative language was the staple of his ordinary discourses, in proving that our Lord's acts on this occasion were designed to be miraculous. The silence of the disciples is one proof, which we accept until it can be set aside, that they were ignorant of their Master's intention to perform a miracle. And as the narratives of this most important event in our Lord's life were compiled so many years *after* its occurrence, this silence concerning its miraculous nature, if such it had, is still more inexplicable; or rather, it amounts to strong evidence that such a theory cannot be sustained. And yet, if a miracle had been performed, surely there were stronger and more pressing reasons for pointing it out to the disciples on this occasion than on any former one: for the marvellous events which were about to be crowded into the brief space of a few hours proved too great for their faith: it broke down in every one of them. How then is it conceivable, that *such* an opportunity for strengthening their faith in his supernatural powers as this, would have been let slip by their merciful and considerate Master, if truth had permitted him to make use of it for such a purpose? For we hardly need suggest, that there was nothing in the immediate conduct of the disciples to prove an accession of such moral strength, as must have resulted either from this additional proof of their Master's supernatural powers, or from the actual *operation* of such new and awful elements taken into their human frames. And yet, how soon after this Pascal Supper did Peter's faith give way to even a mean temptation! How soon after it did all the disciples forsake him and flee!

In the total absence, then, of even the slightest hint that a miracle had been intended and performed, the conclusion is, that Christ's language on this occasion—the language of an Oriental speaking after his usual wont with Orientals—was suggested naturally by circumstances which they to whom it was spoken but too well understood. He prophetically alluded—and it is clear that they understood the allusion—through such plain-speaking symbols as broken bread and poured out wine, to that hastening event, which so soon enabled those who were present at this Pascal scene to put a clear interpretation upon the touching actions and words of their sorrowing Master; for he had made no secret of his betrayal and speedy death. He knew that he was about to give up his body to be maimed, wounded, broken, and his blood to be shed, as a sacrifice for their sins. How suitable then were his chosen words for preventing mistakes as to the exact mode and purpose of his approaching death! His *body* was to be *given to death for them*, and his *blood* was about to be shed for them; and therefore he spake these significant words, made clear by means of the symbols before him: "This is my body, which is given for you. This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you." How is it credible, that they who saw these symbols and listened to these words, could deduce from them the doctrine of a transubstantiation of *any* kind, any more than we can who soberly read them now? For, how perfectly natural was it for one who, during all his past intercourse with them, had founded his most effective instructions upon passing, obvious and striking incidents, to avail himself on this occasion of the elements of the Pascal Supper, as yielding most striking and significant imagery of his approaching bodily sufferings, and of the peculiar mode of his death, for their especial welfare!

But, as Christ is now in heaven, a similar scene can be transacted only "after a heavenly and spiritual manner," as the 28th Article says, in contradistinction to the earthly manner of the original scene, where Christ himself was present with his disciples in his earthly body. Hence, as the same Article adds, "the mean of realizing it is *faith*." "Faith," then—the soul's divinely-given evidence of things real though unseen—regards the ordinance of the Lord's Supper as substantially (not circumstantially defining, for example, the quality or the quantity of the bread and wine necessary for each sacramental occasion, the modes of administration, &c.) a divine appointment; the pattern, both as

to the peculiar phraseology and the essential materials employed, being our Lord's last Pascal Supper. "Faith," therefore, accepts without controversy the symbols of bread and wine, gratefully acknowledging that they are as peculiarly expressive, and need be as little misleading to us, of the event signified by them, as they were to the disciples. "Faith" realizes at that supper the presence of Christ in his heavenly body, because he promised, that where two or three of his true followers were gathered together in his name, there *He* (not represented by the Holy Spirit, but *He* himself) would be to give his blessing. Certainly, therefore, the "faith" awakened by the solemn circumstances of this holy Supper would realize his especial presence there. The whole scene is thus transacted "after a heavenly and spiritual manner," through the agency of "faith" realizing Christ's presence in his heavenly body, in obvious distinction to the agency of the senses, before which it was first transacted in an earthly manner, when he was actually present in his earthly body. But as we are wholly without evidence that the oriental phraseology employed by Christ on this occasion affirmed the physical fact, that he had transferred actual portions of his living body and blood into the Pascal bread and wine that were set before him, (for, otherwise, how could they have been *literally* called *his* body and *his* blood?) so there can be no evidence that any such mystical language as Mr. Denison uses, is justly applicable to the ordinary celebration of the Lord's Supper.

All material ceremonial means for spiritual ends must, from the nature of the case, possess just that efficacy which their Divine Author pleases to assign to them: no one can believe that water has, in *itself*, any such efficacy as certain theologians claim for it, *after* it has been officially made use of by the priest in baptism. As a divine institution we all believe that the water of baptism is just what He who has required us to use it pleases to make it to be; and so we think of the material instrumentality employed in the holy Supper: we do not limit the power of God over dead matter; but neither are we, therefore, justified in extending it in a particular direction, where even a miracle would be required, without special intimation conveyed to his church, in the distinct and unmistakable terms of revelation that he would so exert his power. When, however, a distinct purpose of any particular ordinance has been assigned to it, and assigned at the time of its establishment, it must at all events be right to give to *that* a distinct prominence whenever it is cele-

brated. Now, the only practical comment made by Christ upon his last Pascal Supper is that which St. Luke records (chap. xxii. 19): "This do, as oft as ye eat it, in remembrance of me." These same words, as uttered by Christ on that occasion, are quoted by St. Paul almost literally, when he was relating to the Corinthians the special revelation which had been made to him of that supper, and its purpose, to which this comment is added: "For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come (1 Cor. xi. 26). As a standing memorial then, of the actual death of Christ, and of all its vast purposes, "faith" can expect to find no more strengthening aids than are yielded by this Supper: for we are justified in expecting there the presence of the Holy Spirit operating on the human spirit, sanctifying and employing the sacramental symbols for the highest spiritual purposes; enabling it through them to apprehend Christ as then present in his heavenly body, in his closest relations with his people, strengthening their faith, love, humility, and every fainting grace which temporary trials may require to be then especially invigorated. And what more can *any* means of grace be expected or required to effect for us? "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself." There is nothing mystical in this declaration of what the purest form of that religion is, which shall best train the soul for its immortal joys; for this *love*, in its perfect form, would destroy sin and rule the world. Whatever means, therefore, are best calculated to foster and increase this master-grace—this key to all religion—is exactly what we should be chiefly in search of in any religious ordinance. Now the direct operations of the Holy Spirit on the human spirit, for a special purpose, on a special occasion, employing such special instrumentality as that of the holy Supper, are just what might be expected would strengthen this grace. For what can be conceived better calculated to increase love to a once crucified and dead, but now living Saviour, and to the Father who so loved the world as to give him to die for us, than deeper convictions and more far-seeing views, lying beyond the region of unaided human reasonings and thoughts, of the reality and fuller meaning of that dread scene which such symbols as *this* bread and wine point to, and are divinely appointed memorials of? For how often has the mind, when sitting in judgment on its ordinary spiritual operations, been compelled mournfully to condemn its own unaided, poor, low, cold,

bounded views of the vastest event in human history, and to which it owed the deepest obligations! And, on the other hand, what spiritual mind when partaking of this memorial-Supper, after "a heavenly and spiritual manner," with vigorous "faith," has not experienced gushes of tenderness, love, gratitude, hope, joy, which told their own tale of an unearthly origin, and were found able to carry on the invigorated soul along the rugged paths of life, in the strength of that meat, for days and weeks? For it is perfectly plain, that only by the production of certain kinds of thoughts and feelings within the mind, can its spiritual improvement be effected; and, therefore, the sterling value of *material* symbols depends upon their tendency and power to awaken in the mind certain classes of thoughts and emotions; not as living mind acting on mind can do this, but as dead matter acted upon by living mind can do it: for by no mechanical means can such be produced.

Nor do we suppose that any one who had not deliberately abjured his Bible, and given the reins to a lawless imagination, would go so far as to affirm, that "consecrated" bread and wine could in this way benefit the *souls* of such as should accidentally eat and drink them, without previous information that the priest's hands had been stretched over them. But that the material symbols of the Lord's Supper, appealing to the human mind in all their uses, as looked upon, tasted, and thought upon afterwards, can, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, awaken such thoughts and emotions within the soul as shall yield to it its highest blessings, is what we are contending for: and this is the natural limit of material symbols. And by the aid of the Holy Spirit—to strip this common phrase of all dim views—we mean the supernatural contact of the Divine Spirit with the human spirit (to name this manner of his agency after human modes of thinking), for accomplishing the ends in view, of imparting special intellectual illumination, and awakening special emotions. Just as human spirit moves and instructs human spirit, through the instrumentality of senses brought into contact with senses; so does the Holy Spirit, we believe, communicate with and move, within the prescribed limits of responsibility, the human spirit, only without the instrumentality of the senses. Thus, when the prayer is poured forth, "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit," nothing less can be implied than the actual operations of the Divine Spirit in communication with the human spirit, within the boundaries of its free agency, employing such secret moral

suasions as urge the soul to the needful struggles of prayer and watchfulness, through which, gradually, the impure yields and retires before the pure.

Now, to suppose that any material substances introduced into the human body are able to effect such results; that is, to act spiritually by their inherent powers on the emotions, is but to *deify* matter. And then it would be only another way of speaking of divine operations of *some kind*; for is any defender of that form of transubstantiation advocated by Mr. Denison prepared to assert the mechanical operations of the altered bread and wine on the soul of the recipient? Further, we must be permitted to ask, whether those portions of the body and blood of Christ which are assigned to a given portion of consecrated bread and wine, contain also a portion of the *life* and *spirit* that must have animated them when attached to the whole heavenly body of Christ? It seems impossible to evade this question; since we are told that the *body* and *blood* of Christ are *really* present in the Lord's Supper, *through the elements*. For we find it impossible to realize this representation, so as not to shock one's common sense, but by believing that a portion of the body and blood of Christ must be in each portion of the bread and wine which are sacramentally distributed to each communicant. But what can this mean? We know what portions of the human body and blood become when separated from the totality of the body, which is the seat and home of the life and soul: having been loosened from that mysterious, invisible tie which kept them together, they will be decomposed into their original elements. Pursuing this track of inquiry—which we claim as just, since a humanly-anatomical structure is assigned to the heavenly body (for if there be *blood* there must be veins, &c., or the word is without meaning of any kind to us)—we inquire, how we are to think of this separation of the body and blood of Christ into fragments and drops, so as to believe the theory credible?* All we can say is, that such a supposition contradicts all the conceptions we are able to form of *body* and *blood*: for it is to be remarked, that it is only the “body and blood” of Christ which are said to be brought down from heaven “by virtue of the act of consecration,” and transferred into the

* Or does Mr. Denison assent to that reduplication of miracles maintained by the Roman Church, that Christ's *whole body and blood* is communicated in every portion of the bread only in the case of the laity, or of the bread and wine in that of the clergy?

sacramental elements. Nothing is said of the *life* and *spirit* being in these portions, without which, however, the human reason is unable to conceive of body and blood as able to maintain their distinctive peculiarities. But are the life and spirit of Christ divisible—that life and spirit whose indwelling constitutes our idea of the heavenly body? If it be so, we must correct our notions of the essential property of individual life and spirit, which is its oneness and indivisibility.

If Mr. Denison's doctrine, founded as it is upon his presumed knowledge of the constituent parts of the heavenly body, is thus examined by following the track of his own data, it presents insuperable obstacles to its reception. If Christ literally transmuted the Pascal bread and wine into *his* blood and *his* body, he must, as has been already suggested, have deprived his living body of the requisite portions of both. For as yet his earthly body had not been transformed into the heavenly body, and therefore that did not exist; and if it had existed, the apostle asserts that it could not have consisted of *flesh* and *blood*. And further, as has been proposed, these transferred portions of Christ's flesh and blood could not have been accompanied with any portions of his human *life* and *spirit*; for they perished whole on the cross, presenting through the body in which they dwelt, the points through which intense sufferings came, on the side of his humanity. These impossibilities, according to the knowledge that we and Mr. Denison have of body consisting of flesh and blood, would, of course, disappear before a declaration made by Christ at the time, or by his disciples, when writing their account of it years afterwards, that a miracle (such, however, as could never again be imitable by others, from the nature of the case) was intended and performed at the Pascal Supper. But there is not the faintest hint to justify this belief; nor, we must be allowed to add, is it explicable how St. John could omit the narrative of this sacramental scene, if only on account of *such* a miracle. For as he has circumstantially told us, that the conversion of water into wine, at a marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, was our Lord's *first* miracle; how peculiarly natural it would have been for him to have told us, that the conversion of bread and wine into flesh and blood, at the last Pascal Supper, was his *last* miracle! Only he must have added, that the first miracle was accompanied with evidences which were denied to the last. Still more, therefore, did this last miracle need him for its historian, that he might subjoin the explanatory words

of the first:—"This last miracle did Jesus perform in the city of Jerusalem, and manifested forth his glory, and his disciples still more firmly believed on him."

Such then is a class of difficulties, presented by that *kind* of mystical change in the elements for which Mr. Denison contends—constituted by the information he gives of the component materials of the heavenly body. We must first believe that Christ's heavenly body consists of body *and blood*, although the apostle expressly teaches that this is impossible: then we must believe that his body and blood are separable, so as to enter into all the portions of the sacramental bread and wine which are any where consecrated by priestly power; and, lastly, must we not believe that life and spirit are divisible too, so as to pervade those portions of his body and blood which are transferred to the sacramental bread and wine, without which the doctrine is so meaningless? But in truth, after all, there is a carnality about this theory, descant upon it as ingenuity and eloquence may, which sets it far below that lofty conception of the worship of the Father "in spirit and truth," which may be so naturally aided by the circumstantialities of this beautiful and impressive ceremony. The communion of the soul with Christ, consciously present at this holy Supper in his heavenly body—Spirit with spirit—is an elevating, inspiriting, purifying conception; whilst there is just enough of the earthly in the small fragments of the feast, symbolical of the real crucified flesh and blood that perished on the cross, to vivify that grand thought which can never be lost sight of in our low estate—the last scene on Mount Calvary. For the sin-stained soul, amidst its most glowing conceptions and prospects, cannot be trusted to lose sight of this prostrating event long together. Our union with an exalted Christ—with a glorified Christ—with an interceding Christ, abiding in that home which is to be his people's home—would suggest conceptions of our lot too sublime and intoxicating, unless mingled with views of those scenes, which also abase us in the dust; the astounding events in which the history of the last days and hours of the world's Redeemer had to be told. These symbols, reminding us specifically of the passion and death of Christ's earthly body, will not permit us to forget his humiliation in his exaltation; and we, at least, are still in a state of humiliation which is very far removed from his exaltation. Nor is the soul ever so securely moored to the Rock of Ages, as when most deeply conscious of that portion of its sad history, which these terrible scenes, written as it were in blood and tears on

the pages of history, and again brought into such striking relief by the sacramental elements, so surely tell of.

We now proceed to examine, in the light of Scripture, Mr. Denison's assertion, that this change in the elements takes place "by virtue of the act of consecration." We have a right to demand clear scriptural proofs that this awful assumption of priestly power is either probable or possible. The Gospel narratives of the Lord's Supper certainly do not supply this evidence; for even if Christ did perform the miracle of Romish transubstantiation (as the *literal* interpretation of his words suggest—and if Mr. Denison will translate literally so must we, and demand that the Pascal bread became Christ's literal flesh, and the wine his literal blood), yet he gave no promise then or afterwards, of delegating the like power, on like occasions, to any privileged class of his followers. On this point it is quite clear that the Evangelists are wholly silent, and therefore give no sanction to this demand. We pass from them, then, to examine that part of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi.), in which he repeats that information, reconfirming the Lord's Supper, which he assured them he had received directly from Christ himself: "I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered (on a former occasion) to you" (1 Cor. xi. 23). He then proceeds simply and summarily, as writing to those whom he was reminding of what he had already taught them, to narrate our Lord's proceedings and words, on the occasion of his last Pascal Supper. Now is it credible—or upon what principle can it be made credible—that the apostle should have passed by such an opportunity as this, so inviting, so natural, so important, for putting forth a definite statement of this doctrine of "consecration?" For it may be charitably hoped that these Corinthian Christians had not fully understood the account of this institution, which he had before "delivered" to them for their adoption. When, therefore, he undertook again to recapitulate to that church its essential parts, we again suggest that it is incomprehensible why he should have omitted to notice this leading feature of the Lord's Supper, if our merciful Lord had really delegated such awful sacramental power to his ministers; yet, by no rules of evidence can authority for this claimed power be deduced from this chapter. It is not contained in that account of the institution which, he tells us, he had received of the Lord; and, certainly, it is not in his own subsequent observations upon it. Having reminded the unworthy partakers, whom he was reproofing, of the awful event to which this

Supper essentially referred—"the Lord's death"—he added, in continuation, that such abusers of this feast as were found among them would be "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord:" thus pointedly and naturally designating their *peculiar* offence in the phraseology in which he had just told them our Lord delivered the institution. And the plain and obvious interpretation of this caution and warning is, that if they made this religious ceremony an occasion of wanton sins, the body and blood of Christ, which was offered on the cross for their redemption, would not save but condemn them.

In search of scriptural evidence for this doctrine of "consecration" (without which this enormous demand upon our faith must be judged to be an offence), it must be borne in mind, that this part of the apostle's letter to the Corinthians was written upon the occasion of specific offences, and for their reproof and condemnation. The charges against them were, that certain Christian converts had met together for a professedly religious purpose, and agreeably to the apostle's directions, viz., to eat the Lord's Supper, and that the elements employed on these occasions had been taken beyond the bounds of temperance. Now, are we to believe that so much wine and food had been made sacred as to be sufficient for such degrading abuses? Had the awful change which Mr. Denison affirms to be possible, passed in all the food and wine of those suppers? We must sift the evidence thus, because we maintain, that what the essential constituents and circumstances of the materials employed in the celebration of the Lord's Supper have been in any single case, since our Lord's ascent, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, *that* they have been in all others; for the awful change in the conditions of the bread and wine which Mr. Denison contends for, does not take place by *his* act of consecration, unless he will allow that it took place by *their* acts, whatever they were, technically speaking, who were officially concerned at these suppers, the disorders of some of which called forth the apostle's animadversions. For it deserves especial notice, that the apostle lays no charge against these Corinthian offenders, because of any preparatory irregularities or informalities. He did not feel it needful to remind them, that they had forgotten or neglected to observe his technical directions in preparing their suppers, or that too much bread and wine had been employed for sacramental purposes. Whatever especial sacramental sanctity, therefore, attached to parts of these suppers, must have pervaded the whole. Now is any one prepared to admit the results of this case,

that *such* bread and wine could be permitted to produce *such* consequences? To us this view of the matter (of the limits of which we are aware) is so like blasphemy that, in the absence of such evidence as we have never been able to meet with in the New Testament for Mr. Denison's most awful doctrine, we must reject the theory which seems to us to involve it.

The apostle's words seem to prove that the *virus* of the particular sins which received his castigation in this letter, were such excesses as are always forbidden by the moral law, *plus* the aggravations incident to the *peculiarities* of the case. For the food which they abused symbolized the crucified body of Christ, and the wine with which some of them became intoxicated had been set before them to symbolize the blood of Christ's sacrificed body. Now, no casuist would compare any ordinary act of intemperance with one committed, whether thoughtlessly or not, under such circumstances as these. On the contrary, upon deliberate and full consideration, such an offence would be pronounced capable of amplification, until it was found to require a separate criminal classification and nomenclature; and both of these were awarded to it by the apostle, when the abusers of this supper were charged with being "guilty of the body and blood of Christ;" the guilt, that is, of such as had perverted the sacred symbols of the crucified body of Christ to shameful indulgences. No spiritual blessings could possibly follow such ceremonial acts. On the contrary, such persons might, in the natural use of language, be said to eat and drink damnation to themselves, because the very agents employed (namely, certain kinds of food and drink), through which they should have discerned the meaning and use of the Lord's body, as shown to the world on the cross, were those by which they violated that moral law, which excludes such offenders by name from the kingdom of heaven. No persons could possibly retain in their minds those solemn thoughts and feelings, which the significant words, "the Lord's body and blood," were designed to awaken, who abused the symbols representing them to grossly sensual purposes.

In all this, however, we meet with no evidence for Mr. Denison's awful doctrine of "consecration." But in the conclusion we do find a convincing argument, that those interpretations of our Lord's phraseology on the occasion of his last Pascal Supper, which assign them a meaning not justified by his ordinary use of language, must be mistaken. For if such changes in sacramental elements were designed to be

brought about by a particular human instrumentality and by no other, why were not clear directions given by St. Paul upon an occasion which so naturally suggested them, and proved how necessary they were, so as to prevent future abuses and mistakes? That is, why were not the doctrine and practice of "consecration" set forth clearly by the apostle when actually giving directions about the Lord's Supper? Can any proofs be found in this letter to defend this claimed priestly right of bringing down Christ's "body and blood" from heaven, through the elements, at every sacramental scene. In this instructive and most important part of the apostle's letter, we find renewed *authority* for the perpetuity of the institution of our Lord's Supper; a special revelation having been made to him concerning it by the Lord himself. But the apostle's own words, in which he comments upon those of the Lord, suggest a conclusion which is to us destructive of transubstantiation of *any* kind. For having quoted the exact figurative words employed by our Lord whilst distributing the Pascal bread and wine, the apostle proceeds to make remarks upon it, in which, employing his own phraseology, he translates these figures for the benefit of those for whom he was writing into this plain language: "As oft as ye eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*" (v. 26); and, again, "Whosoever shall eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*" (v. 27). Now is it too much to say that they to whom the letter was sent would no more deduce from such guarded language the doctrine of transubstantiation of any kind, than we, who read it with no preconceived theory, can now? Certainly, therefore, Mr. Denison's theory of the virtue of priestly consecration is utterly without a Scripture basis.*

We pass on to show that the peculiar figurative language which our Lord made use of on the occasion of the institution of the Lord's Supper was not new to the disciples. Remarkable examples of it are found in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, the origin and force of which we will endeavour to develope, by an examination of the circumstances which gave rise to the conversations in which they occur. Some of those idle Jews who followed our Lord from place to place, drawn by curiosity and still more selfish motives, having been disappointed on a particular occasion when they expected to see him, "took shipping and came to Capernaum seeking for Jesus:" (John vi. 25.) Jesus, unlike

* *Any* doctrine of transubstantiation involves two miracles: one to effect a change, and a second to prevent that change from being recognizable.

most popular teachers, who do not care to investigate too closely the motives which bring crowds to their feet, saw through the motives of these persons, and plainly told them that they followed him not on account of the spiritual benefits which he desired his miracles to yield, but because they had eaten to their full of bread, miraculously provided by him. "Ye seek me" (he said) "not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled:" (v. 26). They followed him about, he reproachfully told them, to see his miracles; not because they provided food for the *soul*, which was their true purpose, but because on a particular occasion they had provided food for their bodies, which was their accidental purpose.

Taking up his solemn theme, and adopting a phraseology from a point of view suggested by these remarks, he showed them, both by metaphors and by such other plain words as served with perfect certainty to prove how he meant they should be understood, the true purposes of his coming into the world, and of his deeds in it. In reference to a certain amount of "labour" to which these people must necessarily have submitted, in following him about from place to place, he assured them that they should "not labour" (in this way) "for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, that the Son of Man shall give unto you:" (v. 27). Now the force of the word *ἐργασία* (labour) in this connexion plainly does not imply a caution against their earnestly labouring for food in some honest calling, as some commentators teach; because diligent labour of this kind is a scriptural injunction: but the caution was against such kind of "labour" as these hangers on wished to resort to for their subsistence; viz., by following Him about from place to place, in the hope of his feeding them miraculously. "Labour not," he told them, in this way, by tracking my footsteps "for the meat that perisheth;" but "labour" in this way "for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give you:" (v. 27). "My mission is not to feed the body but the soul." And it seems that they partially understood him in this sense, for they immediately asked him what they were to do to work the works of God. This *ἐργον*, he replied, was "to believe on him, whom God hath sent," (v. 29) that is, on himself.

In reply to this demand for their faith in himself, they asked him for a "sign:" "What sign showest thou, then, that we may see and believe thee?" (v. 30.) And the *kind*

of sign which they particularly wanted to see, is explained by their allusion to the manna in the wilderness. "Our fathers," they reminded him, "did eat manna in the desert:" (v. 31.) From this it seems clear that the "sign" they wanted was, that Christ should give them a constant supply of miraculous food, similar to the manna on which their fathers had lived so long in the wilderness; and then they would believe on and follow him constantly, as the Israelites believed on and followed Moses, who shewed them this kind of sign.

Availing himself of this suggestion, that he should miraculously supply their daily wants by perpetually feeding them, as he had already *once* done, he told them that this *constant* supply of *daily* bread was actually provided for them. "Then said Jesus unto them, . . . my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world:" (v. 32, 33). In reply to their request that he would give them this bread, he repeated the declaration, that "he was the bread of life:" (v. 35). And then, in the same sentence, passing from this metaphorical mode of teaching a great truth to plain prose, which, by all the laws of speech, is strictly exegetical of it, he added, "he that *believeth* on me shall never thirst." And in the same naked language he declared to them the will of God: "Every one that seeth the Son and *believeth* on him may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day:" (v. 40). And, once more, in terms so plain and definite as to exclude controversy, he thus put forth the sole conditions of salvation: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that *believeth* on me hath everlasting life:" (v. 47). He has thus given his own key to his own language with these Jews. That is to say, what bread is for the nourishment of the body, *that*, he taught, faith in himself would be for the nourishment of the soul—faith in his person, his doctrines, and the deeds of his life.

This positive account of his true character, and of the true purposes of his mission, displeased these Jews, who had come to him not to listen to such sublime discourses as these, but for the more ignoble purposes of obtaining food to save them from working at some honest calling: they "murmured," not only because he gave them metaphors instead of miracles, but because he said, "I came down from heaven." "The Jews murmured at him because he said, I am the bread which came down from heaven:" (v. 42). And, again, he added, "I am the bread of life. Your fathers did

eat manna in the wilderness and are dead :” (v. 48, 49) where the antithesis is plain, between himself as the *food* of the immortal *soul*, and manna as the food of the mortal body. And, lastly, having thus paved the way, he proceeds to allude to the great mystery of his death and its purposes : “ The bread that I will give is my *flesh*, which I will give for the life of the world :” (v. 57). That is, ‘my flesh shall be put to death as an atonement for the sins of the world.’ Of course the worldly Jews were not in a spiritual condition to comprehend the truth veiled under this figure, and therefore they warmly discussed the question, how he could give them his flesh to eat. “ How can this man give us his flesh to eat ?” And then, under the transparent veil of the same figure, he asserts so solemnly and unequivocally the absolute need of his sacrificial death, and of individual appropriation of its benefits, that it seems marvellous how any one could wish to divert it to other meanings. “ Then Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him :” (v. 53—56).

Now, we affirm our conviction that there exists an insurmountable proof that this language cannot be taken literally, but is to be interpreted by those laws of speech and thought which he himself has so plainly taught us to employ, as furnishing the only true key to his meaning in this discourse. Our proof is this :—The apostle affirms that neither flesh nor blood can inherit heaven ; and, therefore, Christ’s heavenly body, consisting of neither flesh nor blood, cannot be taken as either. For it will not be said that these Jews, to whom he was speaking, ate and drank literally of his human flesh and blood : and therefore, as is proved, that he neither was nor could be alluding to future transubstantiated sacramental elements, in which his flesh was somehow to be joined to bread, and his blood to wine, because his heavenly body consists of neither. It is most clear to us, who now read the remarkable disclosures of this conversation, that by thus speaking of his *flesh* and *blood* as nourishment for the soul, he was pointing somewhat darkly to those who heard him, to the *atonement* for their sins, which he was about to make, by giving his flesh and blood to perish on the cross. He veiled the doctrine of the atonement, for which they to whom he

was speaking were so little ripe, under figures; to which, however, the last acts of his life gave so clear a meaning, that we can but hope that many who heard this significant discourse understood it afterwards for their everlasting welfare as we do who read it now.

It is thus proved, therefore, that no kind of transubstantiation was taught by our Lord in this chapter. Hence it must be regarded as affording a specimen of the figurative language in which the necessity of circumstances, perhaps, required him to speak—the low intellectual, spiritual, and moral condition of the audiences he had to address. “And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to bear it:” (Mark iv. 33). But it serves to confirm the hypothesis before laid down, that the disciples asked no questions as to whether the language employed at the Pascal Supper was to be interpreted literally or figuratively, because they had not a doubt in their minds upon the subject: they were quite familiar with it.

We proceed now to examine in the same manner the language of the Communion Service of the Prayer Book. to show that it does not require of such as religiously use it, a belief in some mystical change in the sacramental elements, by virtue of a supernatural power delegated to the priest. It may be confidently assumed, at the outset, that the key to the peculiar language to this service is, that it has adopted the terms employed by our Lord at his last Pascal Supper, and those of St. Paul in his notice of it. Hence, strictly speaking, the arguments by which their necessary import was sought to be established are applicable here. The following passages, however, requiring elucidation occur during the service.

In the notice of the intention to administer the Sacrament, it is termed “the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, to be by them received in *remembrance* of his meritorious Cross and Passion.” Now, there is no intimation that any benefits are proposed by the self-action of the elements; but, adopting the technical name assigned them by our Lord, they are to be taken, according to his own directions “in *remembrance* of his death.” Also, the word *sacrament* is thus defined in the Catechism; the bread and wine are “outward and visible *signs* of inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a *means* whereby we received the same (grace), and a *pledge* to assure us thereof.” Now, first, the sign and the thing signified must be different; just as the external signs of health are not

health itself. And, secondly, the elements are described as *means* whereby we receive the promised grace. Now, all means for accomplishing an end must act either directly or indirectly. If, then, these means whereby we receive grace, act directly in imparting it, they act of themselves and confer grace by their own inherent power. If, however, they act indirectly, then they are to be regarded as the vehicles, appointed by Him who is able to make all things subserve His own purposes, for awakening those vivid intellectual and emotional apprehensions of the atonement, and whatever belonging to it is capable of being represented by this sacramental scene, whose issue must be, from the nature of the case, that increase of faith, love, peace, hope, joy in believing the glorious mystery of redemption, humility, abhorrence of sin, and such like virtues, which are the simple ideas that enter into the complex idea of *grace*. That the transubstantiated elements, i.e. material elements turned from one *kind* of substance into another *kind* of substance, neither of which, by the definition of the word substance, can be of the *nature* of spirit, can thus act on the soul, is beyond the power of reason to comprehend. Of course a plain declaration from God would silence all questionings: but as no such declaration has been given, we are but acting in self-defence when we set up the reason He has given us as a barrier against the invasions of a limitless fancy.

And, thirdly, the elements in this definition of a sacrament are said to be "pledges" to assure us that this grace shall be given; that is, they are evidences of a peculiar kind, lying open to the senses, that the grace needful for the soul's welfare shall be conveyed, under proper circumstances, by the spiritual machinery employed in this institution. But the laws both of language and thought do not permit us to confound a "pledge" that any thing shall be done, with the *instrument* itself by which it shall be done. The ideas are absolutely different.

In the same notice, Christ is called our "*spiritual* (i.e. changing the adjective with its corresponding noun, the *soul's*) *food* and *sustenance* in that holy sacrament." That this must refer to those facts in "Christ's" life which faith especially fastens hold of, on this occasion, is certain; because neither bread, nor wine, nor flesh, nor blood, can be *food* and *sustenance* to the *soul*, unless we speak metaphorically.

In the "exhortation at the Communion," it is termed the "communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ," consisting of that *bread* and that *cup*, in taking which the

communicant is told that he "*spiritually* eats the flesh of Christ, and drinks his blood." Now the word "*spiritually*" is here put antithetically, wholly excluding, therefore, any literal eating and drinking the flesh and blood of Christ. *Ipsso facto*, this word makes the sentiment figurative.

In the prayer beginning, "We do not presume," &c. there occurs strong language; but yet, from the nature of the case, it can only be construed figuratively. We are required to pray, "Grant us, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us." The reply to such a demand an unfigurative construction of this phraseology is, that Christ's heavenly body, consisting of neither flesh nor blood, cannot be given by these vehicles. *How* our sinful bodies are to be made clean by his body is a metaphor which may be left to individual interpretation. That it is to be done by a piece of bread taken into the human system, as representing a portion of the body of Christ, is nowhere, so far as we know, affirmed in Scripture, and can be only a text for fancy to work upon. The next figure, however, which may help to explain the first, is copied from St. John's first epistle, in which he says, "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son *cleanseth* from all sin."

In passing on to the prayer of Consecration, we look in vain for Mr. Denison's doctrine of priestly power. The elements are plainly termed thy "creatures of bread and wine:" and there is a prayer offered, that if we receive them according to Christ's holy institution and in remembrance of his death and passion, we may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood; thus making their objective value dependent on the subjective condition of the recipient. The subsequent part of this prayer of consecration being an almost literal repetition of the apostle's words (1 Cor. xi. 25), the import of it must be sought for there. And having already sought to prove that Mr. Denison's doctrine of consecration is not found there, so it is not here.

"At the delivery of the bread," the formulary must be thus filled up from the necessity of language. "May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *was* given for thee (that is, *was* given for sacrificial purposes on the cross,) preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat *this* (bread; the rubric clearly proves that this is the noun to be supplied, and not *body*) in remembrance that Christ died

for thee, and *feed* on him in thy *heart*, by *faith* with thanksgiving."

And in like manner, "at the delivery of the cup," the full form must be: "May the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which *was* shed for thee (on Calvary, the benefits of which still continue) preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this (*cup*, as the rubric still calls it *after* the prayer of consecration) in remembrance that Christ's blood *was* shed for thee, and be thankful."

"Again, we are required to pray that God would vouchsafe to *feed* us with the *spiritual* food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son; for the *purpose* of assuring us of his favour and goodness to us, and that we are members of the mystical body of his Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." The *purpose* of the ceremony is here clearly stated, is obvious, and excludes Mr. Denison's mystery.

There is a really difficult expression found in the Catechism; "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." But it is added, that the purpose of this is the strengthening and refreshing of our *souls* by the body and blood of Christ, *as* our *bodies* are by the bread and wine; which proves a distinction. For as the soul can only be strengthened by the sentiments of love, faith, hope, &c.; and as no material elements of any kind can, *per se*, impart sentiments, therefore this strengthening and refreshment can only be effected by the "inward part, *or* the thing signified," that is, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, believed in and self-appropriated. Only by a figure can we be said spiritually (that is, after the manner in which the soul acts) to *eat* the flesh and drink the blood of Christ. That is to say, all the possible *sentiments* which spring from the scene on Calvary, as again vivified and represented by these elements, are, figuratively, the *food* of the *soul*, as the bread and wine are literally the *food* of the *body*. For just as sentiments do not afford nourishment to the body, no more can food, that is bread and wine, afford nourishment to the soul. It is but the imperfection of our knowledge of the nature of the soul that drives us to this kind of language, when speaking of its *acts*, as we figuratively term them: for as the strength of the body would gradually decay, if not recruited by food appropriate to its nature, whose chemical action on the organs of the body we think we do understand: so would perish what which we figuratively term the *strength* of the *soul*, consisting of its faith, its

love, &c.; unless (to take our language from the body, which has certain kinds of organs, and applying it to the soul which has them not), the soul is nourished by what is appropriate to its nature, *more* faith, more love, &c., which are thus figuratively called its food, because of a comparison, instituted for a particular purpose, between the body and the soul.

When Mr. Denison condemns the Archbishop of Canterbury for denying *sacramental grace*,* we understand him to mean "grace" conveyed to the soul mechanically (of course we mean only so far as the senses can judge; because all the matter with which we are conversant acts unconsciously), by the operation of the bread and wine, which, by virtue of consecration, have received some powers foreign to their nature. Now, we ask to have this explained. We desire to know, if we are required to believe that there is any quality or qualities in the altered materials of bread and wine, through which they convey, *per se*, grace to the spiritual nature of the communicant. We seek for this information, because we wish to have it made clear, *how* a *material* element can, as such, be the vehicle of *spiritual* sentiments. For *body* of any kind, whether earthly or heavenly, must be something generally different from *spirit*; since the only idea we can frame of *body* is, that it is a habitation or tabernacle for the spirit, but is not of its nature; for a spiritual body for a spirit, is as contrary to our reason as a bodily tenement for a body. The heavenly body is therefore no more spiritual, that is, of the *nature* of the soul that inhabits it, than the earthly body is spiritual, that is, of the nature of the soul that dwells within it. We speak thus confidently, because, at all events, thus much is certain to our reason, that if this difference is not real, then the term heavenly body conveys no true knowledge of any kind whatever to the human understanding, and therefore when used in any serious argument is *vox et præterea nihil*.

Unless, therefore, a portion of the spirit which animates the heavenly body, is also conveyed with that portion of the "consecrated" elements which each communicant takes, that so there may be Spirit to operate homogeneously upon spirit (thus, however, requiring the impossible condition that body and spirit are co-divisible), it is but a *material* element of some kind which has been taken into the human system; i. e. body, as distinct from soul. Now, it cannot be even conceived by human minds as possible, that body of any

* Times Newspaper.

kind, without spirit, can so operate on spirit as to convey "grace" to it; that is, can so operate on the human soul as to impart, or increase the sentiments of love, faith, gratitude, humility, &c., which, as has been said, are the simple ideas of the complex idea of "grace." We are constituted by nature to understand how spirit, by its native powers, can act upon matter and spirit, but not *how* matter can operate upon spirit. Further, we must believe from scriptural representations (Isaiah vi.) that the spirits of angels are tabernacled and limited by *body*. But we do not therefore imagine that their intercourse with our race—a fact which the Apostle to the Hebrews so distinctly teaches us as to leave no room for doubt—is carried on by means of their external organization acting upon our external organization; but by means of their spirits in communication with our spirits. And in a similar spiritual *modus agendi*, in communicating spiritual blessings to the human soul, do we look for the peculiar blessings of the Lord's presence at the sacramental table. We talk freely of "communion with Christ," and must be able therefore to reduce the idea to some definite acts. Now, by this *communion* we understand, the spirit that inhabits Christ's heavenly body being in contact with, and operating upon the human spirit for its welfare. And thus we have reached our notion of "sacramental grace," which, in this lofty sense, we certainly do not deny, but do most fully believe. And this notion of a *sacramental grace* we believe to be as distinct, clear, intelligible, and satisfying to the demands of a reasonable faith, as we consider Mr. Denison's to be vague, obscure, unsatisfactory, and impossible to the laws of thought. For we believe in the actual presence of Christ at sacramental scenes, in the only way in which we are taught to realize his present existence, that is, in his heavenly body; and that he employs the total instrumentality of the Holy Communion, each part or act according to its tenor, for conveying "grace" to the souls of his people, that is, the spiritual favours of love, peace, hope, joy in believing. In such sacramental grace as this we do believe; for, we repeat, it is scriptural, intelligible, and presenting the clearest views for the guidance of prayer, and the strongest incentives to it. But in the sacramental grace which Mr. Denison's definition embodies we do not believe; for, in our opinion, it cannot be defended by Scripture, is unintelligible, and tends to turn that which should be food for the soul's faith into food for its superstition. Its tendency is to make the mind passive when it should be most active; it deals with the dead as if it were

the living, and the living as if it were the dead; it requires us to change the objective into the subjective, and the subjective into the objective. How then can such a creed be true?

We shall conclude this article by a few philosophical and physiological observations on the nature of "body."

We have faint recollections of reading in former years certain dreamy speculations upon the modes in which the sacramental elements would affect the *immortality* of the *bodies* of the recipients. Science, from whose teachings, as one form of divine revelation, no reasonable man dares to turn away, throw some faint rays of light over the surface of this deep mystery. We are taught by it, that the "human body, chemically speaking, consists of forty-five pounds of carbon and hydrogen, dispersed through five pails and a half of water."

It will be well to show how this statement may be harmonized with the Mosaic scriptural account of man, as made of the *dust* of the ground; because we have met with so many who flinch from science lest the authority of the Bible should be damaged and not confirmed by its discoveries. Now the precise force of the word עפר, which our translators have rendered "dust," and which so many accept as a literal account of man's origin, cannot, we apprehend, be determined technically by Hebrew critics. We know exactly the import of the English word "dust;" but the Hebrew scholar cannot determine what the Jew of the days of Moses meant technically by עפר. We may, therefore, call in the aid of science to confirm the decision of the lexicographers (see Gesenius) that it also means *earth*. And thus are we able at once to relieve the minds of the doubtful. For *earth*, out of which Moses says that man was formed, contains the same water, gases and salts, as those which enter into the composition of the human body. When, too, St. Paul says that the first man is ἐκ γῆς, χυκός, he proves that the Hebrew word used by Moses should have been translated *earth*.

The inference, however, from this fact proves, that it never could be intended that men should concern themselves with the circumstantials of the ἀνάστασις, and with the nature and the materials of the glorified body. We are astonished, therefore, that men should waste their time and spirits in speculations upon the formation of the future body, as if God would find some difficulty in obtaining the requisite materials for the vast demands of the morning of the resurrection.

For when we look at the apparent waste of such materials in the visible universe, as we can perceive, we may well be astonished that such a difficulty should ever be suggested. For example, we are told by astronomers, of the great comet which appeared in 1811, that the length of its tail extended to one hundred and thirty millions of miles, which, so far as can be judged, was an excrescence. Such are the visible material riches of the Lord's universe! And how much richer must we suppose are the invisible (to our species) *materials* of the universe, as beheld by beings whose organization fits them for this kind of knowledge? For, again, we repeat, that (following the laws of thought, as suggested by the term *body*) the heavenly body must be composed of materials of some kind; that is, of something generically different from spirit, or the word *body* has no meaning for the human mind. To speculate, therefore, upon the reframing of these identical bodies, as if anything could make *them* immortal—i.e., the identical gases, &c., in which they perform the soul's earthly works and endure its sufferings,—is but to employ time and talents upon subjects lying beyond that sphere within which all its knowledge is confined. How far safer, purer, and happier is that faith which can fall back with perfect contentment upon the calm, soothing words of St. John:—"Beloved, *now* are we the sons of God;" this is the true Christian's earthly condition; why then pry into his future lot, since "it doth not *yet* appear what we *shall* be?" only thus much we commit our dearest hopes to, that "when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is:" (1 John iii. 2). That is, if Christ's heavenly body is made of transmuted earthly materials, so will be the bodies of his saved and glorified followers, that they may be "like" his. To the trusting Christian, for whom life is too short for hopeless discussions, and his reverence too profound to permit his imagination to trifle with them, these few words of calm strength are worth all those dreamy volumes of presumptuous writers, who would fain conduct the mind amid scenes which the Holy Spirit has silently taught are wholly impenetrable by the inhabitants of this globe.

Condemning, then, all attempts to pry into this mystery of the future body by the pretended aid of the other mysteries, we may nevertheless gratefully, if diffidently, pursue a path opening towards it, as far as science has illuminated it with her rays. One thing, then, being certain—and having so often brought it forward and pressed it into service, we may now confidently make use of it—that flesh and blood (that is,

a body made up of such materials) could not enter the kingdom of heaven, it may be asked what became of the flesh and blood in which Elijah was seen to quit this earth? The miracle may be reverently conjectured in few words:—the exercise of the requisite power at once to decompose this body into its original elements, and to disperse them into their cognate atmosphere. Such a miracle as this appeals at least to our reason. It implies supernatural power; but we can comprehend its exercise. It is not of the character of the blasphemer's challenge to God to make two mountains without a valley between. It is but assigning him the chemist's power without the instruments of the laboratory. Here we must stop. The moment Elijah's soul had been dispossessed of that earth-made body, which is inadmissible into the world of souls, we withdraw our gaze from its trackless path. We gladly leave the subject in that profound darkness in which it lies buried in the Scriptures. But our reverence equally applies to the daring creed of Mr. Denison. He presumes to submit to details that heavenly body of which we affirm that his ignorance is so complete as to be unvisited by a ray of light. And equally unhallowed do we deem all speculations upon the powers of "consecrated" bread and wine, to confer immortality upon materials which are cognate with this perishable globe. Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return. This is the doom of the human race. When each soul has done with the materials in which its earthly appointed work has been performed, they return to their kindred substances, to be employed in the fabric of other bodies, to be tabernacles for other souls. But the grand consummation of these circling mutations is hastening on, and we seek not to ask what is finally to be the fate of these oft-used materials, when the form of this globe shall be again changed by the convulsing action of fire, as it was once before changed by the convulsing action of water. Humbly we ask only, must God strip away all this earth's vital materials, because of the poverty of his universe? Has he none for the new bodies of that great multitude which no man can number, composed of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, when they shall stand before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands?

- ART. II.—1. *Ancient and Modern India*. By the late W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D. Revised, and continued to the present time, by P. J. MACKENNA, Esq. Second Edition, with great Amendments and Improvements. London: Madden. 1851.
2. *Missionary Guide Book; or, a Key to to the Protestant Missionary Map of the World; showing the Geography, Natural History, &c., of the several Countries to which Missionary Efforts have been directed; with the Social and Religious Condition of their Inhabitants: also the Rise and Progress of Missionary Operations in each Country*. London: Seeleys. 1846.
3. *Report of North London Auxiliary Association to the Society for promoting Female Education in the East for the year 1852*. London: Suter.
4. *The Calcutta Review*, Nos. XXX, XXXI, and XXXV. London: Smith, Elder and Co.
5. *South Indian Missionary Sketches*. London: Nisbet and Co. 1842.
6. *Report of the Directors to the Fifty-eighth General Meeting of the Missionary Society, usually called "The London Missionary Society," on Thursday, May 13th, 1852, with Lists of Contributors, &c.* London.
7. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the year 1852*. London. Printed for the Society.
8. *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations; Resources and Trade of the several States of Europe and America; together with the Commercial Treaties between England and Foreign Countries. Part 23—India, Ceylon, and other Oriental Countries*. By JOHN MACGREGOR. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, July, 1848.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, we are told, moved by the extraordinary beauty of some English children, who were exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome, immediately conceived the benevolent idea of converting them to Christianity. "Non Angli sed Angeli, forent, si essent Christiani," he exclaimed, and followed up his good intentions by sending Augustine to Britain to preach the Gospel. It is not our purpose now to discuss the question whether he adopted the right means of accomplishing the object he had in view or not; we would merely direct the attention of our readers to the meaning of

his exclamation; his regret, namely, that beings so lovely and so innocent should be exposed to the debasing influence of the idolatry which prevailed in their own country, and his ardent desire that they should partake of the blessings offered by Christianity, and its moral and intellectual advantages. We are not surprised that these ideas should have passed through the enlightened mind of Gregory: on the contrary, we should think they were likely to arise in the minds of all thinking persons under similar circumstances; yet, we shall presently mention instances in which, if similar reflections have arisen, and similar intentions been formed, the latter have only served as additions to that curious Mosaic pavement described, not by writers on art, but by old Richard Baxter.

There is a country in the far East, yet, with our present improved modes of transit, scarcely more distant in point of time from Britain, than Britain was from Rome in the days of Gregory, and whose vast population numbers 150,000,000. One part, and that a large one, of this people does not yield in beauty to the children seen by the Pontiff; indeed, it has been said by those who knew them well, that no part of the world can present more perfect specimens of feminine loveliness than are to be found in this distant country among the lower classes of the population; for, with oriental jealousy, the females of the higher classes are secluded from the gaze of strangers. Did our space permit, we should quote at length the glowing description of a writer in the "*Asiatic Journal*" of these the fairest among ten thousand, the altogether lovely. We can only touch in passing—leaving our meagre outline to be filled up by the imagination of the reader—upon their fine erect forms, set off by the graceful drapery which encircles them, the freedom of their carriage, the perfect symmetry of their figures, the exquisite form of their hands and feet, and the softness and delicate polish of their skins. To these charms are frequently added beauty of feature of the type called Grecian; an oval face, straight nose, rosy lips, the upper of which is short and beautifully curved; slender, but well-arched eyebrows; long and fine black hair; and, shaded by long dark lashes, full, black and splendid eyes, now beaming with the soft lustre of the gazelle, now sparkling with fire and animation. "Not even," observes this writer, "the enthusiasm of poetical fervour can go beyond the truth in the description of those liquid, loving, melting eyes. In the whole population the general expression is softness; excepting when inflamed by rage very

few are fierce ; and there is an indescribable charm, a fascination about their eyes, which in many instances is quite irresistible, and, with the exception of a few obstinately prejudiced persons, has the effect of interesting a stranger very strongly in favour of the people possessing them." To the graces of person these lovely beings add voices of much sweetness, and a fascination of manner, which has occasionally been known to attract and retain the affection not only of their own countrymen, but frequently of Europeans, in a remarkable degree, even when age has dimmed the lustre of their eyes, and deprived their forms of the elasticity and gracefulness of youth.

Let our readers imagine two or three of these fairest of God's creatures exposed in the slave-market at Rome, as it existed in the days of Gregory, and attracting, as the English children did, the notice and enquiries of the Pontiff. Imagine him asking their state and condition in their own country, and receiving from one who knew them well some such answer as the following :—"Beautiful as they are in person, the greater proportion of the females of that country are in the lowest state of degradation, both social and mental ; the curse pronounced on Eve still hangs over them in all its bitterness ; they are the slaves of their husbands, who are taught by their sacred books that 'that which is named woman is sin ;' meaning to say, 'she is not vicious, but vice itself.' She is considered of an inferior order to man, and is held by him as but little superior to the brute creation. Indeed, their laws place dogs upon an equality with women. 'If by chance a dog or a woman touch an idol, it is become in their estimation so polluted, that it must either be thrown away, or, if made of solid material, it must be consecrated afresh.' Thus, forming no part of the family circle, and employed in performing all the drudgery and hard work of the household, the women lose the respect they ought to possess in their maternal character ; and the rising generation, never having felt the benign and purifying influence of a mother, grow up destitute of those moral qualities and refined feelings which constitute the happiness of domestic life. Married at the early age of eleven or twelve, without her own consent, and frequently purchased for money, the young wife becomes the household slave.

'She may not walk with her husband, but behind him ; she may not eat with him, but after him, and of what he leaves ; she ought not to sleep while he is awake, nor to remain awake while he is asleep ; if she is sitting when he comes in, she must rise ; and if

he dies she is doomed to perpetual widowhood. This doom is hers even if the young man die between the betrothment and the marriage: a black cord is fastened round her neck, never to be removed, and the girl is for ever shut out from all scenes of gladness or rejoicing; she is treated as an inferior being in her own family; she must wear the coarsest garments, and eat but once a day of the coarsest food. Thus neglected and despised, with no interest in this life and no hope of a better, it is no wonder if these poor creatures throw off all restraint, and abandon themselves to a life of wickedness and sin.*

In some parts of the country a wife may be bought for about three shillings. She may also be sold by the husband when he is tired of her; or, if undisposed of at his death, the wife descends with the other estate as the absolute property of the son, and he is actually permitted by the law to sell his own mother as part of his father's estate! Female infanticide prevailed in that country to an enormous extent; and the custom of the country enjoined, and the government until recently permitted, that widows should burn alive on the funeral pile of their husbands. It was even believed that women were not admitted into heaven."

Then, suppose that the good Pontiff, horror-struck at this account, should enquire how the country was governed, that its rulers could permit the nation to remain in such a deplorable state of ignorance. And he will be told that it had been conquered by one of the greatest and most enlightened nations upon earth; which was, however, short-sighted enough to think that a country is easy to govern in proportion to the ignorance of its inhabitants; that a sword is a safer weapon in the hands of a native than a pen; that the endeavour to raise the standard of society by the diffusion of education, and the introduction of what has been called the feminine element, which has exercised so powerful an influence over the Christian world, might have the effect of endangering their sovereignty; or, that such was the natural depravity of character, and obtuseness of intellect of the females, that the efforts of their conquerors to better their condition have been unattended with success.

It is not our purpose in the present article to establish or disprove the truth of these opinions, or to enter into the subject of the general education of the natives of India (for it is of that country that we are speaking); we shall confine our observations to the condition of the female part of the com-

* "Missionary Guide Book," quoting "South Indian Sketches," vol. ii. p.

munity only, and shall endeavour to ascertain, first, how far the character of the Hindu women is capable of improvement; and, secondly, what influences are opposed to the amelioration of their condition; and, thirdly, what has been done, and what is now doing, to elevate the standard of female character in India.

Before however we touch upon these points, we must express our belief in the good that will ultimately be effected by the general education of the people; and our firm conviction that, whatever may be the ultimate result of that education with regard to our retaining the supremacy in India, that rejecting, as becomes a great people, all selfish considerations of what a short-sighted policy calls our own interests, it is our duty to carry out conscientiously those measures which we know to be conducive to the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of the countries, which it is the present privilege of this country to govern.

We must also observe, that the beneficial effects of female influence in purifying the character and elevating the standard of morality are now admitted facts. We believe that it is also generally admitted, that those nations among whom the female sex has been held in most respect, and treated with most consideration, have been the most moral, and by no means the least brave of mankind. We believe it is also conceded that the converse is no less true, wherever women are degraded and despised, there morality is at the lowest ebb.

The rise and progress of the feminine element, and its influence on society in Europe, have been traced and developed by those who search the past as a guide to the future. They recognize it in the hardy German races described by Tacitus; in the feeling which, if it did not originate, at least confirmed the worship of the Virgin; and in that deference to the sex, which was the distinguishing attribute of chivalry. In our own country, perhaps, no small impetus was given to it by the circumstance of our having been so frequently governed by female sovereigns; as well as by the dignities and privileges conferred during the early period of English history on abbesses, who, by virtue of their office, were entitled to a seat in Parliament. But the powers which operated most successfully to elevate the female character were, undoubtedly, the discovery of printing, and its natural consequence, the Reformation. From that period female influence has continually increased, though slowly and under many difficulties, through its most pure and holy channel, the maternal; the

good effects of early home education have been universally felt and acknowledged; and in this country it appears to be generally admitted, that in proportion as the female character is refined, and the understanding of the sex cultivated, the higher is the general tone of morality in the community.

Such being the fact, we observe with pain a statement in the Statistics of Education contained in Mr. Macgregor's Report, that not the slightest provision has been made by the Indian government for the education of the native females, and that there is not one girl in all the government institutions.*

I. We now return to our theme, and our first endeavour will be, by reference to authentic sources, to afford our readers some insight into the character and capabilities of the women of Hindustan. We have alluded in the beginning of this article to their present degraded state. It must be acknowledged that the picture we have drawn of it applies with greater truth to the inhabitants of the low, swampy, hot countries, than to the inhabitants of the north-west provinces, where women are treated with somewhat of the courtesy of chivalry; still we are not aware that, with a few exceptions, the mental and intellectual faculties of these females receive at the present time any cultivation. The Indian women of the higher classes, rigidly secluded from the view of all men but their husbands, spend their time between four stone walls, and are so enveloped in the prejudices connected with caste, that but little is known to Europeans of their domestic life. This practice of secluding the women was a consequence of the Mahommedan invasion: previous to that time they not only enjoyed more freedom, but some pains were taken in the cultivation of their minds. For the latter fact we are indebted to one of those silent but truthful mementos of the customs and manners of bygone times, the paintings, namely, in the Ajunta Caves (about 200 miles north-east of Bombay). A copy, by Capt. Gill, recently received at the India House, represents an adult female school, where teachers are instructing women in reading and writing: an indisputable proof this, that these acquirements were not withheld from women at the time these paintings were executed. Another fact, and that an important one, is to be gleaned from this picture; namely, that the females are adults, and not children. We shall have occasion to allude more than once, in the course of this article, to schools for adult females; we

* See Report pp. 371, 378, 381.

therefore now simply mention the fact of their former existence. The paintings in the Ajunta Caves are supposed to have been executed in the third century before Christ.

Were other proofs wanting of the estimation in which women were formerly held in some parts of India, we might adduce that of their having frequently exercised the functions of royalty, and still more frequently those of regent during the minority of a youthful sovereign. The historical account transmitted to us of the adventurous life of Razia Begum, who, in 1236, was elevated by her subjects to the throne occupied by her voluptuous and extravagant brother Feroze, proves her to have been possessed of considerable talents and energy. Great indeed must have been the attractions, which, in her adversity, could not only win over her jailor to favour her escape, but also induce him to marry her, and take up arms in her favour. Great also must have been the talents of the Sultana Zema, the beautiful and witty daughter of a goldsmith, whose oratorical powers had influence to persuade the turbulent omrahs, assembled to choose a successor on the death of Beilolee (the first of the Affghan race), to nominate her son, Sekander Lodee, as emperor. As she addressed her auditors in the oriental fashion, from behind a curtain, there is no doubt that her son's election was secured by her persuasive eloquence, and not by her beauty.

We may also allude to the fascination exercised during so many years by the beautiful but imperious Nourmahal over the Mogul emperor Jehanghire, who left that exquisite memorial of his love and taste the Taj Mahal. Considering how short the reign of beauty is in India, and how quickly it passes into the sere and yellow leaf, it is but reasonable to suppose that Nourmahal possessed mental qualifications which had the power of retaining the monarch's attachment, even after the loss of that beauty which had first won his regard.

As an illustration of another phase of female life among the higher classes in India, we cannot overlook the history of this high-minded wife of Jehanghire, who, when deprived of her possessions, and even of the means of living, on the death of her first husband Shere (who by order of Jehanghire met with the same fate as Uriah), supported herself by the sale of embroidery, the work of her own hands. This, both on account of its being the work of the Sultana, and also for its intrinsic worth, readily obtained purchasers, and the energetic lady found herself once more restored to a state of ease, if not of affluence. The history of this remarkable woman, who was of Tartar descent, is full of romantic interest.

According to Colonel Tod, Rajpootanah was and is the paradise of Indian women. "In no point," says this gentleman, "does the Rajpoot resemble the ancient German and Scandinavian tribes more than in his delicacy towards females. They are the counsellors of their husbands in affairs of state; they act frequently as regents." For many highly interesting traits of female character among the Rajpoots, we must refer our readers to Colonel Tod's "Annals of Rajast'han." The romantic story of the beautiful Pudwani; of the heroic Corumdevi; of the haughty Rajpoot Princess, who refused the hand of the Emperor Aurungzebe; of the filial affection of Jehanira; of the sad fate of the lovely and devoted Kishna Komari Bai;—will not fail to arrest the attention of the reader, and enlist their sympathies.

But these events happened long ago. Is the disposition and character of the Rajpoot women still unchanged? Can modern India supply similar examples of female heroism and energy? There are Englishmen and English women now living who remember the young Baiza Bhaee, now old and grey, the widow of Dowleat Rao Scindiah, who, though only thirteen years of age on the death of her husband, ruled for nine years over the turbulent Mahratta chiefs; and opposing the British arms, was at last overcome and pensioned by Lord Ellenborough; and that Padishah Begum (Queen Dowager), whose ambition led her to oppose the British, by whom she also was finally subdued; and, lastly, that modern Messalina, the Sikh Princess Chunda Khore, the mother of Dhuleep Singh, equally remarkable for her vices and her intrigues against the British, by whom she also was overcome.

Nor does this freedom of action and energy of character pertain only to the higher ranks of females in Rajpootanah. Colonel Tod remarks of them generally, "The superficial observer, who applies his own standard to the customs of all nations, laments with an affected philanthropy the degraded condition of the Hindu female, in which sentiment he would find her little disposed to join. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. But," he continues, "from the knowledge I possess of the *freedom*, the *respect*, the *happiness*, which the Rajpoot women enjoy, I am by no means inclined to deplore their state as one of captivity." In his last remark perhaps the Colonel is right: it is generally acknowledged that the Mahomedan females in Turkey and Egypt do not look upon their seclusion as imprisonment; we can therefore believe that this is the case with the Hindus. Custom has reconciled them to their mode

of life, and they cannot regret the loss of a liberty which they have never known. Colonel Tod, who appears an ardent admirer of the Rajpoots, has given us the bright side of the picture; yet it must be acknowledged, that most of the events to which we have alluded are so many proofs of the barbarity of the times in which they occurred. We should be glad to see female influence and female talent in India engaged in pursuits better adapted to the sex; in ministering to the comforts, in ameliorating the society, in the cultivation of the native talent which so many possess, and in the exercise of the domestic and maternal duties, the proper sphere of women.

Our motive in alluding to the facts above mentioned is to show, that the character of the women of one district at least in India, is by no means deficient in talent and energy when occasions have arisen for the exercise of these qualities. In those districts where the sex is most degraded, the enlightened and benevolent Heber observed in the people a goodness and mildness of disposition, an affection for their offspring, and a fidelity to their employers, which were not only estimable in themselves, but which proved them capable of receiving the benefits of education. Neither are they without gratitude. We will mention one instance, because it is connected with our present subject; the character and condition, namely, of the women of India.

Female infanticide, which we have already noticed as formerly prevalent to a great extent in India, is ascribed not only to the poverty of the inhabitants, which even in a country where nature has so few wants, renders it difficult to bring up a family, but to the equally difficult task of providing husbands for their daughters, and the disgrace which attaches to living single. Aware of these facts, Major Walker ransomed for a small sum many girls of the higher classes who had been doomed to death, and caused them to be brought up at his own expense. We know of few scenes more touching, or more gratifying to a benevolent heart, than the reception which Major Walker met with in Guzerat, where these grateful girls, who owed their lives to his humanity, met him at the entrance of the palace, and strewed his path with flowers, as their deliverer and second father. A grateful heart is a good soil to work upon, even if it did not possess the other natural good qualities which have been ascribed to the Hindus: and we think few of our readers will be disposed to deny that the character of the Hindu female

presents a promising field for the educational labours of the philanthropist.

II. It must be acknowledged, that the endeavour to raise the moral standard of the Hindus by the cultivation and education of the women, and the infusion of female influence into Hindu society is a task of much difficulty and delicacy, from the formidable barriers with which it is obstructed by an idolatrous religion, the poverty of the people, the prejudices of caste, the low estimation in which females are held in India, and the habit of secluding women of the more wealthy classes; and, lastly, by the influence of climate on the physical development, and the consequently early marriages, which, by removing the young women from the schools just when they are beginning to learn, necessarily put a stop to their education.

It is mentioned by Bishop Heber, and confirmed by the missionaries, who have ample opportunities of judging, that idolatry is upon the decline in India. The temples are suffered to decay, the idol festivals are less numerously attended, and the Brahmins find their customary offerings from the people so much decreased, that they are obliged to have recourse to manual labour for a subsistence. As this class will be the greatest losers by the decline of Hinduism, they are naturally the greatest opponents to the diffusion of Christianity and the education of the females, and their influence has frequently been successfully exerted in opposing both movements.

The prejudices of caste are, in many places, giving way before the march of education, especially in Southern India and Ceylon: the school-children sit in the same room, and in the presence of each other; and in the hospitals the natives of different castes lie side by side. In some of the missions, also, marriages have taken place between women of low caste and men of high caste, and recently an instance has occurred of a widow being remarried. The last-mentioned circumstance we consider, for various reasons, is full of promise. The Hindu law, which forbade widows to marry again, and which extended the prohibition to girls who were betrothed, and whose intended husbands died before the actual marriage, was frequently productive of the greatest immorality.

The seclusion of women of the higher classes is a great impediment to the progress of education; but we believe that even this will give way before the desire for instruction which is so rapidly spreading among all classes in India. In some cases, we believe, private tuition is given in families;

while the success of Mr. Bethune's Institution at Calcutta (where the prejudices in favour of the seclusion of females is particularly strong), for the education of girls of high caste, leads us to form the most sanguine anticipations for the future.

The poverty of the people is a more serious obstacle. Placed by nature in one of the most productive countries in the world; doomed perpetually to press to their lips the cup of Tantalus, while its contents slip from them untasted; to till the ground whose fruit they see around them but cannot enjoy: the poor ryot and his family are starving in the midst of plenty. It would be difficult to give credit to this singular anomaly, were it limited to the fertile plains of Bengal; but the rich and productive soil of Lombardy, and, nearer home, unhappy Ireland, prove that the possibility of such an occurrence may become a fact. As regards India, the circumstance is the more remarkable when we consider how little is required to support life in that climate, and how few are in fact the absolute wants of the people. A mud hovel, thatched with palm-leaves; no articles of furniture, not even a bed or a table. Their only real wants are a few cheap earthen or brass vessels for cooking their rice or other daily food; a few yards of calico to wrap gracefully and modestly round their persons, are all that they require. Even this drapery is dispensed with in the case of children, who wear no clothing until they are seven or eight years old. The difficulty of raising the condition of a people who have so few wants will be readily imagined. What is the apparent use of teaching them to sew, when their garments require neither needle or thread? or to cook, when their whole science of domestic economy consists in grinding rice, and boiling it with salt? or to do household work, when their habitation is destitute of furniture? What a sad picture does the following description (for which we are indebted to a writer in the "Calcutta Review," No. XXXV. p. 162) give of the Bengalese peasant, and especially of the condition of the females:—

"Though the soil of Bengal is one of the richest in the world, yet we question whether an equal amount of destitution could be found among any tribe or nation, that is removed a single step beyond the most unalloyed savagism. It will give our English readers some idea of the state of things, when we mention that a man and his wife may toil from early morn till evening twilight in manufacturing a piece of cloth, and then spend half of the following day in conveying it to the market and disposing of it, and that its price will not then yield more than one anna (=1½d English money)

above the price of the raw materials! And upon this they have probably a family of two or three children to maintain! Any one who goes into the villages may see scores of poor women standing in black fetid pools, a few feet square, fishing for any living thing that can by possibility (or what any one not driven by dire necessity would call impossibility) be converted into food. The exhalations from these filthy pools are so noxious, that no European could stand beside them for a few minutes; yet do these women rake them for hours, clad in the only garment they possess, and which, saturated from day to day with putrid water, they must wear by day and by night for months together."

Is it any wonder that cholera and other epidemics should make such havoc in India? How much must be done by the government before this fearful state of things can be remedied! Though railways may and will enable the poor to sell the product of their hand-loom at a better and more accessible market, and bring the necessities of life to the hunger-stricken districts of India, it will be long before the march of improvement will reach the villages of the fertile Bengal, and give the famishing natives a share of the rich produce of the soil; long before missionary labour can be spared from the towns to raise the moral and intellectual condition of those whose abject poverty rivets upon them the fetters of ignorance and superstition.

Let us now turn to a sketch by another hand, and in less sombre colours, of the daily life and avocations of the Bengalese women of the middle classes.

"Early in the morning females may be seen busy with domestic affairs. One may be seen with a vessel in her hand containing a mixture of water and cow-dung, and industriously engaged in sprinkling the fragrant contents on the mud-floor and yard, with a view to ceremonial purification; another with a palmyra or cocoa-nut broomstick, sweeping every part of the house; a third hastening to a neighbouring tank to cleanse and wash all the brazen pots of the family; while a fourth, the cook of the family, is preparing for morning ablutions. The morning work over, while the cuisinier plies her task in the heated kitchen, the other females bathe in an adjacent pool, and bring each a vessel of water for the supply of the family. The males—the lords of the creation—are feasted first, on whom their wives and mothers attend. It ought to be remarked in passing, that attendance at the table is not regarded by the Bengalis as a servile occupation, that office being usually performed by elderly matrons and Brahmins. After the males and the children have eaten, the self-denying and modest women help themselves to their morning meal, which takes place in the middle of the

day. Their meal over, they repair to their dormitories, and betake themselves to

‘Tired nature’s sweet restorer, balmy sleep;’

and before engaging in the evening work, which is slight compared with their morning portion, amuse themselves with ‘various’ games.” *

We are inclined to think from other accounts, that the establishment we have just described is a sort of model ménage, and that the majority of houses of this class in Hindustan is far from being as well swept and as clean as this is described to be. It is quite evident also from the division of labour, that the work must fall lightly upon each female; and that as there is time in each day for indulging in sports and games, there is also time for the improvement of the mind, if the desire for information were once awakened.

Our pictures of female life in Bengal would be incomplete without a glance, dim and indistinct though it be, at the women of the more wealthy classes secluded within the jealous walls of the zenana.

The excellent and observant Bishop Heber mentions in his interesting narrative, the remark of an intelligent Hindu, relative to the seclusion of the females of the higher ranks. “Before,” said he, “we could give them the same liberty as the Europeans, they must be better educated.” The clear-sighted Hindu was right; these women must be better educated, or, perhaps, we should omit the word of comparison, and say they must be educated; for the instruction at present given is not only limited in quantity, but, considering the amount of the population, restricted to a few individuals. Generally speaking, the education of the higher and more wealthy classes of females is scarcely more cultivated than that of the lower orders. Indeed, the only Hindu females who were taught to read were the immodest class who attended the temples, and the accomplishment was shunned by all modest women. The Mahomedan ladies are, however, taught to read the Koran (which must not be translated) in Arabic, and the Commentary in Persian; the latter language, indeed, they are sometimes taught to write. We should like to know whether, like Milton’s daughters, their knowledge of these languages is limited to reading and writing them, or whether they are also taught to understand them. Music and dancing, so far from being cultivated, are considered as

* “Calcutta Review,” No. XXX. p. 340.

degrading, and only as employments for nâch girls. Opium-eating is practiced extensively among the Mahomedan women of rank, possibly from the want of better occupation.

The Hindu ladies receive even less instruction than the Mahomedans, the recreation of literature is denied to them. "It is not easy," observes a writer whom we have before quoted, and whose opinion contrasts forcibly with that of Colonel Tod,

"to realize the wretchedness of the life of a woman in the higher classes of society. With her intellect wholly untutored; with her affections wholly unengaged at the period of marriage; shut out from all intercourse with mankind, save the *purohit*, or family priest, in whose hands she is as plastic clay in the potter's hand—she necessarily becomes a prey, through sheer *ennui*, and the prevalence of unchecked appetites, to all the evil passions that can find entrance into the female breast; and her seclusion becomes in some sort a matter of necessity."

The influence of the *purohit* is even greater than that of a Roman Catholic confessor. He has free ingress into all houses, and even into the zenana; and we are informed by one* who has had ample opportunity of ascertaining the fact, that "if a religious mendicant should enter a habitation, and leave his slippers at the door, the husband may not enter his own house" until the departure of the fakir. These fakirs have, it is said, the character of being great libertines. It is to be hoped, however, that the present order of things will not last. The improved education of the men; the effects of their mixing in European society, and occasionally in that of European ladies, have enlarged their ideas of woman's importance, and of her domestic influence, and we trust will tend to her permanent improvement. We cannot, however, avoid expressing our surprise that so little progress has been made in the education of females of the higher ranks in India, since the time when Rhadacunt Deb made the observation we have quoted to Heber.

The peculiar effects of the Indian climate in the physical development of the natives, and the early maturity which is induced by it, have no doubt a specific influence on their minds. We, the inhabitants of a temperate climate, can scarcely realize the fact of the Hindu females marrying and becoming mothers at an age when they would still be con-

* Mrs. Park's "Wandering of a Pilgrim in the East in Search of the Picturesque, with Revelations of Life in the Zenana." London: Pelham Richardson. 1850.

finer to the nursery in this country. Unless the mental and intellectual powers are developed with equal precocity, it appears incredible that persons of that age should be capable of regulating a household, or of bringing up a family in a manner befitting the inhabitants of a civilized country. How little knowledge, how little experience can have been acquired in those few short years which elapse between infancy and maturity! How brief the period which, even under the most favourable circumstances, can be devoted to education before the girls enter upon the cares and responsibilities of the married life! Yet, that the mental powers of the Hindu women are developed at a more early period than we cold Northerners imagine, is proved at least in one notable instance in the history of the young Baiza Bhaee, before alluded to; who, at the age of thirteen, ruled over, and for a time controlled the turbulent Mahratta chiefs, and who, Amazon-like, a few years later appeared herself in the field against the British. Conduct like this in a girl of her years evidences talent of a high order, and great energy of character.

It is clear, unless knowledge is possessed intuitively—and this we know by the present condition of the Indian women is not the case—we must to a certain extent reverse the order of things as they exist in this country. As but little, comparatively, can be done towards the education of the Hindu females previous to marriage, and as they become old at twenty, advantage should be taken of their release from the cares of a family, to give them instruction *after* that time. The picture in the Ajunta Cave to which we have before alluded, shows that this was formerly the case in India; and we have the testimony of Heber and of the missionaries, that married females attend the schools, and are anxious for instruction. A Sunday-school at Edeiyengoody, in Ceylon, is attended by 120 women of the place. In this school for adult females it frequently happens, that a mother will be instructed by her daughter, then an inmate of the boarding-school.*

III. In spite, however, of the numerous and formidable obstacles which exist in India to impede the education of the women, a beginning has been made; the point of the wedge has been introduced, and a blow has been struck by the missionaries, which will in the end cause the fall of idolatry and ignorance, root and branch, in India. But, before we speak of what has been done, we must bear willing testimony

* See Report for 1852 of the North London Auxiliary Association to the Society for promoting Female Education in the East, p. 16.

to the great utility of missionary labours in Hindustan, in promoting the cause of education, and in diffusing a knowledge of the Scriptures—by far the most important part of their efforts—because they lay a broad and sure foundation, and pave the way for the future establishment of Christianity. Our readers may form some idea of the extent and magnitude of the labours of the different missionary societies, from the fact that, while the government educate about 25,000 pupils, at an expense of £43,000, the twenty-two missionary societies educate 120,000 pupils, and spend in the cause of education and the diffusion of Christian knowledge, in India alone, no less a sum than £187,000; £30,000 of which are contributed by the Company's servants in India. This is a convincing proof of the estimation in which missionary labours are held in that country. A further distinction is also to be drawn in favour of the missionaries; they were the first to perceive and act upon the great principle—a principle, by the way, which has escaped the observation of the government—that to raise the standard of female character morally and intellectually, is the most effectual means of improving the general condition of the people.

While, therefore, the government have not a single institution for promoting female education in India, the missionaries have spared neither labour nor expense to promote this great object. The different societies are unanimous in their recommendation of it. In 1852 they had 354 day schools in India for females, containing 11,549 scholars; and 91 boarding schools, with 2446 pupils; or, together, 445 girls' schools, and nearly 14,000 scholars. A small number certainly, compared with the female population of India, yet considerable, when we reflect upon the powerful influences which retard the education of women, and the limited time the efforts of the missionaries in this direction have been in operation. The greatest number of schools are in the Madras district and Ceylon. In these two districts alone there are 338 girls' schools, and 10,832 females under instruction. The first modern female school in India was that established in 1822 by Miss Cooke, afterwards Mrs. Wilson, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, at Calcutta. This school was visited by Heber, who thus mentions it in his journal:—"When she (Mrs. Wilson) began her work, there was no known instance of an Indian female having been instructed in reading, writing or sewing; and all who knew most of the country regarded her attempt to bring them together in school as idle as any dream of enthusiasm could

be." In spite, however, of the difficulties Mrs. Wilson had to encounter, she persevered in her exertions, which at last seemed to obtain the approval of some of the Brahmins. In 1826 Mrs. Wilson had 600 scholars in various schools in Calcutta. The day schools, though more numerous than the boarding schools, are considered less efficacious, because the children are exposed out of school-hours to the idolatrous and immoral influences of their homes, by which much of the good effected by the missionaries is undone. The most successful schools are decidedly the boarding schools, in which the pupils are either the children of native Christians, orphans saved from the famines which so frequently devastate India, or victims snatched from the fearful "Merriah" * sacrifice.

The importance attached to female boarding schools by the committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is shown by a statement in their report for the year 1849; that they "have not only very considerably increased their expenditure on these during the last year, but are prepared to incur a still larger outlay in promoting this department of missionary labour, than which they are persuaded none is more important or more promising." Were it not for the want of funds, these boarding schools would be not only more numerous, but more numerously attended; yet, such is the cheapness of living (as regards the actual necessities of life) in India, that the cost for each girl is only about £2 annually in some parts of India, and £3 in other parts. In many of these schools the wives and widows of missionaries are the superintendents; others are conducted by ladies sent out from this country. The Scriptures are read in all the schools, and Christian morality is instilled into the minds of the children; nor, though the parents are perfectly aware of this, do they keep the girls away on this account: in fact, they know that the only terms on which their children will be admitted into the missionary schools is their being allowed to receive Christian instruction.

With a view to assist the efforts of the missionaries in their laudable undertaking, and to supply additional funds for the support of the schools, a society was formed in the year 1834, entitled "The Society for promoting Female Education in the East."† The society has now been in operation nine-

* In the south of India a custom prevails of tearing a human being in pieces as a sacrifice to the Earth God.

† We believe this is identical with "The Ladies' Society" for the same purpose.

teen years. Its objects, as set forth in the Prospectus, are, "the establishment and superintendence of schools in the East, where favourable opportunities are presented; the selection and preparation in this country of pious and well-educated persons to go out as superintendents, and the training and encouragement of native teachers." With a truly catholic spirit this excellent institution "has bestowed help on schools belonging to all the great Protestant missions, in grants of money and materials; has raised above £27,500, and has sent forth sixty-seven teachers, besides assisting several others." The training in these schools appears to be judicious, as far as can be judged by the Reports. The children are instructed in the vernacular languages, and in some of them English is taught, and those girls who are able to read are also taught spinning, sewing, knitting, and lace-making. They are also taught to write. The materials used in writing are a large palmyra leaf, on which the children write with a hard style; they then rub over the leaf powder or dust of some kind, which sinking into the indentations made by the style, renders the writing visible. In order to prevent the ideas of the children from being raised above their condition in life, their food and clothing are of the simplest kind.

In connection with this society there are in England working parties of ladies, who, being supplied with materials from the funds of the society, make various articles of dress. These being sent into the East, find a ready sale among the European inhabitants, who are thus enabled to obtain articles of clothing which would be unattainable by other means. A list of such articles as are most saleable in the different districts is attached to the Reports. We allude to this feature of the society for the purpose of making a suggestion, by the adoption of which we think many of these schools might in time be rendered self-supporting. The success which has attended some of the missionary industrial schools, and also the establishment by Dr. Hunter,* of Madras, of a workshop in which carpentry, turning, the manufacture of pottery, and other arts are taught, suggests the idea whether some of the articles sent out by the Ladies' Society could not be advantageously made in the schools. This plan would, we think, be more useful than teaching the females to spin, an employment which is more economically performed by machinery. We are aware that the execution of this plan will be attended

* Dr. Hunter's School is in connection with the Orphan School at Black Town.

with some difficulties ; but we think these are not insuperable. The first difficulty will be in procuring a teacher, eligible in other respects, who is competent to superintend the industrial department. This may be obviated by sending out two articles of each kind intended to serve as patterns, one of which is to be made up, the other is to be merely cut out. The latter is in all cases to be preferred to a paper pattern, because so much of the good effect of a dress depends upon cutting it out the right way of the stuff. The next difficulty arises from the short period which the young girls, from their early marriages, remain at school. Now, it occurs to us that this objection is not insuperable ; for we think that, although for the first few years after their marriage the young women might not find time to attend these schools of industry, yet the widows form a large class in India ; and as a prejudice exists there against the second marriage of widows, it is probable that these poor women would gladly improve their condition by attending the schools. As society in India is now constituted, perhaps there is no class which would be more benefited by an arrangement of this kind than widows. The loss of their natural protectors, the burthen of a family, and the neglect they experience from their friends, frequently induce these poor creatures to resort to the most disreputable means of obtaining a livelihood. There is abundant evidence that adult females are fond of attending Sunday-schools, and others when they can ; and it appears to us, that the establishment of industrial schools for adult females, in the large towns, would be found one of the most effectual means of elevating the character of the native female. She would feel that she was usefully and profitably employed, and she would thus rise in her own estimation, and make the first step in the attainment of a knowledge of her own powers and capabilities, and of that habit of self-reliance, which are the foundation of whatever is great and good in man or woman. It is our firm belief that these female industrial schools would be found the happy means of rescuing thousands of poor women from a life of infamy worse than death, and that in a short time they would be self-supporting. The European ladies resident in India would be as likely to purchase articles of needle-work made in these industrial schools, as they are to purchase those sent out from England, or the pottery manufactured at Dr. Hunter's school. They would probably also send work to be done in the schools, as is now the custom in England.

Besides plain work, knitting, netting, and crochet, the

Hindu women might be taught to execute the beautiful embroidery on silks and muslins for which India is so celebrated, and which is now chiefly done by men. In the Orphan Asylum at Berkampore, such of the children as are old enough are taught the manufacture of tape. Why should not a manufactory of some kind or other be attached to every school? In the boys' schools they are found to answer well; why should they not be equally advantageous in the girls' schools?

With reference to missionary schools, both for girls and boys, there is another point to which, as it will exercise considerable influence on Hindu society in the next generation, we must now advert. These schools are generally situated in the inclosure called in India "Compounds," which contain the missionaries' dwelling-houses: they are consequently separated from the nuisances which pollute an Indian town, and which are nearly equally repugnant to all the senses. Within the compound the order, regularity, and cleanliness which prevail cannot escape the observation of the acute Hindu; and when accustomed to these social virtues—for so we may call them—by residence in the schools, the return to their former way of life must be distasteful. Thus, besides the direct advantage to the pupils, there will be an indirect benefit to the whole family. It is more than probable that education in the mission schools will produce a highly beneficial change in the Hindu ménage, and so a gradual improvement will take place in domestic life. With these impressions, we read with pleasure of the formation of Christian villages round the missionary compounds; and, without surprise, of the air of cleanliness and comfort which already prevails around them.

In enumerating the means adopted by the religious societies to improve the social condition of the Hindus, we must not omit to notice the advantages likely to arise to the Indian female from her intercourse with the self-denying and devoted wives of the missionaries; whose example must be a perpetual lesson to them, and a living commentary on Christian morality and European civilization.

Thanks then to the missionaries, for by their efforts female education may be considered as fairly begun in India. We earnestly hope this blessing may be extended to all classes. The Hindus are naturally an intelligent race; almost every one can read; "in the Delhi district alone there are about 300 elementary (native) schools, in several of which the preceptors receive no pay, but teach gratis, *in hope of heaven!*"

Were the prejudices against female education removed, the women would ere long possess this power as well as the men. The missionary reports state, that this prejudice is already removing; they remark that

“A new and strong desire for the education of their females is springing up among the middle and upper classes. This can be given them by private tuition in their own houses. The recent experiment of the late Mr. Bethune's school for girls of high caste, when, notwithstanding violent opposition, a considerable number attended, shows that Hindu society is ripe for further efforts on the part of the friends of Christian education.”

This important experiment of Mr. Bethune's was the first of the kind in India. He endowed it liberally with funds (3000 rupees a month), and laid the foundation of a building for it, which was to cost 60,000 rupees, the whole of which was to be defrayed by his sister (resident in England) and himself. Stimulated by the success of Mr. Bethune's institution, Mr. Shurman has set on foot a plan, which has obtained the approbation and support of his friends, for erecting a school-house at Benares for the exclusive reception and training of native Christian girls.

Our review of the state and progress of female education in India would be incomplete, did we not mention a few instances of the desire shown in its favour by the natives, and their appreciation of the efforts of the missionaries.

As far back as the year 1847 we find the following passage in the Report of the London Missionary Society (p. 85):—

“Prejudice against female education is fast subsiding, and Mrs. Addis has frequent applications from heathen parents to receive their children, and give them a Christian education. When she first arrived at Coimbatoor, sixteen years ago, the very mention of a female learning to read was considered a perfect insult to a respectable native. But, as some of the girls who were formerly in the schools have married native teachers in the mission, and others have been respectably settled in different parts of the district, the people generally begin to see and appreciate the advantage of educating females, and hence their wish that their daughters may also share the benefit.”

The circumstance which led to the establishment of the female boarding school under Mrs. Scharré, is one of the most interesting signs of the times. Mrs. Scharré had gone into the boys' school for the purpose of listening to their pronunciation of their own language, when a little boy accosted her, and requested her to give him a spelling-book for

his sister, whom he was teaching to read at home. Considering the prejudices then (in 1823) existing against female education, this must be considered a striking example of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.

"Formerly" remarks Mr. Lechler (we are now quoting from the London Missionary Report for 1852), "the women trained in these schools (at Salem) used to be derided as Pariahs who wore no jewels, &c.; but an answer from one of them, thus addressed in the market, silenced these taunts, and they are now respected. 'Why do you wear jewels?' a young Christian woman asked. 'Is it not that others may admire you? Women who have husbands should not wish to be noticed by others.'" Mr. Lechler continues—

"Many women come regularly into the compound to converse with the Christians; nor is the benefit confined to the mere neighbourhood. I was lately in a native town speaking with some men on female education, when they made some silly remarks on the subject. One of my assistants took up the word, and addressed them as follows:—'When any of you have to go from home for a week or a month, you never hear anything about your family, and turning towards home, you are full of anxiety, thinking, whom shall I find ill? will all be alive? It is not so with us. This evening I got a letter from my wife, in which she tells me all about herself and our children; and I suppose you believe that my mind has been greatly relieved by her letter.' Taking from his bundle a woollen jacket, he held it up to the men, saying, 'See, here is a woollen jacket which my wife has made for me; it cost me nothing; she earned the wool herself, and knitted it, and in this damp weather I find it a great comfort. Now say, would not you be glad if you had such jackets, and if your wives could procure them for you? Say, therefore, no more that female education is useless.' Every one of them wanted to see and touch the jacket. It was handed round in great silence: none had a word to say."

The exertions of the missionaries in the cause of education have been particularly successful in Ceylon. At Baddagame, "during the last twenty years, between 800 and 900 girls have received a Christian education. Many of them have married, and the difference between them and the other uneducated females in the island is very great indeed. On account of their honesty, diligence, activity and cleanliness, these scholars have always been sought after by the English as female servants." The school of the American missionaries at Oodooville became so popular, that on one occasion when there was a vacancy for twenty pupils, they had applications from upwards of seventy girls, nearly all of whom were of

high caste. The governors of the island have repeatedly borne testimony to the good resulting from these schools.

But it is not alone in missionary publications that we are to seek for evidence of the desire now existing for female education, and the importance attached to it. The third Report of the "Students' Literary and Scientific Society at Bombay" for the year 1852, written *in English*, and adopted at a meeting at which forty members were present, mentions female schools among the means on which they chiefly rely for the diffusion of information among their countrymen. To this point they early turned their attention; and as the female children at Bombay are less jealously secluded than in Bengal, the students have experienced less of that distrust, which in the last-mentioned province has impeded the efforts even of European ladies in this direction. They had last year three Parsee schools under their superintendence; and the number of scholars, who, however, are by no means regular in their attendance, has been as high as 371. The children are taught reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, embroidery and needlework, and the progress of the little girls is said to be satisfactory. The successful establishment of Mr. Bethune's school was a great inroad on the prejudices of the people; but we consider these schools under the guidance of natives, as one of the most convincing and satisfactory proofs of the progress of opinion in favour of female education. The following account, extracted from the report of a visit to one of these schools will, we are sure, be read with much interest, especially as it confirms our impressions that the schools will be attended by married women as well as by children.

"Imagine, in a spacious room, furnished after the European fashion, some thirty or forty little girls, all dressed in their best—many of them laden with rich ornament, anklets and earrings, seated in order around the room, gazing anxiously from their large, lustrous and soulful eyes, upon the strangers who sit at the table directing the examination, aided by the teachers, the superintendents, the worthy Shet and his kinsmen; see their faces behind a crowd of Hindus in their thin flowing robes and picturesque turbans, their faces beaming with eagerness and delight, as they watch the answers of the pupils—many of them relations, *some even their wives*; listen also to the low and sweet voices of childhood, chanting in the melodious Gujarāti (the Tonic of Western India) the praises of education; and you may be able to form some idea of the scene, and one of the most pleasurable moments in the life of a new comer."

We have now touched upon the principal points which

have occurred to us in reference to the education of the native females in India ; we have mentioned that at a remote period it received attention ; that the present degraded condition of the Hindu women was a consequence of the Mahomedan invasion, and of existing prejudices and superstitions ; we have shown that the character of the Hindu women is susceptible of improvement by education ; we have shown that while the government of the East India Company have not made the slightest effort to promote their education, the exertions of the missionary societies in the cause have been great and unremitting ; we have also shown that a desire for the education of their females has recently arisen among the people ; that the efforts of the missionaries, and of one or two individuals in a private station, are appreciated by them, and that the natives have recently seconded these efforts by the establishment of schools for females on the European model ; and, lastly, we have shown that the female schools are attended not only by girls, but by adults, who eagerly avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the schools of acquiring to some extent the education, which received a check by their early marriages. We now leave the cause of the Hindu female in the hands of the reader, satisfied that it will receive from their English legislators the attention which the importance of the subject demands, and hoping and believing that the praiseworthy exertions of the religious societies will be seconded by the friends of education and social progress, both in England and in India.

- ART. III.—1. *De Arme Edelman, Door Hendrik Conscience.* Antwerp. 1851.
 2. *De Gierigaerd, Door Hendrik Conscience.* Ibid. 1852.
 3. *Geschiedenis Van Graaf Hugo van Craenhove en van synen Vriend Abulfaragus Historische Tafereelen uit de XIV. Eeuw, Door Hendrik Conscience.* Ibid. 1852.
 4. *De Leew Van Vlaenderen of De Slag Der Gulden Sporen, Door Hendrik Conscience.* 2 Deelen. Ibid. 1851.

THERE is a prediction of the prophet Daniel, which is at the present moment so visibly receiving its fulfilment, that the fact has been forced upon our attention under a variety of circumstances. We have heard it quoted on a platform at a missionary meeting, and we have seen it appended as the text of a puff to a railway edition of a trashy novel. We allude to the distinct clause which occurs at the 4th verse of the 12th chapter of Daniel: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." Now, though its applicability to present circumstances, and the peculiar times in which we live, has become so notorious as to have caused it to be thus profaned to the purposes of paltry speculation, yet we doubt much if there be many who have sufficiently studied the full meaning of this very singular text; which we think is still more applicable than the religious public seems to be aware, to the progress and temper of European and Transatlantic society in its actual development. The words of the original are *יִשְׁטְטוּ רַבִּים וְתִרְבֶּה הָעֵת*. The great force of this sentence lies in the first word, *יִשְׁטְטוּ*; which though rendered in our translation "shall run," really means, in its more special and distinctive sense, "shall row," or, as Rabbi Fürst in his admirable Concordance and Lexicon has it, under its root *שׁוּט* Spec. Navem remis impellere.* Now the verb to run is generally expressed in scripture by the root *רָץ*. The word *שׁוּט*, in all its forms, being used to express the action of travelling from place to place, when applied to bodily motion, and is explained by Buxtorf by *Itare, Peragraré, Percurrere, Cursitare*, and by Rabbi Fürst in its special and peculiar sense as above. Now, seeing that we live in an age when, in spite of the ingenious Dr. Lard-

* Libr. Sacr. Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ, &c. Auctore Julio Fuerstio. Fol. Lipsiæ, 1840. We would strongly recommend this truly magnificent volume to all who desire a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures.

ner's positive dictum that steamers would never be able to cross the Atlantic, we are *rowed* by steam power to every quarter of the globe; is not this prophecy, in its first clause indeed, fully accomplished; and for the concluding portion, *וְהַיִּדְעָה חֻמָּתָהּ*, "and knowledge shall be increased," we think no one will dispute the fact, though the conclusions to be drawn therefrom may be various and conflicting. Whether we are increasing in the *רֵצֵה אֱלֹהִים*, the true and saving knowledge, in the same proportion in which we are acquiring and spreading abroad scientific and secular knowledge, is a point on which we entertain very grave doubts. The popular cry in the present day is for the secular education of the people; a cry which we, for our part, consider as quite superfluous, and indeed eminently mischievous; seeing that, with our Athenæums, mechanics' institutes, free libraries and museums, there is abundant opportunity afforded for all who wish it to acquire knowledge. Not that we have any wish to check the flood-tide of knowledge, were it possible to do so, which however it were now as futile to attempt, as was the attempt of Dame Partington to keep back the Atlantic tide with her birch broom. All we would strive to do, is to turn that flood into safe and wholesome channels, that it may not bring with it a moral pestilence, contaminated as it now is with the outpourings of the cloacæ of French novelists and German pseudo philosophers. Our sole aim is, what that of every Christian man should be, to cleanse and purify it from such defilements, and send it forth like a beneficent stream, bearing on its limpid waters

"Health to the sick and solace to the swain."

It is not our purpose in this article to expatiate on the mischievous and debasing tendency of the light literature imported from our continental neighbours, to unnerve and utterly corrupt the minds of our ingenuous youth, though we shrink with horror from the sad conviction, that the purity of the British female mind has been of late widely subjected to that moral plague. The task of lashing the *grossierités* of Alexandre Dumas, Paul de Kock, George Sand, "*et hoc genus omne*," has been already so well performed by an able and willing hand in this Review,* that we feel we need do nothing more than refer our readers to that article. Nor will we pause here to comment upon the disgusting trash fur-

* See "Church of England Quarterly Review" for April, art. iv. pp. 89—116.

nished in penny numbers, with attractive wood-cuts, by Reynolds and Co., and of which such thousands of copies are disseminated weekly by men who, like Abel Heywood of Manchester, are realizing large fortunes principally by the sale of such publications to the operative classes. Our business is with foreign importations, seeing that the insane furor for light reading, and especially for works of fiction, has become so rabid of late, more particularly among our fair countrywomen, of all ages and social conditions, from the duchess to the seamstress and maid-of-all-work; that so far from the productions of our native authors being enabled to afford a supply equal to the demand, not only is every fiction that becomes popular on the Continent, whether in France, Germany, Sweden or Denmark, instantly seized upon and translated, after some fashion, certainly not always, "nos ipsmet teste," very faithfully or very grammatically into English; but abundance of the most sickening, namby-pamby rubbish is daily imported from the other side of the Atlantic, and still, like "the daughter of the horse-leech, their cry is for more, more." Seeing then that it would be but a vain attempt to oppose the dictates of reason and religion to this moral *ἀνθηρία*, we have felt that our next duty was to seek for, and point out the sources whence healthier nutriment for the mind may be drawn; and it was in the course of this search after some mental pabulum which should prove at once appetising and wholesome, that we stumbled upon the works of which we design to give a short analysis. We had indeed no idea that such a thing as modern Flemish literature, distinct from that of Holland, had an existence, until last year a very near and dear relative, whose taste for philological research coincides with our own, and who was well acquainted with our views and wishes on the all absorbing subject of popular education, brought us over these simple tales from Antwerp. We had been long conversant with the rich treasures of Dutch literature, which in history, poetry and the drama, may challenge a comparison with most European nations; but almost the only purely Flemish works which had come under our notice were "Die alder excellente Cronyke van Brabant," printed at Antwerp in 1497; "Die Nieuwe Chronijcke von Brabant," Thantwerpen, 1565; and "Die excellente Cronike von Vlenderen," Thantwerpen, 1531; which we purchased some twenty years since at the sale of the late Richard Heber's incomparable library. Indeed, we have strong reasons for believing that the revival of Flemish literature is entirely to

be attributed to the patriotic aspirations of Hendrik Conscience, who is at the same time the Walter Scott, and, as we have been informed, the Daniel O'Connell, of Flanders. We have, however, been hitherto baffled in our strenuous endeavours to obtain some personal information concerning this author, though we know that his popularity in his own country is unbounded; he being the acknowledged leader of the Flemish party in Belgium. Of the kingdom of Belgium the Flemings form the majority; but they are, though constitutionally brave, a quiet industrious race; and when the Brabançon mob of Brussels and the surrounding country got up a revolution, in imitation of their French neighbours, in the year 1830, they submitted to the will of the turbulent minority, who, not however without foreign aid, separated them from the kingdom of the Netherlands; since which it has been attempted to exclude the Flemish language from the courts of law, and to substitute the French, as at Brussels. It is this odious endeavour to obliterate one of the finest tongues in Europe, which has caused the resuscitation of its literature; a literature so pure and lofty in its moral tone; so "*simplex munditiis*," like the modest daughters of its native soil,—that it would indeed have proved an irreparable loss to the reading world, and a curse to the Flemings, had it been superseded by the miserable imitations of the worst French models which disgrace the press of Brussels. But it is time that we proceed to introduce to our fair friends the works which we are so desirous to recommend for their perusal. The first on our list, "*De Arme Edelman*" (The Poor Gentleman), is a very simple and affecting story, "an ower true tale," depicting with evident truthfulness and great force the sufferings and privations of a man nobly born and highly educated, the heir of an illustrious ancestry, reduced with his only daughter to abject poverty, in consequence of the imprudence of a younger brother, for whom he had become security, and whose life and honour he saves at the expense of his whole estate. The style is highly dramatic, and consists in a series of word-paintings, interspersed with very natural life-like conversations. It thus opens—

"About the end of the month of July, 1842, an open private carriage was driving along one of the three great paved highways which lead from the borders of Holland towards Antwerp. This vehicle, although it was cleaned and got up with evident care, exhibited certain signs of poverty. From long use the sides of it were shook and loosened; it waggled too and fro on its springs,

and rattled like a skeleton in its worn-out axles. The leather head, which was now partly thrown back, shone in the sun from the oil with which it had been lubricated; but the glare could not conceal the numerous cracks and rents in the leather. The handles of the doors and the brass-work were indeed carefully scoured; but the remains of plating, which were still apparent in the depths of the ornamental work, betokened a former wealth, which now must be greatly diminished or had altogether departed. The horse that ran in this carriage was tall and powerful; a connoisseur needed not long to look on him, to judge from his short and heavy tread that he was doomed to harder labour, and was accustomed to draw a cart, or to go in the plough. On the front seat of the coach sat a country lad from seventeen to eighteen years old, in livery, with a golden band on his hat, and shining brass buttons on his coat; but the hat fell over his ears, and the coat was so large and wide, that it hung like a sack round the young man's sides. For certain these articles of clothing, the property of the master, had already served for former servants, and were yet destined during a long series of years to be delivered over from hand to hand to the last comer. The single person who appeared within the carriage was a gentleman about fifty years old. No one would have conjectured that he was the master of that servant, and the owner of that old worn-out carriage; for everything in him inspired respect and esteem. With bowed head, and sunk in deep reverie, he sat motionless in thought, till the noise of wheels made him aware of another carriage. He then raised his head; his looks became softened, and assumed the bright glance of contentment; on his whole countenance there shone a gentle pride. But scarcely had he exchanged a courteous greeting with the passers by, than silent sorrow again relaxed his features, while his head sunk slowly down upon his bosom. Nevertheless such a single moment of observation was sufficient to feel oneself attracted to this man by a secret inclination. In fact, although thin and seamed with care-worn wrinkles, his features were so regular and so noble; his glance so soft, and at the same time so profound; the lofty arch of his forehead so pure and so massive, that one could not doubt but that he must be endowed with all the choicest gifts of mind and heart. Apparently this person had already suffered much. Even if the expression of his countenance had not entirely confirmed this conjecture, it would have been visible enough from the silvery hair which so early already crowned his brow, and from beneath which his dark eyes, under the influence of anxious thought, from time to time flashed out with a singularly lustrous glance. His costume agreed in every point with this impression; it bore the stamp of that rich, one might say of that beautiful simplicity which is given only by great acquaintance with the world, and a delicate sense of *bienséance*. His linen was fine, and of perfect whiteness; his garments of the finest cloth, and his hat brushed to perfection. From time to time, above all, whenever any one rode by, he pulled out a handsome gold snuff-

box, and took a pinch of snuff in such a gentlemanly and elegant manner, that from this insignificant action alone, one would have been able to decide that he was accustomed to move in the higher circles of society. It is true that a sharp-seeing and evil-minded eye, by a more perfect inspection, might have discovered that the clothing of this gentleman was worn threadbare with the brush; that the nap of his hat was carefully brushed over the bare edges, and that his gloves were darned in several places. In fact, could they but have seen down to the bottom of the carriage, they might have remarked that one of his boots—that on the left foot—was burst open, and that he had blackened with ink the grey stocking that lay under it; but with so much art were all the marks of poverty concealed, with such an affectation of wealth, with such a noble pride were these clothes worn, that most men must infallibly conclude, that if this person did not indeed wear clothes that were quite new, it was only because it did not please him to do so."

Having thus introduced the hero of the tale to our fair readers, we shall proceed to give a short sketch of the story, the development of which is very skilfully brought about by this drive from the chateau of Mynheer Von Vlierbeke (the impoverished gentleman) into Antwerp; his business there being to make the attempt to procure an advance of a small sum from his attorney on his already too deeply encumbered property. We need hardly inform our readers that the sharp attorney resists all the entreaties of his former patron, though the latter explains to him that the happiness of his only child, his tenderly-loved daughter, is at stake. There is a certain Mynheer Denecker, a rich merchant, whose country-house lies near to that of Mynheer Von Vlierbeke, and who being an old bachelor has adopted his nephew and partner. This young man is of a noble and generous character, with which his handsome person coincides; and as the two families attend the same church, a sort of intimacy has grown up between them, in spite of the noble descent of Von Vlierbeke and the bourgeoisie extraction of the merchant. With the young people, whose ages, pursuits and dispositions entirely sympathise, this casual acquaintance has induced an ardent passion for each other. This has not escaped the penetrating mind of Von Vlierbeke, who is ever alive to all that concerns the happiness of his beloved Lenora, whose character is too open and unsophisticated to possess either the wish or the power to conceal anything from so affectionate and indulgent a father. He, on his part, seeing that his daughter's affections are engaged to a youth every way worthy of her, and who will have the means of rendering her life happy; while if he himself should die before she is

settled in life, she would be cast upon the world friendless and houseless, determines to sink his pride of ancestry, and to promote by all the means in his power the marriage of Lenora with Gustaf, the rich merchant's gentlemanly and accomplished nephew. To this end he proposes to invite the uncle and nephew to his house and table; but knowing that the Heer Denecker is somewhat of a *bon vivant*, he is anxious to give him a suitable reception. But how to accomplish this very desirable end is the puzzle; all his ready cash is reduced to the sum total of two francs. It is this which causes the visit to the attorney, with the result of which we have already acquainted the reader.

"Dizzied with the humiliating blow that had fallen upon him; quite unconscious of himself; dying with shame; with his head sunk on his breast, and his eyes bent on the ground, the unhappy gentleman hurried along for some time through the streets of the city, without knowing where he was. At length the feeling of his necessities slowly roused him from his feverish dream; he directed his steps to the Burgerhout gate, through which he passed, and strode along upon the ramparts, until he found himself entirely alone in a solitary place. Standing still there, he appeared again to be given up to a horrible, internal struggle; his lips moved rapidly; on his countenance was depicted a varying expression of pain, hope, doubt and shame. Meanwhile he drew the gold snuff-box from his pocket, gazed with bitter sorrow on the noble arms which were engraven upon it, stood buried in despairing thoughts, and then aroused himself as one who had adopted a fixed resolution. At length he said, with a quiet voice, which however trembled with agitation, while he held the snuff-box fast, and with a penknife scratched off the coat of arms, 'Keepsake of my good mother! guardian angel, which has so long concealed my poverty! holy shield, which I could raise for my defence when any one would pry into my poverty—thou eternal memorial of my forefathers—I must bid you also farewell: I must deface you with my own hand. May this last help afforded me by you preserve us from greater humiliation!' A tear rolled down over his cheeks; his voice became inaudible. However, he went on with his unaccustomed labour, and scratched with the knife upon the box, until the coat of arms was become altogether invisible. He then left the place, and returned into the city, where he crossed through almost all the small and lonely streets, and with fearful and sidelong looks glanced at all the sign-boards."

The snuff-box of course is sold, and the needful provision for the entertainment of the expected guests is made. It is now time that we should introduce the heroine of the tale; and here we may observe, that the author is particularly happy in his delineations of female character, which we

are inclined to attribute to the simple and unsophisticated manners of the Flemings; who are probably less changed than any other nation of Europe since the days of Wilkin Flammock and his true-hearted daughter Rose. Such at least are our own impressions from personal observation, and such will be the impression upon the minds of all who peruse the works of our author. The second chapter opens with a description of the *Grinselhof*, the hereditary dwelling of the impoverished nobleman; the picture is that of a little paradise, solitary and neglected,

“And still where many a garden flower grows wild.”

“At the Grinselhof all is dull; a dead stillness weighs like a tombstone upon the solitary dwelling; the birds are silent, the wind at rest; not a leaf is stirred. . . . But all at once the leaves rustle; . . . they open! a young maiden, entirely clothed in white, springs out from between the hazels; with a silken clap-net in her hand she darts along after a butterfly. She skips and runs swifter than a hind; with her slender form stretched forward, her delicate arms upraised, scarce touching the ground with the point of her foot, she seems winged, and lighter than the birds, who at her approach have flown from their hiding-places. Her loose hair, straying in thick curls, sways around her beautiful throat. See! she takes a mighty spring, and shoots upwards! . . . How lovely and attractive he is, that butterfly which flutters and dances above her head, as if he felt a pleasure in playing with the maiden: his painted wings are sown with eyes of azure, purple and gold. A cry of joy, a sound as of a brilliant song-tone, escapes from the young girl's bosom. She has nearly seized the object of her desire, but she has scarcely touched it with the rim of the net and damaged its wings. The butterfly, although crippled, soared upward out of her reach: she looks sorrowfully after him, till his colours are absorbed in the blue of the heavens. The maiden remains for an instant standing out of breath, and then turns with a slow step into a broader alley of the garden. How beautiful she is! The sun has indeed somewhat embrowned the delicate tint of her complexion; but this makes the bloom on her cheek more permanent, and imprints on her person a charming tone of mental power and bodily health. Beneath her lofty forehead her dark eyes were seen to flash within their long lashes; her finely chiseled mouth displayed a row of glittering pearls, that peeped out between lips which might put to shame an unfolding rose-bud. All these fascinating charms, which adorned that smiling maidenly countenance, are surrounded by a coronet of floating locks, which wave gracefully to and fro on her shoulders, and scarcely at intervals permit her pure swan-like neck to shine through them. She is slender and well-grown in person; the simple white garment, which is confined round her waist by a single waist-ribbon, did not conceal her fine form. Whenever she chanced to draw herself up, and

raised her head to look into the azure heavens, one might easily have been drawn into visions of an ethereal spirit, and imagined this maid to be the fairy of the Grinselhof."

Our limits will not permit us to accompany our author any further in his delineation of the beautiful being, in the description of whose person and movements he seems to revel, and of whom he no doubt had a living model in his mind's eye; yet the heart's utterance of her innocent love-passion breaks out, breaks forth, so naturally in her solitude, that we cannot refrain from indulging our fair readers with the word-picture.

" 'O, heaven, my poor little flowers, I forgot yesterday to water you. You are thirsty; is it not so? Now stand you there pining away and waiting for me, with bowed heads as though ye were about to die!' Then, murmuringly, she added, 'But I have been since yesterday so *distract*, so exhilarated, so full of joy.' Then, casting down her eyes, and restraining herself as if ashamed, she sighed in a soft voice, 'Gustaf!' For a space she remained standing in this position, and forgot her flowers and therewith probably the whole world, that she might be alone with a recalled visionary form. Soon her lips moved, and she softly murmured, 'Always, always his image is before my eyes; at all times his voice follows me. Impossible to fly from the enchantment. God, what has come upon me. The heart throbs in my bosom; at one time the blood bounds glowing through my veins; then again it flows cold and sluggish, or it leaps in wild tumult through my panting bosom. I am terrified; a secret anxiety disquiets my mind and yet my soul rejoices and is lost in inexpressible blessedness.' "

On the day appointed the invited guests arrive, and father and daughter are supremely happy, the one in the fond hope of forwarding his child's happiness, the other, unconscious of his views, but enjoying the society of him she loves, without a thought but of the present moment. The father's satisfaction however does not last long, the curse of poverty is upon him. His elder guest is a jolly toper, and all the wine he has procured, all he could afford, is three bottles of claret. The description of his perplexity is not without a touch of dry humour, though it has far more of pathos in it.

"So far all went on well, each was contented with his companions and with himself; above all, the host was delighted that the farmer's wife and her son so well understood their business, and so well knew how to remove the soiled spoons and plates and to bring them back clean, that it became impossible to remark that the supply of these utensils were limited. Only one observation

began to cause the nobleman a deep uneasiness. He saw with anxiety that Mynheer Denecker, in the pauses of the conversation, emptied one glass of wine after another; the young man followed his example from politeness, or to find an excuse to speak, challenging Lenora incessantly to take another glass of wine with him; and so it fell out that shortly after the meal had begun the bottom of the first bottle was seen. The noble host cast at times furtive glances towards the drop that remained in the bottle, and inwardly shuddered as the merchant emptied his wine-glass. The second bottle was called for, and placed by the servant on the table. Mynheer Van Vlierbeke, to mitigate the thirst of his guest, began by degrees to let the conversation drop; for he had remarked that the merchant could not speak long together without laying hand on the glass. However he found that he had overreached himself; for now the Heer Denecker turned the discourse upon the wine itself, began to laud the noble liquor to the skies, and made known his wonder at the incomprehensible moderation of his noble host. Meanwhile he drank yet more than before, and was, though in less measure, assisted by Gustaf. The anxiety of the nobleman increased with every glass that the merchant carried to his lips; and, albeit that it caused him great annoyance, he restrained himself from giving his guest a reason, and at the least proved unpolite herein from dread of a greater shame. The second bottle was also very soon emptied; the merchant said carelessly to Mynheer Van Vlierbeke, who, with troubled heart, though in outward appearance always gay and smiling, anxiously watched his motions.

" ' See, Heer Van Vlierbeke, the wine is old and excellent. I acknowledge it: but in the matter of drinking it is necessary now and then to change, or the taste goes off. I must believe that you keep a good cellar, if I may be permitted to judge by the first sample. Let us see, order us up a bottle of *Chateau-Margaux*, and then, should we have time, we can close our meeting with a glass of *Hockheimer*. *Champagne* I never drink; it is a poor wine for true connoisseurs.' "

" At the last words of the merchant a sudden paleness overspread the countenance of Mynheer Van Vlierbeke, but to hide the expression of alarm he for a while rubbed his forehead and eyes, with a rapid taxing of his understanding, considering how he yet might deliver himself from his perplexity. When his guest desisted from speaking he uncovered his face; a calm smile was all that could be noticed upon it.

" ' *Chateau-Margaux*,' asked he, ' as you will Heer Denecker.' And, turning to the servant, he said, ' John, a flask of *Chateau-Margaux*; the third bin on the left hand.' "

" The young farmer gazed with open mouth at his master, as though he had been spoken to in an unknown tongue, and muttered some incomprehensible words.

" ' Excuse me,' said the nobleman, rising, ' he'll not find it. One moment! ' "

"He descended the stairs and walked into the kitchen, when he lifted from the floor the third bottle which stood ready, and went into the cellar. Here, being alone, he remained standing and drew breath, while he said to himself, '*Chateau-Margaux! Hockheimer! Champagne!* Nothing in the house but this last bottle of *Bordeaux!* What is to be done? there is no time for thinking. The lot is cast, may God help me!"

"He ascended the stairs and made his appearance with a smile in the dining-room, with the corkscrew in the cork of the solitary bottle. Meanwhile Lenora had caused the glasses to be changed.

"'Full twenty years old is this wine; I hope that it will please you,' said the nobleman, while he filled the glasses, and, trembling, watched aside the effect of his performance on the face of the merchant. This latter had hardly placed his lips to the glass when he drew it back, and cried with a dissatisfied countenance,

"'Here is a misunderstanding; this is the very same wine.'

"With an expression of doubt, the Heer Van Vlierbeke, in like manner, tried the liquor; and said, as if surprised,

"'Indeed! I have forgotten myself. But the bottle is uncorked, so suppose we empty it; we have time enough.'

"'As you please,' answered the merchant, 'on the understanding that you afford me somewhat better help. We must make a little haste.'"

This last bottle is soon emptied, and the poor nobleman is driven to his wits end. We have not space for the whole scene. The uneasiness of the host becomes too evident to be any longer concealed, and he is forced to feign sudden illness to escape from his dreadful dilemma. Luckily, business obliges the merchant to leave punctually at five o'clock, for which hour his carriage was ordered, and Mynheer Van Vlierbeke, left alone with his daughter, once more breathes freely. The young man leaves the Grinselhof more in love than ever, and the usual consequence—a proposal—on his part, is accepted with joy by father and daughter, though not without misgivings on the part of the former as to the view the rich uncle may take of the affair. He, however, candidly lays open to the youth the utterly impoverished condition of himself and daughter. This fact the merchant uncle refuses to give credit to, and persists in the popular persuasion that Mynheer Van Vlierbeke is a miser, who only affects poverty to avoid the duties of hospitality. The scene which occurs when he comes to propose for his nephew is very rich, but too much resembles that at the dinner table for us to give it here, though it certainly excels it both in humour and pathos. It is, however, the turning point of the story, as by proving the Shaksperian adage,

"That the course of true love never did run smooth."

It serves to bring out into strong relief the individual characters of this admirable story. We need hardly inform our fair readers, that the cool-headed Flemish merchant, who has worked hard all his life to gain his position, and who looks upon wealth as the "summum bonum" of this life, cannot see the propriety of his nephew, who is to inherit his wealth and his business, taking to himself a noble pauper to wife. He therefore entirely forbids the connection. Three persons, the father, the daughter, and the lover, are thus reduced to the greatest unhappiness. The parting scene between the lovers is most natural and heart-stirring. The alternation of despair with resolute hope in the youth, the mingling of modest reserve, maidenly delicacy, and ardent compassionate affection in Lenora, present a word-picture far superior in our estimation to anything of the kind in Walter Scott, or indeed anywhere else except in Shakspeare only.

After this follows a most affecting scene between father and daughter, in which Lenora wrings from her father the sad story of their family misfortunes, and first learns the secret of their utter destitution. How his younger brother's imprudent speculations in the funds with his wife's fortune, and subsequent despair, and contemplated suicide, had caused the mortgage of their hereditary estate to save him; their consequent privations ending in the death of Lenora's mother while she was yet a child; and the certainty that they would soon be forced to quit their home, and be driven penniless into the wide world. Meanwhile the merchant uncle, to remove Gustaf from temptation and try to make him forget his passion for Lenora, takes him to Italy, where his business connections enable him to mix the "utile cum dulce;" and while he looks to the main chance to give his nephew the benefit of foreign travel, but

"*Cælum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt,*"

distance makes no change in the young man's affection. And just before Mynheer Von Vlierbeke is "sold up" for the benefit of his creditors, he receives a letter from Gustaf from Rome, declaring that absence has only added new force to his passion for Lenora, and that he would never resign the hope of being united to her, though as yet he had failed in his attempts to gain over his uncle to his mind. Finally, the sale takes place; all is swept away even the portraits of his ancestors. The "Field Marshal" who, at Egmont's side, lost his life for his fatherland at St. Quentin, fetched something more than two francs to a broker. No doubt a similar fate was that of the "Statesman," who, after the battle of Pavia, performed such

important services to the great emperor Charles as his ambassador: and of him, the benefactor of mankind, who had endowed so many houses of God—the prelate who, as priest and as scholar, so manfully stood up for the church of God. And the poor gentleman, and his sorrowing but brave-hearted daughter bid a long farewell to the house of their fathers.

“The sun had now scarce the fourth part of its daily course to run to reach the western horizon. At the Grinselhof a dead stillness had taken the place of the crowd of greedy bargain-seekers; no one is visible in the lonely paths of the garden; the gate is bolted; everything has returned to its wonted quiet. One would say that nothing strange had occurred here. The door of Mynheer Von Vlierbeke’s dwelling is opened: two persons show themselves on the threshold, an aged man and a young girl. They both carry a bundle in their hand, and appear prepared for a journey. It is difficult in these humbly clad individuals to recognize Mynheer Von Vlierbeke and his daughter; notwithstanding it is them indeed, although one would not suspect it. It is evident, that they have striven to banish from their appearance every mark of easy circumstances, and to give themselves an humble exterior. Lenora has on a dark cotton gown; she wears a cap, and a small three-cornered neckerchief; her beautiful curls are invisible, it may be concealed beneath the cap, it may be fallen under the scissors. The poor gentleman wears a frock of coarse cloth, buttoned close up under his chin, and a cap with a deep front under which his face is nearly buried.”

Thus they go forth, accompanied by the tears and blessings of their former dependents—the farmer, his wife and family,—and a very touching picture is drawn of the affectionate devotion of these simple Flemish boers. Their place of exile is imparted to no one, and for a time we lose sight of them altogether. Nevertheless, scarcely had Mynheer Von Vlierbeke been a week absent, before a letter from Italy arrives for him; the postman in vain questions the farmer as to his whereabouts, he applies to the attorney in vain also. Letter after letter arrives, they are consigned to the dead letter office; and no one troubles themselves any farther as to the fate of the poor gentleman, saving always the honest farmer of the Grinselhof, who, on Fridays, makes diligent enquiries of the market people whether they have seen anything of his old master. No one, however, can give him any information. This continues for about four months, when suddenly one morning a handsome travelling chariot stops at the attorney’s door; it is Gustaf. His uncle is dead, and has left him all his wealth; and, what is more, has left the world convinced that money is not all that is worth prizing

in this world ; and the young man has come home full of hope. But we must let him speak for himself ; he is seated in the notary's private room, impatiently waiting to see him, when he bursts forth in this soliloquy :—

“ O, how my heart throbs with impatience ! How sweet is the hope, the certainty that yet even this very day I shall see her again ! That to-day I shall be enabled to bestow on her the reward of her fidelity, the reparation for six months of suffering ; that I, on my knees before her, can exclaim, Lenora, Lenora, my sweet bride, here is the consent to our nuptials ! I bring you riches, love, blessedness. I return with the will and the power to make sweet the old age of your father ; to live with you both in the promised heaven. . . . O, my well-beloved, take me now freely to your arms, receive my kiss. I am your bridegroom ; nought on earth can sever us. . . . Come, come let a single embrace, an eternal band, encircle the father and his children. Ah ! yes, I feel that our souls dissolve together in one mutual gush of feeling, in one mutual desire : to love. Thanks, thanks, O God.” . . .

The appearance of the attorney, however, soon dissipates his dream of happiness, and nearly reduces him again to despair. In vain, however, the worldly-minded lawyer attempts to show him the imprudence of a man of his wealth stooping to marry a houseless pauper. He cuts him short. The attorney then comforts him with the assurance that money judiciously employed will soon enable them to discover the retreat of the fugitives, and himself offers to undertake the quest. Meanwhile, Gustaf agrees with him for the purchase of the Grinselhof from the mortgagee ; and though suffering the heart sickness of deferred hope, and all the unutterable terror of uncertainty as to the fate of the beloved one, he whiles away the time by restoring the old house and garden, as nearly as possible, to its primitive state. He purchases back all the old furniture, restores the family portraits to their former places on the walls, and, adding many modern luxuries and comforts, takes up his residence there, and, with an anxious mind, awaits the result. But the winter passes and spring again smiles upon the Grinselhof, and restores the much loved garden to its beauty ; but still its lovely mistress is wanting, and Gustaf is inconsolable. At length the efforts of the attorney are crowned with success. Gustaf receives a letter from him, orders his travelling carriage, and makes the dust on the Antwerp road fly in clouds.

“ We also go forth in the spirit on our journey to the French city of Nancy, to seek after Mynheer Von Vlierbeke and his daughter. Having arrived there, we traverse many narrow streets

of the so-called ancient city, and at length stop before a small shoemaker's shop. Here it is that we shall meet. Go through the shop, climb the stair . . . higher yet!—now open that little door. The meanest poverty is apparent here, though everything is clean and bright. The curtains of the little beds are snowy white; the well-scoured little stove is rubbed bright with black lead; the floor is after the Flemish fashion, sprinkled with sand. . . . In the open window are stood daisies and violets to blossom in the sun. By them hangs a bird-cage, in which a goldfinch is confined. How still is everything in this little chamber! Not a sigh breaks in upon its tranquil solitude. And, nevertheless, by the open window sat a young woman; but she is so absorbed in her task of sewing on some new linen that no other movement than the quick back and forward motion of her right hand is to be perceived. The dress of the young work-woman is humble in the extreme, nevertheless it is arranged with much taste; all is so pure and so becoming in her, that an atmosphere of freshness and joyousness appears to surround her. Poor Leonora! this then is the lot that was foreordained for you. Your high descent, hidden under the roof-tiles of a workman's dwelling, far from the land of your birth, to seek a place of refuge from ridicule and contempt, to work without looking up, to wrestle against need and indigence, to go bowed down under care and shame, and to feel your heart bleed from the incurable wounds of humiliation and despair. Assuredly want has already spread the sallow tint of decay over your countenance; sorrow has devoured your soul and ravished the lustrous glance from your eyes. Perishing blossoms blighted by silent suffering! Ah! God be praised, it is not so. The heroic blood that flows in your veins has made you strong against fate. More lovely than ever is your angelic countenance. Has the confinement in a narrow space chased the browner tint from your cheeks. By so much the sweeter is the delicate tone of your complexion, by so much the fairer is your noble forehead, by so much the fresher the rose colour on your rounded cheeks. Your dark eye-balls still glisten full of life and fire from beneath their long lashes; your delicate mouth is still charming and adorned with the sweet maidenly smile. Perchance there yet reposes in your heart a rich treasure of courage and hope; perchance there floats a beloved image ever before your sight. It is thus that you imbibe from the fount of memory the strength to strive victoriously against adversity."

But our limits will not permit us to proceed with the beautiful picture of constancy, faith, and filial piety which this chapter presents us with, we must take one glance at the father however.

"Mynheer Von Vlierbeke came into the room, holding a roll of paper in his hand, and with heavy step drew near a chair, into which he, worn out and panting for breath, let himself sink down. Very thin was he become; his eyes seemed to be sunken in their

sockets, his look was wandering, his cheeks blanched, his whole face sunken. One could perceive that a severe illness had exhausted him, and at the same time had broken down in him the strength both of his body and his mind."

It is a pity that we cannot present our fair friends with the scene between the father and daughter; the weak hopelessness of the one, the cheerful and hopeful faith of the other, who has news for her father which promises to add to their few comforts; and they sit down to their humble dinner which Lenora has prepared for his return. But even while they are asking a blessing,

"While the quiet prayer, still softly muttered, arose to God, all at once the sound of voices was heard below stairs. Lenora, seized with a violent trembling, was suddenly disturbed in her prayer. She listened with wide open eyes and outstretched neck to something which appeared unintelligible to her, and, nevertheless, struck her with terror and amazement."

It is Gustaf, who has at length discovered them in their place of concealment, and of course the lovers are made happy, and Mynheer Von Vlierbeke is once more restored to the ancestral *penates*. The author thus concludes:—

"And now, dear readers, I must inform you that I have concealed from you, for certain reasons, the situation and even the veritable name of the old castle of the Heer Von Vlierbeke. Consequently no one of you will be able to conjecture where Gustaf and his sweet helpmate dwell. As to what concerns myself, however, know that I have both seen and spoken with Mr. and Mrs. Denecker; and even frequently with their two dear children, and with Mynheer Von Vlierbeke, the grandfather, have walked about the Grinselhof. There remains ever deeply imprinted on my memory the enchanting picture of domestic happiness, quiet joy, and sweet love, that I there at times gazed upon; when the old gentlemen, seated on a bench in the garden, already endeavoured to make his two playful little angels comprehend something of the powers of nature which are ever active on this earth; and that the little Adeline crept up into his lap to stroke his cheeks, while the restless Isidore, with wild leaps, rode on horseback on his leg; and that Mynheer Denecker and his spouse stood by silently, pressed each other's hand, and with blest enjoyment gazed on the happiness of the grandfather and on the frolic and play of their children."

This picture of domestic bliss, so well described here in words, have been very successfully transferred to his plate by the artist, Ed. Dujardin, by whom the volume is illustrated. There are four illustrations, all really admirable. The figures are little more than outlines, but drawn with such truth and

fidelity, the men so manly, the women so womanly ; so different from the feeble, trashy style of our English book-plates. So immeasurably superior to our illustrations of Dickens and Thackeray ; and, as far as our own taste is concerned, to any we have yet seen of Byron or Walter Scott. There is none of that striving after effect ; all is pure and natural, as in the works of Chodowiecki, and some of the French book-illustrators of the last and earlier part of the present century. We heartily wish we could see the same correctness of outline and fidelity of expression aimed at by our native artists, in their illustrations of our floating literature, instead of the exaggerated caricature-style which is so entirely in vogue at the present time ; and which, disdaining all careful drawing, serves to vitiate rather than to elevate the taste of the rising generation.

De Gierigaerd (the Miser) is a tale of Flemish village life, in which no character is introduced above that of the small farmer and farm labourer. The characters are strongly delineated with a master hand ; the miser is a miser indeed, his whole being absorbed in the endeavour to live without spending ; and thus still to add to his accumulated heaps the rent of the small estate on which he lives. In the house with him resides a niece, who is the humble heroine of the tale, and a manservant, who by a hypocritical affectation of parsimony and self-denial, while he is by nature a spendthrift and a glutton, has entirely won the old man's confidence, and renders the life of the poor maiden wretched by his brutality. We will, however, give the description of the miser's dwelling and its inmates in the author's own words. Thus the scene opens :—

“ It was winter ; the snow lay outspread over nature like the white pall over a maiden's bier ; the wide heath and fields lay slumbering beneath it ; everything slept, . . . but so tranquil was that sleep, so full of the hope of a joyful awakening, that the sight itself of this monotonous absence of all life caused the heart to palpitate with an undefinable enjoyment. And no wonder ! Above, in the clear blue heaven, shone the bright winter sun, which deluged reposing nature with light. Glittering pearls seemed scattered in thousands over the unmeasurable snow-bed, for every little flake reflected the dazzling sun-image, and so joyously shimmered the brightness that arose from this flickering, that it was as though the snow itself was soul-informed with life and brilliance of its own. Nothing in the view spotted the immeasurable whiteness of the fields, for even village and church were hidden as it were under the ample folds of winter's garment ; nothing, save only the sombre foliage of the pine trees, which hove up their dark green tops from out the snow, and stood motionless

there, like wakeful sentinels in the midst of a sleeping camp. Had material nature thus enveloped itself in rest and stillness? Man, however, was putting forth his unreposing and exhausting labours; from out every farm-yard, from out every house in the village, sounds and voices ascended. Here groaned the earth under the blows of the flail, there clacked the impatient clapper of the corn-mill, farther off resounded the sharp rebounding stroke of the flax-break, or the dull plashing of the butter-churn; and above all this, the sweet song of the maiden and the sharp whistle of man, accompanied by the neighing of horses, the lowing of kine, and the clear soft bleating of sheep. An inexpressibly beautiful song of praise which rose up to God, and said to him, that his creatures rejoiced themselves in their labour and thanked him for their lot upon earth. One single house remained amid all these sounds dumb and dismal as a grave. It stood distant some bowshots from the village, and was visibly the remains of an ancient monastery, whereof the greater part had been burned or battered down; for out of the surrounding earth there yet upheaved themselves, here and there, broken masses of thick walls. This dwelling consisted merely of one remaining side of the cloister, of which the gothic windows were rudely built up with squared stones gathered up on the spot; it was with its court-yard entirely enclosed within high walls, supported by projecting buttresses. But this was not all that arrested the steps of the passer by the solitary house, and depressed his mind with melancholy reflections. There reigned over these mysterious remains the sad remnant of former prosperity and might—a tone of decay and annihilation which caused the heart to sink. The ground immediately around it appeared savagely broken up; huge heaps of rubbish and deep hollows rendered it nearly unapproachable. The outer walls of the dwelling were corroded by time and penetrated by long fissures; the buttresses were everywhere tumbling to pieces, and even some of them lay thrown down beside the wall which they should have supported, no where could it be perceived that man's hand had endeavoured to repair the devastation or to retard the dissolution. From the gloomy silence that here reigned, it might have been deemed that the house was uninhabited, had there not been marked upon the snow the beaten path of a man's foot, that led from the door of the dwelling-house in the direction of the village, and a little further on lost itself in the main road. With more attention, there might, among the larger tracks of man, also be recognized the impression of a slender woman's foot. Within that house, under a broad mantlepiece, sat two persons, dull and speechless, with their feet on the hearth, and with their heads drawn in between their shoulders as though the cold had deprived them of all feeling. The one was an old man with grey hair, sunken eyes, and pale, hollow cheeks; his back was bent, and his hands, whenever he moved them, shook and trembled with weakness. The other was a man of about forty years old, and still in the full vigour of life. In the irregularity of

his features there was something strange and incomprehensible, that inspired distrust and aversion. His small grey eyes were deep set under a high forehead and heavy eyebrows, and glittered in their hollow sockets like glowworms in the darkness; his nose, which was broad below, had a visible motion whenever he drew his breath; his mouth was wide, and its fissure extended nearly half across his cheeks; meanwhile, around his thick lips there played a grim smile which testified of gluttony and other ignoble passions. The face of this man thus in its upper half spoke of treachery and cunning—perhaps, indeed, of cleverness; in its lower part, of stupid sensuality. From out this combination of features proceeded a whole, already ugly by its physical confirmation, yet which became still uglier from its moral indications. Everything which in that apartment surrounded those two silent men seemed in harmony with themselves and their dispositions. It was a high vaulted, spacious chamber, barely half lighted by a window high above, which was closed up with thick iron bars, yet through its broken panes of glass it afforded a free passage to wind and rain. An extreme filthiness reigned there; the floor was covered with a thick layer of dirt; long spider-webs dangled in pendant flakes from the arched ceiling down along the walls; in the dark corners lay heaps of all kinds of old rubbish, without form or order, among which might be recognized innumerable worn-out shoes; and whether they hung against the walls or stood upon the mantelshef, the house utensils of every kind were covered with so thick a layer of dust, that it was impossible to doubt that these articles of furniture had remained untouched during a long series of years. Completely as these two men were covered, albeit with filthy and patched, yet with very heavy clothing, the severe cold nevertheless chilled their bosoms; and it was a singular picture of misery to see how they stretched out their feet to the solitary turf that lay smouldering upon the hearth, and how they bent over it with their bodies, so as not to suffer any single ray of warmth to escape up the chimney, without their having exhausted its entire strength. They even caught with their hands the trifling portion of steam which bubbled up from an earthen pot, which stood in the ashes beside the turf. The old man sat motionless, and with his gaze directed in the fire-place. Although the other very seldom stirred, yet the sinister movements of his eyes sufficiently declared that his spirit was busied with important matters; it was as though he awaited with impatience the arousing of the grey-beard, and carefully watched for the slightest expression of his meagre and lifeless countenance. After a few more minutes had gone by, he took up the iron blow-pipe and blew upon the turf until a little blue flame arose from the hearth. The old fellow grasped feverishly at his hand to stop him, and said, in a trembling voice,

“ ‘What—what are you doing, Thys? Leave off. Is the turf not quickly enough burnt up that you must blow it to pieces? Are you cold then?’ ”

" 'Not at all,' answered Thys; 'but the church clock is striking eight, it is time that we had our breakfast.'

" 'What then?'

" 'I thought that good, warm food would do you good, uncle John.'

" 'Warm food weakens the stomach,' muttered the old man, 'and, besides, turf is so terribly dear!'

" Meanwhile, Thys had set the pot upon the table and given a spoon into uncle's hand. The old man stirred and blew into the pot as though he were afraid of burning himself with the food. But although the uncle, with great appetite and an eager smile, appeared to inhale the odoriferous steam of the dish, yet it had not a very savoury look; for it was nothing more than a pond of warm water in which great lumps of black bread lay swimming about. At the first spoonful which he carried to his lips the grey-beard cast an angry look at his companion, and said,

" 'Thys—Thys, I can't think why you are always for so much salt.'

" 'Barely five grains, uncle John.'

" 'And what do I see here? Ah! Butter in the broth! alas, in this way you will help to lay me on straw in my old age. Thys—Thys, this is not well done.'

" 'You fret yourself without cause,' answered the other. 'Cecilia, yesterday, warmed her potatoes in the pot, and she melted a great piece of butter in it.'

" 'A great piece!'

" 'I might have washed the pot, and wiped it out.' . . .

" 'No—no, you must not do that.'

" 'And I took good care not to do it: now we still have some of the fat, which in the other case had been altogether thrown away.'

" 'I was wrong, Thys; you are an excellent youth, and should I have anything left when on my death-bed, I will reward you for your care and attachment, be assured.'

" At that instant some one knocked gently at the door, and a timid voice was plainly heard which repeated the *pater noster*.

" 'The wife of John, the mason,' muttered Thys, with a movement of angry uneasiness. 'She has never got anything yet; and every day she makes her appearance here again. What does this obstinacy portend? She seems as though hired to worry me.'

" 'Again,' cried uncle John, 'give! always give! Go, Thys; get up and drive the lazy creature away.'

" The door opened very quietly; a poor meagre woman stepped on the threshold, leading by the hand a little girl who was shivering with cold. She did not speak, but went on with her prayer. Thys had risen up and called out harshly to the woman—

" 'Out of the door; we have nothing to give. This is quite too bold to come into the house—no doubt to see if there is any-

thing lying about to steal. Too lazy to work ; out with you—get out—and be quick about it.’

“ The poor woman turned round with the intention of leaving the inhospitable dwelling ; but Thys, whether out of pure malice, or that the beggar-woman did not go out quickly enough, pushed her and her child so rudely behind that the poor little girl fell head foremost in the snow and began to scream aloud. With flashing eyes and out-pointed finger, the mother said—

“ ‘ God will reward you for that, scoundrel.’

“ But Thys, without paying attention to her threat, flung the door behind her with savage force, and returned with a grim smile to the table. After a whole volley of denunciations against beggars, thieves, and idlers, they again proceeded quietly with their breakfast. The uncle asked—

“ ‘ How do you like the broth, Thys ?’

“ ‘ Oh, delicious, uncle John : and Cecilia, poor thing, misled as she is, calls it dog’s food.’

“ It was to be seen by his eyes that he uttered the name Cecilia with premeditation.

“ ‘ But, Thys, do you not perceive that Cecilia is every day going more and more astray from the right path ?’ asked the grey-beard. ‘ She is becoming gluttonous, fond of fine clothes, and extravagant.’

“ ‘ Do I see it, uncle John ? I seldom speak to you of it, because Cecilia is the darling here. She may do whatever she likes ; eat butter, wear fine clothes, heap on fire, give away money. I feel for you, uncle John, and I tremble when I think what misery for you may yet arise out of your kind affection for her ; but I feel yet more compassion for our poor Cecilia, who is led astray and unintentionally drawn into the evil path.’

“ ‘ How much is there yet left of the butter which you bought last week ?’ asked the uncle, lost in thought.

“ ‘ The half-pound is again all-but gone,’ was the answer.

“ ‘ God ! and must we again in this way expend a silver half-franc on her prodigality ? Oh, God ! oh, God !’

“ ‘ To-morrow, uncle John.’

“ Thys saw with secret pleasure how the old man in despair pressed his hands against his forehead, and the contraction of his limbs ; a peculiar smile shot across his forbidding countenance. He proceeded—

“ ‘ Yes, believe it or not, uncle John, but I say the truth ; Cecilia will be utterly ruined at Mother Ann’s. They give her there all sort of delicacies ; they heap on fire enough to burn down the house, and turn us into ridicule to inspire in her an aversion for us. That Cecilia is always from home, and conducts herself as though money grew on your back, is the fault of the widow ; but the hypocritical wretches understand well what they are about. It is money which they are investing on a life rent, which will return them a thousand per cent.’

“ ‘ Well ; but, Thys, Mother Ann is poor ; at her husband’s

death she could not even pay the church fees ; but she must have a hard-wood coffin made, and have caused four masses to be said ! You talk of money, and extravagance, and investment ; I do not comprehend you.'

" ' See you, uncle John,' answered the other, with well-feigned sorrow, ' I cannot hold my tongue ; it has lain already too long on my conscience. And, besides, the love that I bear to my benefactor commands it of me.'

" ' What is the meaning of these dark words ? You make me tremble.' "

But we cannot afford space for the whole of this spirited dialogue ; our readers will doubtless see the drift of it. The villain, Thys, has discovered, or thinks he has discovered, a growing affection between the miser's lovely niece Cecilia, and the widow's son Bart, who is every way worthy of her. Now Thys's plan has been all along to secure Cecilia for himself, and thus to inherit the old man's hoards as the heiress's husband ; his brutal character however makes him the poor girl's aversion ; his present aim is to persuade the weak old man that such is the object of the generous and unsophisticated Bart and his mother. Thus he goes on exciting the miser's fears and suspicions :—

" ' Good uncle John !' cried Thys, in a compassionate tone, ' your right-thinking and generous heart cannot comprehend such deceit and selfishness. I will speak plainer. Mother Ann is poor ; her son also : you are rich—'

" ' Och, och !' cried the old man with horror, as though he had heard blasphemy. ' Rich ! I rich ! Who taught you such a foul calumny ?'

" ' They call you the rich gripe-all.'

" ' They think, perchance, that I possess a hundred gold florins ?'

" ' Fifty thousand, the widow says.'

" ' Alas, alas !' cried the grey-beard ; ' thus is virtuous poverty calumniated. But Thys, friend, you know better, don't you ; you who share my poverty, and stand by me in my necessity.' "

Having thus excited the old man's anger against Bart and his mother, Thys proceeds to recommend himself as a prudent, careful husband for Cecilia, and ends by bringing round the old miser to his opinion. But he finds it no such easy task to convert Cecilia. His awkward attempts at amiability, and, when these fail, his brutality and violence, are alike unavailing : so we will leave him to his foul machinations, and introduce to our readers Bart and his sister Wanna.

" At a short distance from the gloomy abode of the miser, bordering upon the naked heath, stood a small farmhouse, the clay

walls of which sufficiently betokened that those who dwelt in it belonged to the humblest class of agriculturists. Notwithstanding, however, the poor appearance that this dwelling made; despite the monotonous whiteness which now covered the fields which lay around it; there nevertheless reigned around the lowly dwelling an air of activity and life—even of enjoyment—which imparted to the place the idea of a picture composed by the poetical imagination of an artist. By the side of the well, which brandished its long arms up and down in the air, stood a country maiden, drawing water to wash the roots for the cattle. She had a blooming face, healthy, and glowing like any rose. She was not afraid to plunge her naked arms into the half-frozen water; and sung with a clear voice, so joyous and so high, that her bright warblings produced an irresistible day-dream of the approaching May month. Near the door of the dwelling stood a young peasant, just as healthy-looking as the girl. His fine mild eyes spoke of peace of mind and tenderness of soul; his whole countenance, full of sweet enthusiasm, seemed to laugh at life. There was something in his features and in his bearing so spiritual, so free, and therewith so refined, that he would, among a hundred young peasants of his own age, have been infallibly recognized as the most gifted as regards mind and power of thought. He was busied cleaving sticks of hazel-wood for hoops, and got on briskly with his work. His motions were free; the sticks flew through his hands. He did not even remain an instant without changing the position of his feet; one would have said, that he had a fancy for dancing at his work. And in fact, while his sister at the well sung her merry lay, he unwittingly moved hand and foot in accordance with the measure of her song. A black dog frisked round the youth, leaped playfully at his hands, and barked too by fits, as though he would match his voice against the song. . . . Whether it was that her song was come to an end, or that she was forced to bend too low over the tub of roots, the young girl was silent. The youth flung his cap into the air, caught it again in his hand, and sang in a pleasant style—

‘Kick blue devils from the door,
And fling abroad the apron blue!
Methinks I hear the jolly roar
Of the laughter-loving crew,
Fiddle, drum, and fife too:
‘Way with sorrow, grief and care,
For to-morrow is the fair!’

“ ‘Bart, Bart,’ cried the young girl, laughing, ‘you’ve got on your fool’s cap again; you are enough to kill any one with laughing, with your outlandish staves!’

“ ‘Aye, Wantje,* dear,’ replied the youth, ‘bear with me, though I should begin to cut capers that would frighten you; for I am as blythe as if I had more gold than Cecilia’s uncle.’ ”

* “Wantje,” Little Joan. Wanna is the Flemish form of the Spanish Juana, Johana.

And this is the Bart, that son of the widow, whom Thys has persuaded the miser to regard as a sottish, designing, idle, dissolute vagabond, whose love for Cecilia consists in an affection for the old man's money-bags; "measuring," according to the vulgar adage, Bart's "corn with his own bushel," as the sequel of the story fully demonstrates. There now intervenes a beautiful chapter, in which the angelic character of Cecilia is fully disclosed; and the beggar-woman, the poor widow of John the mason, who proves also to be a relation of the miser's, makes Cecilia acquainted with the true character of the hypocritical villain Thys, who is an old fellow-townsmen, though he does not recognize her. As they take leave of one another

"The poor mother said with emotion to her child, 'Mieken, you dreamt last night of an angel. That now is the angel! . . . And that wicked Thys of the Convent Farm, that is the devil.'" . . .

And so indeed he proves himself, both as tempter and accuser. He endeavours to tempt Cecilia to listen to his suit, by convincing her of the great wealth of her uncle, and his own power of bestowing on her, or depriving her of every chance of possessing any part of it; and in his eagerness to win her over to his views—deceived by her silence, which he mistakes for indecision—he is thrown off his guard, forgets his hypocrisy, and appears before her in his true character. He tells her that her uncle has left him the half of his property, and that the remainder is hers by right of inheritance.

" 'Just see, Cecilia, then we shall have all the money and all the property of uncle John between us two alone! Then shall we be able to satisfy all our desires, and be sir and madam!'

"The silence of the maiden he certainly took for a patient acquiescence; for the tone of his voice betrayed a yet more mocking triumph when he said, 'And we shall not wait much longer, Cecilia. You hear how uncle John every day begins more and more to croak: his lungs are gone. We will make him execute a will, leaving everything to us two. It will be easy now to do so; and as soon as he is dead—we cannot help that—may the Lord receive his soul—but we will hold fast the cash. Then will we, once for all, show them whether we understand life or not.'

"The young girl shuddered yet more at hearing this last mockery. Thys remained silent for awhile, and appeared to be waiting for an answer. As she continued to sit speechless and with her head bent down, he asked, 'Well now, Cecilia, are you still weeping?'

"The maiden slowly arose and stood erect; retired a step or two backward, raised her head proudly, and cast upon Thys a look so

full of disdain, that he sprung up with astonishment. Nevertheless, he did not know what to think or hope, seeing that Cecilia's face betokened rather a sort of joy than sorrow. 'Well now, well now, what do you say?' asked he in an agitated manner.

" 'Liar!' said the maiden contemptuously.

" 'How! what is this?' cried Thys in astonishment.

" 'Me your wife!' proceeded the young girl, with proud decision. 'I help you to mock at my uncle, even after his death—to rob widows and orphans of their inheritance! Were I otherwise to be buried alive, on the edge of the pit I would yet say, No!'

" Speechless and struck down, Thys gazed upon the haughty maiden, who all at once stood so self-possessed before him, that his eyes fell before her gaze.

" 'You thought I was all the while weeping under my apron,' said she. 'It was not so. I have seen your heart disclosing itself, and I put up a prayer and gave God thanks that he permitted you to be seen in your true colours. Now I know you!'

Poor Cecilia, however, cannot persuade the infatuated miser of Thys's true character, and she suffers the most horrible persecution from the villain. She is forbidden to visit her kind neighbours at the Little Chapel Farm, and poor Bart is driven to despair, by the news that Cecilia is to be married to Thys: he is become a mere shadow of his former self. At length Thys, seeing that neither threats, or even blows, can make any impression on Cecilia, contrives to make the infatuated miser turn her out of doors. He has now, as he supposes, the game entirely in his own hands; but there is an eye that watches him continually, and which sees, though he little thinks so, through all his evil machinations. It is that of poor Kate, the widow of John the mason, who devotes herself, with all the zeal which love and gratitude can awaken, to the task of circumventing him at all hazards. Cecilia meanwhile finds a home at the Little Chapel Farm, and Bart, restored to her presence, recovers health and strength, and again sings at his work. Thys, meanwhile, has it all his own way at the Cloister Farm. The miser has fallen sick, and is confined to his room. Thys fares sumptuously every day, and encourages the old man in his self-starvation that he may the sooner get rid of him. The process, however, is too slow for him. He is afraid too that if he is thus left entirely alone with the uncle, his evil intentions may be suspected, and means found to circumvent him. He is determined therefore to have at least the appearance of carefulness for the old man, and to that end, a female attendant in the house; but where is he to obtain one? A lucky thought, or rather his evil genius, points to John

the mason's widow; and thus opens the door of the Cloister Farm to her, whose only wish on earth it has, for some time past, been to find an entrance there. He seeks her cabin, and makes a bargain with her.

"The widow looked after him awhile, and said with a mocking laugh, 'Ah, ah, the false devil! He thinks that I have sold my soul to him—sold it for idle promises! What can be going on at the Cloister Farm, that he should need an accomplice? So, I am to help him to betray Cecilia, that angel of goodness, and to rob her of her inheritance. Who does the hypocritical Judas think, indeed, that I am? . . . Now I have him fast, the scoundrel. It was the righteous God that inspired him with the thought. It was just me that he ought to have.'

"She remained awhile sunk in deliberation, during which the smile of derision forsook her countenance to give place to a sweeter expression. With a noble joy in her eyes she spoke: 'Restore to Cecilia her inheritance, and the love of her uncle! Her and Bart, my kind benefactors, reward for their compassion; punish the traitor; fight against the evil, and conquer. . . Ah, that would be beautiful! Therefore pray to God for understanding, that he may permit the poor widow to triumph over villainy.' She left the cabin, and stepped into a footpath. Then first she bethought her of the piece of money that Thys had placed in her hand. She gazed on it awhile with a bitter smile, flung it then over the trees far away, and rubbed her hand clean on her apron, as though she considered that the coin had left a stain upon it."

The widow has only been three days backwards and forwards at the Cloister Farm, when Thys requests her, after putting her child to bed, to return again at night, as the old man was very ill. She complies, and sits up alone by the fire; for she is never permitted to see the old gentleman. And though Thys has spoken her fair, and completely deceived her by giving her meat to roast and potatoes to boil for the sick man's dinner, as he said—but all of which he carried to his own room and devoured in secret, giving the suffering miser nothing but weakening and disgusting messes and dry crusts of black bread, from which he could extract small nourishment. We hasten to the catastrophe.

"It strikes midnight from the tower of the village church; the solemn tones of the clock sound plaintive on the night air, and die away one by one, till all again sinks into dead silence. In the chamber of uncle John burns a small blinking lamp, whose red flame smokes and flickers sadly. The room is not lighted into its corners; it has something of the mysterious and horrible. The walls are not discernible, and give the idea of a space without limits, endless and boundless as eternity. Barely a portion of the bed, and of the table which stands beside it, receive the blood-red light of

the lamp. The aged man is lying on his side, with his face turned toward the table. He appears to be sleeping, yet he opens from time to time his eyes mechanically, to close them again in unconsciousness. His countenance is dreadful; nothing remains as a covering to his angular scull but a tawny transparent skin, which appears stretched tight over the bone; his eyes are glazed and lifeless, his lips colourless. But the light of the red flame flickers over his face: it is like the grave-lamp which lets fall its last gleam on the pale cheeks of a corpse."

Thys is seated by the table, and has fallen asleep; the light falls also on his countenance, which is disturbed with dreams of avarice and cruelty. The miser in his restlessness raises his head, and is struck with horror at the expression of the face. Presently Thys speaks in his sleep. He says—

"‘A cellar—a hundred thousand guilders—the old gripe—all—I will give you much, much! To-morrow, to-morrow he is dead. Away with the meat, he shall have something else—water, bread—he won't die—hunger shall help him—I've got a will—patience, he's going, he's going, he groans, he dies. Ah, ah, all his cash for me!’ A fearful shriek burst from the bosom of the grey-beard. Thys shook off his sleep, sprung trembling to his feet, rubbed his eyes, and stared with amazement on the sick man, who was now calling out for help with all his might, and filling the chamber with shrieks of distress. As soon as Thys had reassured himself that he had nothing to fear from without, he comprehended the origin of the grey-beard's terror, and conjectured from his own agitation that he had most likely spoken in his dream. ‘Well now, uncle John,’ said he, ‘how long is this to last? Make a noise, call and shriek; it is useless; no one can hear you.’ But the old man, yet more terrified by the expression of his countenance, renewed his cries with despairing shrieks for help. It appeared, that the fear of death had doubled his strength: his movements were now strong, and his voice clear and far reaching.

"‘Silence,’ cried Thys, as he raised his fist in uncle John's face, threatening to strike him. ‘Silence, or I'll smash the voice in your mouth. Only let me hear you again!’ said he threateningly. ‘Am I at last to know what wasp it was that stung you? I dreamed perchance? Are you senseless, that you make such a stir about it? You had better try to sleep; that will do you more good than these foolish noises.’

"The grey-beard's anger was yet more inflamed by these words. ‘You serpent!’ he cried out. ‘Ah, you suffer me here to die of hunger like a dog. I live too long. Bread and water must kill me, slowly, from hunger. You would have my money, therefore I must die. Murderer!’ Thys gazed on the enraged elder with astonishment, and appeared to tremble at the certainty that his treachery was entirely unveiled. ‘But,’ proceeded uncle John, ‘it shall escape you! You supposed that I should die to-night. Nay,

nay, God will yet vouchsafe me the strength to punish you, villain. To-morrow—to-morrow I annul my will. You shall have nothing, you! nothing but my curse! To-morrow I will send for Cecilia, and the notary, and witnesses, and gens d'armes to take you to prison. I will accuse you; have you punished. . . . Ah, you thought that I was dead! You shall see.'

" 'Ah, ah,' laughed Thys with bitter spite; 'nobody will hear you. . . . I can but laugh at your want of sense. You really then believed that I have lived here ten years like a slave; that I during ten years have cringed to you like a dog—out of love for you. You think that for ten long years I have fed on filth and pig's meat—for amusement. You think that I have wasted the ten best years of my life in gloomy solitude—because I did not love life. You think that I have dissembled, betrayed, calumniated, and what you will besides, without an aim, and without hope of reward. You considered me thus more simple and stupid than a child. Nay, nay, since that to you I have sacrificed my wishes, my pleasure, my life, my soul—you shall pay for it. Weigh them against gold, and pay!'

" 'Nothing, nothing!' murmured the sick man sharply. . . .

" 'Nothing! You forget then that you are here in my power, as though we were standing together in a wilderness? That no one can see how I exact my payment? You name me villain, you call me murderer. You do not then believe your own words, that you provoke the lion who can tear you to pieces; who may devour you if you do not satisfy his hunger. I hunger for your money, uncle John; satisfy me, or—' At these words he cast such flashing, such wolf-like eyes on the grey-beard, that the latter, with renewed shrieks, flung himself backward on the bed. 'Satisfy me, satisfy me!' cried Thys, quite beside himself, and with his teeth gnashing against each other as though he were prepared to perpetrate a murder.

" 'O God, help!' called out the sick man, stretching out his trembling hands. 'Thys, Thys, what do you want?'

" 'Your keys I want,' growled Thys; 'your keys!'

" The old man did not answer; but the request of Thys seemed to inspire him with a still greater terror than his threats. He clutched with feverish movements under the bed-clothes, and remained lying thus, with rigid limbs, as prepared to resist an attack.

" 'Ah, ah!' cried Thys, 'I know it well; you would rather give me your soul than the keys; but I will have them; I must have them, though, should your hand continue to cleave to them, I tear it from your body along with them! Here! here!' and he threw himself on the sick grey-beard. . . . 'Ah, you will not pay me! you are still alive! There, there! let the dead pay me, then!'

" He sprung like a wild beast upon the bed, doubled himself over the sick man, placed his two elbows on his chest, and strove to crush in his breast. A horrible throttling noise ascended from the bed; the limbs of the grey-beard stretched themselves out with

a shudder and fell relaxed. Thys clutched the keys, and snapt with a single tug the cord with which they were fastened round the neck of uncle John. He descended slowly from the bed. There now he stood, with one hand leaning on the table, and trembling with terror and with exhaustion, so that his shaking was audible on the floor. His eye was fastened on the motionless corpse; cold sweat dropped from his forehead and cheeks. . . . Then he took hold of the lamp mechanically, and with a slow movement he approached the door of the room and opened it."

Here surprise and terror awaits him: he finds the widow outside the door; he doubts that she may have heard all, or seen it through the keyhole. He is tempted to dash her brains out with the massive keys; but she manages to appease him, and he sends her into the room to see if uncle John, who he tells her has been seized with apoplexy, is dead or alive. He now unlocks the first massive door, and staggers along a dark gallery, which leads from one end of the building to the other; his lamp just affording light enough to "make the darkness visible." At length he arrives at the iron-plated door of the miser's treasure cellar. With some labour he opens and descends into it. At first he finds nothing but some bags of copper coin, which he pours on the floor with contempt and vexation, and exclaims—

" 'Some pounds of copper! Was this then to be the price of ten years' slavery and want? The price of a murder! the price of my soul! Oh, uncle John, the deceiver, the hypocrite, the thief! he has deceived me—robbed me. This then is that long-expected good fortune! Riches, luxury, greatness—a heap of coppers. Curses on him! Yet I have murdered him. Did he not deserve it? Ah, I should have cut him in pieces, slowly, with great agony—the traitor! ' "

At length, however, he finds the real hoard, the gold—gold in abundance! and after feasting his eyes upon it till his lamp is nearly extinguished, he seeks the cellar door and endeavours to open it; but in vain.

"Thys began to tremble; an icy cold thrill crept over his limbs. Nevertheless, he dared not give credence to his fears or his suspicions, and made forcible efforts to open the door. He turned and wrung the key; he bent himself against the door, and used all his force to lift it with his back off the hinges. In these endeavours the sweat ran down from his forehead. Nothing availed, nothing gave him any hope. At length, fatigued and his strength quite exhausted, he remained like one annihilated standing before the door, and said, as his head sunk despairingly upon his breast, 'Horrible! bolted on the outside. No, no, it cannot be—I deceive myself. Who should have done it? Kate! and her inhe-

ritance! Heaven, the light is going out! The lamp—the lamp is out! Quick! yet one trial more.’”

It is all in vain. He rushes like a madman about the dark cellar, tears the hair out of his head, curses and blasphemes; calls out to the widow by name through the key-hole, and at length sinks down on the stone.

“‘Then this is the end,’ muttered he in a sombre tone; ‘the end of my striving! I have made myself a devil to get gold. I have murdered a man! And now—now I sit here in a dark pit—no one can hear me! Perhaps—perhaps I shall die here; die of hunger. Horrible! Can God have purposely so ordained it? Yet it is so, that Uncle John was to have died by hunger. Die—die in the midst of gold! Groan and expire on heaps of money! To possess the means to enjoy on earth happiness, power and enjoyment, and to die like a dog, and to go to hell to burn to eternity, and to be cursed and reviled as a villain too stupid to succeed in his evil doings. Curses on it!’ This last word rolled like an ugly growl through the cellar, and no sound after this broke the silence. Some time after sighs and sobs floated through the darkness, as of one who is suffering and sheds tears. Already Thys had been long seated on the stone; yet more than once had he got up and returned again to his original seat, when he all at once saw a ray of light upon the wall, which appeared to descend through the key-hole into the cellar. He sprang up with a cry of joy; ran to the top of the stairs; and there, with his mouth against the lock, he called out, trembling with hope and joy, ‘Kate, Kate, dear, is it you?’

“‘It is I, indeed,’ was answered him.

“‘Ah, Kate, just see what there is across against the door outside: it will not open.’

“‘I quite believe you; I have barred it with the iron cross-bar,’ was the sound returned to him.

“‘How—wherefore? Kate—Kate, love, do not jest; for God’s sake, open it!’

“‘So you hope it,’ said the voice. ‘I have caught a venomous beast in a trap, and I am to open the trap that he may bite me and others! Arouse yourself to repentance, Thys; it is all up with you. God and poor Kate have at last found you out!’

“Thys penetrated the intention of the mendicant, and shivered with fear. With a trembling voice he cried, ‘Kate, I have here a bag full of golden money. It is for you.’

“‘I want no stolen money.’

“‘Two bags full of gold, Kate. Oh, open it, open it!’ He received no answer; and proceeded: ‘Kate, four bags for you! Hear, hear; it is entirely gold.’ And he let a handful of money fall upon the steps, in the hope that the jingle of it might entice the poor woman. ‘Kate,’ entreated he also, ‘I’ll marry you;’ we shall have

it all between us two. There is such a lot of it; oh, such a lot!"

"Thief, murderer, coward!" was the harsh reply.

"Ah, Kate," said Thys, in a piteous tone, "I kneel here in the dark upon my knees; I raise my trembling hands to you for help. Have compassion upon me! be merciful! Open the door; I will love you, will thank you, my life long."

"I have compassion on you!" answered Kate.

"Ah," cried Thys, hopefully, "I well knew that you would release me."

"I have compassion on you!" resumed the woman mockingly. "Compassion—exactly such as you have had for Cecilia; I am merciful to you just as you showed mercy towards Uncle John, your benefactor. But that is not what brought me here, Thys; I wanted to show you something. Look through the keyhole, what I have in my hands; see what I do." Thys placed his eye against the lock; and as the light was on the outside, he could pretty well notice what the mendicant was about. The latter unfolded a paper and said, "Do you see it? You murdered the sick old man, because you had his will, which was to constitute you the heir of all his possessions. He did not die quickly enough. You yet think that no one can deprive you of the inheritance. In your room, in the bottom drawer of the chest, lay that will. Kate is poor, but she can read for all that. Listen attentively." She read word by word, and with a clear voice, "I declare that I appoint for my universal heir Carolus Dominicus Thys, . . . and this is my last will—"

"My will, my will!" howled Thys in despair.

"Just look now what I am doing," proceeded the beggar-woman.

"Heavens, heavens!" cried Thys, "she is tearing it in bits! My hope, my life! You are murdering me, Kate!" He remarked by a movement of the light, that the woman was going away. He made yet one last effort, and called out in broken accents, "Kate, Kate, ah, don't go away. Open it, open it! Will you thus let me die of hunger in this horrible dungeon!"

"It would be a righteous punishment of God," answered the mendicant, "if you were to die as you would have made Uncle John to die; but such a death is too sweet for you. They will soon come and release you. I have been to the burgomaster—the jail shall have you. On the scaffold shall you suffer—on the scaffold leave your head, and as a murderer shall you appear before God, who knows what a hellish villain you are!"

"Thys stood behind the door as if petrified, and saw, shuddering, through the keyhole, how Kate with the light receded further and further. When the last gleam of the lamp disappeared from his sight a fearful shriek burst from his bosom; he fell inwards like a lifeless corpse; his body rolled from the top of the stairs down upon the floor of the cellar."

The rest of the story is soon told and easily divined. One

thing however will surprise the reader: the miser is not dead; he recovers, and

“All goes merry as a marriage bell;”

the marriage bell of Bart and Cecilia; of the blooming Wanna and her young gardener; and strict poetical justice is dispensed to all the *dramatis personæ*. “Villainy alone suffers; he sits in prison, and must there stay till God shall call him before his judgment-seat.” This volume too is illustrated with four admirable designs by Dujardin. The first represents the miser and his dependant Thys; the countenances, especially that of the parasite, are admirably significant, and the *pose* of the figures artistically fine. The second is a finely composed picture, in which is introduced all the other active personages of the story. The widow (Moeder Ann), her son and daughter, and Cecilia, are seated at table with a dish of baked potatoes before them. Poor Kate and her little one, whom the brutal Thys has just expelled from the door, are introduced and welcomed. Cecilia has just seated the shivering child by her side; she is very Raphaellesque, and Bart and his sister are fine creatures. The third represents the meeting of Bart and Cecilia, when the latter has been driven by Thys from the miser’s dwelling. The two simple figures are full of graceful expression. Bart’s countenance expresses the most tender solicitude: he points to his mother’s cottage. There is an air of sorrowful relaxation about the figure of the desolate and undecided maiden, as she leans weeping on his shoulder, that is very touching. The last represents Thys locked in the treasure vault; and this is certainly the most masterly of the whole; he is seated on the cellar stairs, hugging the miser’s money-bags, his lamp just dying out. One of the bags he has opened, and the gold pieces are pouring out and rolling down the steps; but it is the expression of the countenance, or rather, we should say, of the whole figure—the *melange* of sordid avarice and craven fear—which forms the excellence of the picture. But we must leave the miser, and hasten to give a very brief notice of the two remaining works which appear at the head of this article.

No. 3 is the “Adventures of Count Hugo of Craenhove, and of his friend Abulfaragus;” and is literally, what the title-page announces it to be, a historical picture drawn from the 14th century. Thus it opens:—

“About the year 1360 there yet lay between the villages of Wyneghem and Santhoven, at three hours’ journey from Antwerp,

a waste and gloomy forest. The oak, the northern wood-god, shot up its haughty crown towards heaven; the faithful ivy clomb and dangled in love-garlands around its rough stem; while the odoriferous bouquets of the honeysuckle adorned its broad foot as with a golden garment. Children of the same mother, grew there in like manner the beech with its shining leaves, the birch with its silver stem, the shaking poplars, and the tender willow, which with its pendant boughs, like a sorrowing maiden, bent itself over the water-pools."

On an open heath that stretches from this wood to the horizon are seen two shepherds, an old man and a very young one. The old shepherd takes a book from his scrip and opens it; the young one is much agitated, and says with a sigh—

" 'You know how to read, Albrecht. It is in that book that you have learnt how the wind is to be changed; how good and bad weather may be made; how cattle are bewitched and disenchanted. . . . Oh, I would give twenty of the best years of my life to understand the characters as you do.' "

After some conversation, the youth, who is a stranger lately come into those parts, relates his adventures to the old man, by which it appears that he is of noble birth; his father having been one of the poor but warlike nobles who followed the Duke of Brabant, John the Victorious, in his wars against the Flemings, and he is left with his mother. The castle suffers the fate of Glenhoulaken, and he, like Quentin Durward, is cast upon the world fatherless and motherless; his father having died of wounds received at the storming of Brussels, and his mother having been burnt to ashes when the retreating Flemings surprised his ancestral castle near Grimberge. He was rescued from this burning castle by one of his father's tenants, and ten days after is adopted by the noble knight Count Arnold van Craenhove, an ancient friend of his father, who takes him to his castle, called the Lanteerenhof; clothes him as noble pages were wont to be clothed in those days, and instals him as playmate for his infant sister. This Count Arnold is a gloomy man;

"Melancholy has marked him for her own."

"His voice was hoarse and sad; his smile forced and painful. . . . After some moments of silence he rose from his seat, took me, without saying a word, by the hand, and led me through two or three spacious rooms into a beautiful chamber, in which a little girl of about seven years old, my own age, was sitting by the window, and with a wearied air was gazing out. As soon as we saw each other a mutual smile lighted up our features with joy. Meanwhile Count Arnold said, in his hollow voice, 'Alice, my sister, I bring

you a play-fellow—a brother. Now you will no longer grieve, will you? Enjoy yourselves with each other.’ And with this injunction he left me standing and went away.

“Abashed, and not daring to venture a step in advance, I cast my eyes on the ground; but the young lady came running up impatiently to me; took me by both hands; pulled me forward toward the window, asking in a careless, yet friendly tone, ‘What is your name? Where do you come from? Will you always stay here? What pretty fair hair you have, Bernhart! it is like silver thread.’

“I who had also unconsciously fixed my eyes on her countenance, answered, ‘Not so pretty as your fair hair, Alice, which is like the gold that is woven into your samaar.’

“She smiled, and appeared quite delighted with my politeness, and said, ‘What pretty, pretty blue eyes you have, Bernhart; they are like the heavens.’

“‘Not so pretty as your bright eyes, Alice, which are bluer than the shimmering satin of my garment.’

“‘What pretty lips, and what blooming cheeks you have got, Bernhart. They are like the rose-red feathers in your hat.’

“‘Oh, not so pretty as yours, Alice; they are like the coral round your neck.’

“Alice appeared to find a great pleasure in this word-encounter; nevertheless, she jumped up with a sudden spring, dragged me from my seat, and said, ‘Bernhart, you will always stay with me, will you not? You must never go away—do you hear? Otherwise I shall be so sad alone—so forsaken! You will always stay, wont you? You will be my brother, and we shall always, always play together.’”

Young Bernhart is delighted and enchanted with his new sister, who in her turn bestows her affection unreservedly on him, and the two children are supremely happy in each other’s society. The picture of their childish happiness is very naturally and very touchingly delineated. There is however an alloy to his felicity. Young Bernhart’s *Bubbly-jock* is the philosopher and astrologer, the sole confidante and companion of his deliverer, Count Arnold of Craenhove, who never makes his appearance, and never suffers any one, but that one extraordinary and mysterious man, to enter his apartment. Bernhart thus describes him to the old shepherd:—

“Did you ever remark, Albrect, that an owl has yellow and dull eyes? Such were his. Look at your dog, with the rough hair standing straight up on his back, like the leaves of the pine-trees. So was his hair. Your book is enclosed between two small oaken boards, brown and dirty. Such was his face. Have you ever seen how a fox, who has fallen into a snare, grins at the huntsman and tries to bite him? Such was his sweetest smile. Falconers

also visit these parts sometimes—you have probably seen a falcon ? Like the claws of the bird of prey were his hands, with long, bony fingers and crooked nails. Did a blasphemy ever resound in your ears, Albrect ? So sounded his name : he was called Abulfaragus !”

In spite, however, of his dread of the gloomy astrologer, the young Bernhart finds his life a very agreeable one. He thus describes his appreciation of it :—

“ You know, Albrect, that to the unfortunate time is lame and crippled ; while for those who drink from the full cup of joy, time flies with stronger wings than the eagle. Thus I had completed my thirteenth year, without having reckoned a single day : still so pure had our fraternal love continued.”

Meanwhile, from Alice, and from chance words dropped by the servants, he has gained some insight concerning the cause of his patron’s melancholy. It comes out that, about two years previous to his arrival at the Lanteernenhof, Count Arnold dwelt there with his elder brother Hugo, then of course the titular Count of Craenhove. These two brothers, however, lived together in such perfect love, and with such a desire never to be separated, that they resolved never to marry, nor even to form an acquaintance with any lady, lest they should be tempted to break their resolution. Unfortunately, however, for their vow, an irresistible French countess comes to a neighbouring estate, and both the brothers are tempted to visit her : this, however, seemed no way to interfere with their brotherly affection. Misfortune, however, fell on them.

“ On a certain day, toward the fall of evening, the younger brother, Arnold, rode from the castle, and took the path that led to the country house of the Countess de Merampré. A short time afterwards his brother Hugo, accompanied by Abulfaragus, rode in the same direction. That night the lords of Craenhove remained long, very long absent. Already had sleep began to overtake the wakeful sentinels, when all at once before the drawbridge arose a shrill cry as from a bird of prey : the watch recognized the voice of Abulfaragus. The bridge was lowered, and the gate opened. Without looking at or speaking to any one, the old soothsayer hastened to that side of the castle where lay the sleeping-rooms of the lords of Craenhove. He came back in great haste, laden with a heavy travelling bag ; caused the drawbridge to be again lowered, and vanished in the darkness. You may conceive how anxiously and curiously the wakers waited for the solution of the enigma of these strange proceedings. While thus they were imparting one to another their thoughts and conjectures on the subject, they heard once again the screech of Abulfaragus, and let him in. This time the soothsayer spake : he related, namely, in the fewest pos-

sible words, that the lords of Craenhove had been assailed by banditti, and had both been slain; that their yet bleeding bodies lay in the road, and that he had now come for help to carry them home to the castle. The dumb-struck servants obeyed with streaming eyes: speechless they followed the cold impassive Abulfaragus. After having proceeded for a quarter of an hour, they came to a cross-road, and found Sir Arnold lying senseless in his blood; but though they sought well and long they found not the body of Count Hugo; not even so much as the bloody spot where he had lain. Arnold's horse was grazing peaceably beside his master, but Hugo's horse was never more seen. What Abulfaragus had done with the travelling bag no one had ventured to ask him."

The blissful years of Bernhart's youth were now however to have an end. The fearful Abulfaragus seems to dog his footsteps like his evil genius; and at length, after causing him many mortifications, which it would take us too long to enumerate, but among which is the astrologer's undertaking the education of Alice, he is at his suggestion driven from the castle, poor and destitute as he was when brought there. Abulfaragus, however, convinces him, before suffering him to depart, that he is neither his enemy nor the evil being that he supposed. He shows him that it is the will of Heaven that he must thus leave; but that he will sooner or later return to the Lanteernenhof and to happiness. Thus driven from Alice, but feeling sure that he shall one day be reunited to her, Bernhart's great desire is to learn to read: this he feels partly to arise from his love to Alice, who takes such a lively interest in tales of chivalry and feats of arms; but still this does not entirely account for the mysterious thirst for knowledge which consumes him. Bernhart having thus finished his story, the old shepherd offers various suggestions as to the mysterious characters of the principal personages. Evening is however drawing in, and they separate to collect their flocks.

"While Bernhart was busy herewith, the old herdsman came with stealthy step behind him, and said with a suppressed voice in his ear, 'Bernhart, have you ever seen the weirwolf?'"

"The youth shuddered, and turned his head anxiously towards all the boundaries of the common: he then answered, 'No; why do you ask that?'"

"'Look silently round along the border of the wood, you will see him.'"

"Bernhart remarked indeed a dark shadowy human form, which slowly and circumspectly appeared to glide along the thicket. 'Ha!' sighed he, 'that is the weirwolf of whom people talk so much. I thought it was a ravenous beast; and see it appears afar off to be a man. What then is a weirwolf?'"

“ ‘Do you not know, Bernhart? A wierwolf is a man who, on account of some deadly sin, is doomed by God all night in the form of a wolf to roam about, without pause or rest. Such wierwolves fly from the villages and substantial dwellings, fearing that the doors and windows of rooms should be fastened on them; when, should this happen, and the wolf-hour come, they would beat their heads to pieces against the walls or chests, and of a certainty perish that very night.’ . . . During this explanation Bernhart had never turned his curious eyes from the wierwolf; and as the latter with each step approached more nearly to the herdsman, they were soon enabled better to discern his form. He appeared a man of uncommonly lofty stature, and was clothed from head to foot in hair-cloth, which wonderfully resembled the hide of a beast. In his right hand he held a branch of a tree, and leaned deep bent thereon as on a staff; his left arm he held close to his body, as though carrying something under it. Without doubt that object had attracted the attention of Bernhart; for all at once he cried out, ‘What is he holding under his arm? Is it not a book?’

“ ‘I cannot see it well,’ remarked old Albrect. Soon after, however, he added, ‘It certainly is a book four times as large as mine!’

“ Bernhart fell into a deep musing, and sighed out in a peculiar tone, ‘The wierwolf can read! Ha! the wierwolf can read!’”

“ Bernhart is urged on by his thirst after knowledge to seek the lair of the wierwolf; and the following day, having watched this mysterious being out of the wood, he ventures in, and discovers the hut and more than one book; and while he is poring over the unknown characters, he is surprised by the return of the wierwolf. Half dead with fear he falls at his feet, and prays for pardon. The wierwolf however receives him with kindness, and even undertakes to teach him to read.”

The three successive chapters—the Wierwolf, the Storm, and the Denouement—are full of forcible description: the interest of the reader is kept on the stretch, and we found it impossible to lay down the book till we had gone through to the end of these strange adventures. But to be short, the wierwolf turns out to be none other than the long-lost Count Hugo Van Craenhove; who supposing that, in a fit of jealousy, he had slain his brother Arnold, has retired to this wood, where he has passed ten solitary years in suffering penitence, till the advent of Bernhart above mentioned relieves him by the assurance that his brother Arnold lives. With much difficulty, from the exhausted state of Count Hugo, they reach the environs of the Lanteernenhof, where they meet with Abulfaragus, who goes to prepare Count Arnold for the meeting; and when the evening closes in he brings Count Hugo into the castle, and the brothers fly into each other’s arms, ex-

claiming, "Arnold!" "Hugo!" "Pardon!" "Pardon!" But the intensity of their feelings is too much for their enfeebled constitutions, and they fall lifeless in each other's embrace.

"Alas! thirteen years of pain and suffering had not been able to destroy their lives. One single moment of joy had done it! They were dead and their souls had together taken their flight up to God's judgment seat."

"Had any one ten years later looked in upon the lonely castle, he would have found nothing changed in the structure of the Lanteerenhof. Nevertheless, were it permitted him to wander in the evening under the shady trees within the fortifications, he would come upon a small thicket of yew-trees, in the midst of which is a gravestone with this simple inscription:—'D. O. M. Walter van Craenhove, and his wife Marie, and their children Hugo and Arnold. God have mercy on their souls.' Before this monument he might see five persons on their knees: a greybeard, apparently an hundred years old, and who from weakness shook like a reed; a man with fair hair and blue eyes; a most beautiful matron with fair hair and blue eyes; and two children, a little son and a little daughter, both with hair and eyes of the selfsame colour as their father Bernhart and their mother Alice."

The remainder of the volume is occupied with the adventures of Abulfaragus, which he begins to relate one stormy night to Bernhart and Alice. Most wonderful and soul-harrowing, indeed, is the recital of the sufferings of himself and family, and unveils a fearful picture of the times in which he is supposed to have lived; yet, terrible as it is, history assures us of its truth, and that thousands in that unenlightened era were, like him and his, the victims of ignorance, superstition and barbarism. How thankful then should we be to that all-merciful God and Father, who has cast our lot in these days of light and knowledge, and Christian charity. May we not indeed exclaim with the inspired Psalmist, "The lines have fallen to us in pleasant places; yea, we have a goodly heritage." He thus commences:—

"In the year 1308 there yet dwelt in Damascus a Jewish physician, whose name was Abel Farach, who had learned from the Arabians all manner of knowledge, and who for his admirable skill was renowned throughout the whole of Syria. People came to him from Aleppo, Jerusalem and Bagdad; yea, even the dwellers in Scanderoon and Bassora undertook perilous journeys to come and consult him. This Abel Farach was my father. I still remember that we dwelt in a handsome house, behind which was a spacious garden, in which I with my good mother, Abigail, and my younger sister, Rebecca, played every day. We had slaves and

servants in great number, and every one, were they Jew, Christian, or Saracen, did us honour."

He goes on to relate, that when he was about ten years old, and his sister about seven, occurred the Crusade, in which the knights of St. John of Jerusalem took the island of Rhodes from the Saracens. The consequence of this war was a persecution and massacre of the Christians and Jews throughout Syria, and the family are obliged to leave all their possessions and fly for their lives. They are received with gladness on board the Christian fleet, on account of the father's surgical skill, and a galley is set apart for them as an hospital ship. Among the knights is a Brabançon, who having a great thirst for knowledge, forms a close friendship with the Jewish physician and his family. The consequence of this intimacy, and of the noble bearing of the Christian knight towards these poor Jewish refugees, is their conversion to the Christian faith.

"One morning, when we were in our cabin occupied with our breakfast, my father came to us and took a seat without speaking. His countenance bore an unusual expression of joy and happiness; his eyes were sparkling; his mouth wore a smile, and his whole face was as if illuminated by a hidden flame: it was as though a sunbeam piercing through the deck was reflected from his forehead. After a moment's silence he arose, and spoke to us in a solemn tone:—'Abigail, thou the faithful partner of my lot, and ye my children, listen with attention to what I am about to say to you; but whatever my mouth may utter, think not that I shall compel you to follow my example. Come here, Jonathan, my son, and you, Rebecca, that I may give you one more kiss before the declaration which I am about to make.'

"How much soever my father's joyous expression ought to have set our minds at ease, nevertheless a certain anxiety took possession of our bosoms. Almost trembling we received the ardent kiss; and it was with tears in her eyes that my mother went to meet his embrace. We did not comprehend what we had to fear or to hope. All at once my father cried out with singular enthusiasm, 'O, my children, there is only one Messiah—the Messiah is Jesus, and I am his servant! His voice has spoken to my heart; his mercy has filled me with light and joy! . . . He is my Saviour and my God!'

"My father certainly expected on our part sorrow and lamentation over his change of faith; but he had deceived himself in his expectation. The eyes of my mother shone suddenly with the self-same fire. She cast herself as a Christian on her knees before the crucifix; my sister and I kneeled down beside her. She lifted her hands toward heaven, and cried out to the crucified One, 'Jesus, son of David, you are he of whom Esaias has said, "Therefore the Lord shall give you a sign: behold a virgin shall conceive and bear

a son, and she shall call his name Emmanuel"—your name, O Messiah! be it glorified by everything that has life! You are the Son of God—the Redeemer of the world—the God of my husband and mine! And we answered with joyfulness, ‘Amen, Amen!’

They are baptized; and while they are yet receiving the congratulations of the knights, the Turkish fleet issues from the harbour of Rhodes and gives them battle. The Christians are victorious; but the knight of Brabant, who stood godfather to them, is brought on board their galley grievously wounded. Under the care of the converted physician and his family, however, he slowly recovers. On the capture of Rhodes by the Christians they left the fleet, accepting the invitation of their friend to accompany him to Brabant—that friend was Walter van Craenhove.

“‘Heaven! my father!’ exclaimed Alice in astonishment. Abul-faragus, wherefore have you so long kept that name from me!’

“‘Noble lady,’ answered the old man, half smiling, ‘it was your father, my godfather, and the bosom friend of my parents. You cannot believe how I loved him, that bravest of all Christian knights! O, the blood that flows in your veins is of the noblest blood that the sun in the three continents of the world ever shone upon! And if I did not sooner declare to you his ever dear name, it was that I might not grieve you by describing his fatal illness; I did not wish you to be made partaker of the grief which filled our bosoms beside his death-bed.’”

The converted family settle in the town of Luik, on the river Maes, and here the father’s skill as a physician and astrologer, soon acquires him fame and fortune. Then follows a terrible description of the plague which spread over Europe at that period, and from which the town of Luik suffered severely. This pestilence was the same which afflicted Florence, and other cities of Italy and France about the same time, and which is so fearfully described by Boccaccio in the introduction to the “Decameron;” and our author’s description is no way inferior in terrible pathos to that of the Florentine: indeed it comes more home to the imagination, being wrought with consummate skill into the thread of his narrative. At length the father, from his unshrinking devotion to his professional duties, is attacked with the disease, and the son discovers him in the pest-house. Meanwhile the band of fanatics called *Pastoureaux*, who at that time, to the number of some thousands, dispersed themselves throughout France, putting to death the Jews, and those who were plague-stricken, without mercy, had also penetrated into Flanders; and the family are warned that the

old Abulfaragus has been denounced as a Jew in heart, though outwardly conforming to Christianity; and that the following morning the Pastoureaux would be upon them, and murder the whole family. They escape to a cave at some distance from the town, and the young man succeeds in rescuing his father from the pest-house. To those who delight in a marvellous and heart-thrilling narrative we would recommend this as one of uncommon interest; wonderful indeed, though not impossible. The father dies in the woods, and is eaten by wolves. At this sight the mother falls dead, and the son becomes deranged; his sister soothes him, and they sit down to die. Count Walter van Craenhove, however, comes to their rescue; finally Abulfaragus recovers his reason, and the Count marries his sister: the fruit of this marriage was Hugo and Arnold, and the beautiful Alice. Abulfaragus lived to complete his hundred and second year, and gave up his spirit in the arms of Bernhart and Alice.

"Such a departure could not be called dying: no pain, no decay of intellect. Before he closed his eyes he took one more look at the numerous offspring of Bernhart and Alice, who surrounded his bed, and spake thus to them in an earnest voice:—'Children, honour your father and mother, that, like your friend Abulfaragus, your days may be long upon this earth.' And then he added, 'Farewell, farewell!' After which he slowly closed his eyes. . . . His lovely soul had taken its flight to heaven!"

This volume is also adorned with four engravings by the same artist, E. Dujardin, designed with his usual correctness of outline and felicity of expression; and which, from their excellencies, add greatly, at least in our estimation, to the charm of the narrative. There is a pure morality throughout the works of this author which makes them peculiarly fitted for the perusal of the young; more especially in treating of the passion of love, which more or less necessarily enters into the composition of all works of fiction, this writer is beyond all praise; his works are a perfect contrast to those of contemporary French authors. The youthful mind is not familiarized with seducing descriptions of unlawful passion. The author seems well aware that,

"Vice is a monster, of such loathsome mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

And he wisely keeps all such scenes as would not be endured in broad daylight out of his pages. While all the Christian

virtues are exhibited in the most natural and unaffected manner; without claiming at all for these tales the character of religious novels,—a class of books, by the by, for which we have no great love or respect. In this expression of opinion we would especially include the productions of Yankeeism, with which we have of late been inundated; many of which we consider as highly objectionable in their *negative* theology, inculcating, as they do, religion without a creed, salvation without a Saviour, and aiming to attain the kingdom, but ignoring the king; indeed we are tempted to wonder, that none of these ultra-democratic authoresses have yet substituted for the kingdom, the republic, of heaven. All this may be *religion* on their side of the Atlantic; it may be Socialism, or Yankeeism, or any other *ism*, by which they may choose to designate it, but it is not the doctrine which we should wish to see inculcated to the youth of Great Britain; and yet the eagerness with which these cheap, wishy-washy volumes of quasi-religious sentimentality are bought and read, by females more especially of all ages, makes us tremble for the sound religious culture of the rising generation.

The fourth and last of the works on our list is an historical novel in two volumes, the title being "The Lion of Flanders; or, the Battle of the Golden Spurs." The main incidents of the story are gathered almost entirely from our old favourite, "Dits die Excellente Cronyke," and they are worked up with an artistic skill, little inferior to that exhibited by our own unrivalled countryman Sir Walter Scott. Many of the characters are drawn with great force, and the dramatic power exhibited in the dialogue carries the reader forward with an irresistible interest which never flags. Having once taken up a volume of this stirring narrative we found the greatest difficulty in laying it down; indeed, since the publication of the Waverley Novels, we have never been so mind-absorbed by any work of fiction. We need hardly inform our readers that the turning point of the story is the occupation of Flanders by the French, under Philippe le Bel; their tyrannical oppression of the Flemings; the treacherous seizure and imprisonment of old Guy, Count of Flanders, his son Robert de Bethune, and the other magnates of the land; the rising of the people against their oppressors, resulting in the massacre of the French in Bruges, Ghent, and other towns of Flanders, in the month of May, A.D. 1302; the gathering of a mighty army to ensure revenge; and the battle of Courtray, on the 11th day of July in the same year, when the flower of the French nobility all perished, and of

sixty-two thousand Frenchmen scarce seven thousand escaped with life, and of these not the half ever reached their native land; for thus writes the author of the "Excellente Cronijke":—

"Eude vau alle diere ontquamen en outvloden mochten syn ontrent drie duijsent maunen vau alle der groter menichte, die daer versaemt waren omme Vlaendesen al gheheel te niete te doene; ende die mochten die niemare dragen vau haerlieder aventure, die sober was." "And of all those there may have survived and escaped about three thousand men of all the great multitude, which had been there assembled utterly to destroy Flanders; and they had to carry back the news of the catastrophe of their people, which was miserable enough."

The story opens with the early morning ride of a company of French knights through the open country near Rouselare, a small town of West Flanders. They are accompanied by a guide, the description of whom we shall subjoin as a specimen of the style, as he plays a most important part in the subsequent events.

"A young man ran on foot before them in the path. Long flowing hair waved upon his broad shoulders; blue sparkling eyes flashed out under his eyebrows, and a young beard curled upon his chin. A woollen tunic, with a girdle, was his clothing, and a kruismes,* in a leathern sheath, his weapon. It was visible enough in his countenance that the company, to which he served as guide, was not agreeable to him. There lurked assuredly some secret feeling in his bosom, for he frequently turned his eyes with sinister glances on the cavaliers. Tall of stature, and unusually strong of limb, the youth stepped on so quickly that the horses had difficulty to keep up with him at a trot."

One of the Frenchmen, De Chatillon, is thrown from his horse, by coming in contact with a tree, through his own violence towards this noble animal, who had previously stumbled in the rough bye path; this excites his anger against the guide.

"'Will you tell me,' asked De Chatillon of the guide, 'wherefore you lead us by such roads, and why you did not make me aware that there lay a felled tree in the path?'"

"'Sir,' answered the Fleming in bad French, 'I know no other way to the castle of Wynendael, and was not aware that it pleased your honor to sleep at this hour.'"

* The *kruismes* was a short, broad two-edged dirk with a cross hilt, from which it derived its name of cross-knife. It was permitted to the members of the good cities, or free burghers alone, as they were entitled, to carry this weapon.

" 'Presumptuous!' cried De Chatillon, 'you laugh—you mock me. . . . Hola! my people, take this serf and hang him up; and let him feed the ravens.'

"The youth now laughed outright; 'hang up a Fleming!' muttered he, 'wait a little!' Hereupon he retired a few steps backwards, placed himself with his back against a tree, tucked the sleeves of his tunic up to his shoulders, and drew his glittering cross-knife out of the sheath. The rounded muscles of his naked arms were expanded, and his countenance assumed an expression which had something of the lion in it. 'Woe to him that lays hand on me!' cried he out lustily. 'The ravens of Flanders will not eat me; they like better to feed on French flesh.'

" 'Fall on, cowards,' cried De Chatillon to his servants: 'fall on then! Look at the poltroons! Are ye cowed by a single knife? Must I befoul my hands with this slave? no, I am noble. Gutter-blood against gutter-blood; it is your concern. Tread him then under your feet.'

"A few of the cavaliers endeavoured to pacify De Chatillon, but the greater number approved of the deed, and would willingly have seen the Fleming strapped up. Undoubtedly the followers, urged on by their master, would have fallen upon and overcome the youth; but now drew near the cavalier who had ridden some steps off in deep thought. His clothing and armour far exceeded that of the other cavaliers in splendour; the shield that hung on his breast bore three gold fleur-de-lis on an azure field under the coronet of a count. This betokened that he was of the blood royal.

" 'Hold!' cried he, with an angry countenance to the men; and turning to De Chatillon, he said, 'My lord; you appear to have forgotten that I have received Flanders as a fief from my brother, king Philippe. The Fleming is my vassal. You have no right over his life, seeing that he belongs to me alone.'

" 'Must I then permit myself to be mocked by a rascally boor?' asked De Chatillon with vexation. 'Truly, count, I cannot comprehend wherefore you always uphold the common people against the nobles. Shall this Fleming boast that he, unpunished, has scoffed at a French knight? Say, my lord, has he not deserved death?'

" 'My lord De Valois,' broke in De St. Pol, 'vouchsafe my brother the slight consolation of seeing this Fleming hanged. What is the life of this wrong-head serf to your princely highness?'

" 'Hearken, my lords!' cried Charles De Valois angrily, 'your discourse is in the highest degree displeasing to me. The life of a subject is of great weight with me, and I desire that the youth be unmolested. To horse, gentlemen! We waste too much time here.'

"Meantime the esquires had returned their weapons into their scabbards, and were now busied in bringing up their master's horses.

" 'Are you ready, my lords?' asked De Valois. 'Now then,

quick, forward, I pray you ; otherwise we shall be too late for the chase. You, vassal, stand aside ; let us know when we come to a turning. How far are we yet from Wynendael ?'

" 'The youth took off his cap respectfully from off his head, bowed to his defender, and answered, 'Yet a short hour's ride, your lordship.'

" 'I do not trust that man,' said St. Pol. 'I think that there is a wolf under that sheep-skin.'

" 'That I have already thought long since,' replied the Chancellor Pierre Flotte. 'For he glares at us like a wolf, and listens like a hare.'

" 'Ha ! ha ! now know I who he is,' cried De Chatillon. 'Have ye never heard speak of a weaver, name Peter De Coninck, who dwells at Bruges ?'

" 'My lords, you are certainly mistaken,' remarked Raval De Nesle. 'I have myself had speech of the famous weaver at Bruges ; and although he excels this man in cunning, he has only one eye, and our guide is double his size. Doubtless he loves the old Count of Flanders, and looks on our arrival as conquerors with an evil eye ; this is the matter. Forgive him the faithfulness that he shows to his unfortunate prince.'

" 'Listen !' said the Chancellor ; 'Our gracious king, Philippe-le-Bel, has no more money. Enguerrard de Marigny has made him believe that Flanders is a gold mine ; and that is no bad thought ; for in this land, where we now are, there is more gold and silver than in the whole kingdom of France.'

" The cavaliers smiled and nodded their heads in token of acquiescence.

" 'Hearken yet,' resumed Pierre Flotte ; 'our queen, Johanna, is in the highest degree bitter against the Flemings ; she hates this proud people inexpressibly. I have heard from her own mouth that she would like to see the last Fleming on the gallows.'

" 'This I call speaking like a queen,' cried De Chatillon. 'If I were once master over this land, as my gracious niece has promised me, I will take care to feed well her treasure chest ; and will make short work with Peter De Coninck, and trader-companies, and guilds, and all this popular government. But see, that presumptuous serf is listening to our discourse !'

" The Fleming had approached unnoticed, and had drank in the words of the cavalier with an eager ear. As soon as he had attracted their notice, he sprang with an incomprehensible smile among the trees of the wood, remained standing at a short distance, and drew his knife out of the sheath. 'My lord De Chatillon !' cried he menacingly, 'look well at this knife, that you may know it again when it slips between your neck and throat.'

" 'Is there then not one of my servants who will avenge me ?' cried De Chatillon in a rage.

" E'er he had well spoken the words, a huge follower sprang from his horse and rushed upon the youth with his naked sword.

This latter, instead of preparing to defend himself with his disk, stuck it in the sheath and waited with closed fists for his foe.

" ' You shall die, cursed Fleming,' cried the lacquey, presenting his sword at him.

" The youth made no answer, but fixed his large eyes, like two flaming darts, upon the lacquey, who, pierced to the soul by the power of that look, remained for an instant standing as though his courage failed him.

" ' At him! kill him! kill him!' cried De Chatillon to him.

" But the Fleming did not wait till his enemy came near; he sprang in one leap within the sword, grasped the lacquey with his two powerful hands round the middle, and flung him with such merciless force with his head against a tree that he fell lifeless to the ground. A last death-cry resounded through the wood, and the Frenchman closed his eyes for ever, while his limbs trembled convulsively. With a scornful laugh the Fleming placed his mouth to the ear of the lifeless corpse, and said, mocking, ' Go, and tell your master that the flesh of John Breydel is not for ravens. The flesh of the stranger is better food for them.' And herewith he sprang among the bushes and vanished in the depth of the forest."

We have been rather profuse in this extract, because it introduces several of the principal personages of the drama to the reader, and refers to others of equal notoriety. This Jan Breydel is the high deker, or master of the Guild of Butchers of Bruges; and his friend and co-adjutor, Peter De Coninck, is the deker of the Guild of Weavers. These men were the leaders of the popular party and of the insurrection, which resulted in freeing not only their native city, but the whole of Flanders from their Gallic oppressors; these are historical characters, and were both ennobled for their good service. Our author has made the most of them, especially of De Coninck, who is certainly the hero of the tale; though the ostensible hero is Robert De Bethune, called, from his deeds of valour, the Lion of Flanders. The other characters, who are drawn with a master hand, are those of Adolf Van Nicalandt, a brave knight and minstrel, whose devotion to the Lion and his daughter Matilda forms the love episode of this romance of war; and who, after performing prodigies of valour, scarce eclipsed by those of the Lion himself, is rewarded with the hand of the fair and innocent Matilda, who returns his passion with equal ardour, though there are no love scenes, no exchange of vows in the book. Matilda is too pure in her innocence to comprehend her own feelings, and fancies her love to be that of a sister, and always calls Adolf her good brother; and Adolf, who like Chaucer's " True Knight," is " as modest as a maid," never presumes

to take any advantage of his constant intercourse with her, though she nurses him for months when he is dangerously wounded; and he afterwards shelters her in his own house during the long imprisonment of her father and brother in France. Indeed throughout all the works of this author the passion of love is treated with wonderful delicacy and refinement; in fact we find it nowhere so beautifully treated, if we except only the few beautiful episodes of the kind which we meet with in the sacred history—Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachael, Boaz and Ruth. Our limits will not permit us to present our readers with many extracts, or to follow out the thread of the narrative which adheres closely to the historical facts as related in the two *Chronicles of Flanders*—“*The Year-book of Bruges, Voisin*,” “*Notice sur la Bataille de Courtrai*”—and other works of authority. We cannot refrain from presenting our readers with a slight glance at the character of Joan of Navarre, the imperious and unprincipled queen of Philip-le-Bel, as delineated by our author. It is the evening of her triumphant entry with the king, her husband, into Bruges.

“Now she was aware of the steps of the maid of honor in the doorway. The excited princess ran to a mirror and settled her whole demeanour; she gave to her countenance a quiet expression, and appeared altogether no longer agitated. In the art of deception, the greatest vice of woman, Johanna, of Navarre, was perfect. Soon after, De Chatillon entered the chamber and bent his knee to the queen.

“‘My lord De Chatillon,’ said she, raising him up with her hand, ‘it appears that you do not pay much attention to my wishes. Did I not order you to be here at ten o’clock?’

“‘It is true, madame; but the king, my master, detained me against my will with him. I pray you, believe me, illustrious niece, that I stood upon the hot coals, so much did I long to carry out your royal behests.’

“‘Your affection, my lord, is very gratifying to me; also have I resolved this day to reward you for your good service.’

“‘Gracious princess, it is already for me favour enough to be permitted to follow and serve your majesty. Allow me to accompany you everywhere. Another may aspire to higher employments; for me your charming presence is my greatest happiness. I ask for nothing more.’

“The queen smiled, and cast a contemptuous look on the flatterer; for she understood how completely his haste gave the lie to his words. She spake with emphasis:

“‘And suppose that I was to give you the land of Flanders in fief.’ . . . ‘Hearken, Monsieur De Chatillon,’ cried the queen, impatiently: ‘It is not my pleasure just now to put your gallantry

to the proof; therefore it will much better please me if you lay aside all your set speeches, and speak to me without disguise. What think you of my entry to day? Did not Bruges receive the queen of Navarre with too much honour?’

“ ‘ I pray you, illustrious niece, leave off this bitter jesting. The disgrace which has happened to you has gone deep into my heart: a low and contemptible people have insulted you to your face, and your worth has been unacknowledged; but, nevertheless, do not let it trouble you, for we lack no means for taking and subduing these presumptuous subjects.’ ”

“ ‘ Do you know your niece, Monsieur De Chatillon? Is the jealousy of the queen of Navarre known to you?’ ”

“ ‘ Of a truth, my princess, the noblest and most praiseworthy jealousy; since whosoever wears a crown and does not cause it to be revered, no longer deserves it. Every one justly admires your kingly nature.’ ”

“ ‘ Know you also that a trifling vengeance does not satisfy me? The punishment of those who have put me to shame, must be paralleled with my self-estimation. I am a queen and a woman. Enough is said as to what desires of mine you must accomplish if I instal you as governor over Flanders.’ ”

“ ‘ It is unnecessary, madame, that your majesty should trouble yourself any longer about this matter; rest assured that you shall be fully avenged. Probably I may exceed your desires, for I have not only your disgrace to avenge, but also the insults which are daily offered to the crown of France by this head-strong people.’ ”

“ ‘ Monsieur De Chatillon, let the most subtle policy be your guide; do not draw the noose tight round their neck at once; but subdue their courage by gradual abasement. Deprive them little by little of the money which encourages them to resistance, and when you have accustomed them to the plough, then draw the yoke so tight that I may triumphantly gaze upon their slavery. Be not hasty; I can have patience enough, whenever my object can be more effectually obtained thereby. To succeed more speedily, it will be advisable that in the first place you should remove a certain De Coninck from the dekership over the weavers; and that you should never admit any other than Frenchmen or the friends of the French to offices of power.’ ”

“ De Chatillon listened attentively to the counsel of the queen, and inwardly marvelled at her subtle policy: and while his own desire of revenge incited him to studied tyranny, he congratulated himself greatly that he could thus accomplish his own wishes and the desires of his niece. He answered with visible joy,

“ ‘ I accept with gratitude the honour your majesty confers upon me, and shall neglect nothing to follow out, like a faithful servant, the counsel of my princess. Does it please your highness to honor me with any further commands?’ ”

“ This question had for its object the young Matilda. De Chatillon well knew that the maiden had brought upon herself the

anger of the queen, and he could therefore well divine that she was not to escape unpunished. Joan replied—

“ ‘I think that it will not be unadvisable to cause the daughter of Monsieur De Bethune to be sent to France, seeing that she has exhibited the Flemish stiff-neckedness. It will be agreeable to me to have her at court. Now enough of this affair; you comprehend my views. To-morrow I depart out of this accursed land, seeing that I have too long borne with their calumnies. Raoul De Nesle goes with us; you will remain as supreme head in Flanders, with full power to govern the land according to your own will and loyalty.’

“ ‘Rather according to the will of my royal niece,’ interposed de Chatillon, in a fawning tone.

“ ‘Let it be so,’ resumed Joan. ‘I am delighted with your willing obedience. Twelve hundred knights shall remain with you to carry out your orders, May it please your excellency to permit me to enjoy my needful rest. I wish you good night, my gentle uncle!’

“ ‘May good angels preserve your majesty!’ said De Chatillon, bending low. And herewith he quitted the chamber of the evil-minded woman.”

And we must now, though rather unwillingly, withdraw from our author for the present, having fully run to the length of our tether. We are aware that we have as yet given our readers but a very imperfect idea of this able and deeply interesting narrative; we have however to fill up the sketch somewhat more satisfactorily should it be permitted us to review the remaining works of this highly popular Flemish author, when we shall hope also to present our readers with some account of the man himself. Meanwhile we would recommend these works to the perusal of all who are acquainted with the language of Flanders and Holland; and we hope shortly to see them transferred to our own tongue, for the benefit of the general reader, and more especially of the young, as the lessons they inculcate are those of pure morality, ardent patriotism, and love of God and our neighbour.

* Since this article has been in print we have received a small instalment of the works of Hendrik Conscience, under the title “*Tales of Flemish Life*,” published by Messrs. Constable and Co. of Edinburgh, and forming the third volume of their *Miscellany of Foreign Literature*. This volume includes “*The Poor Nobleman*.” It is admirably translated, and, like all that emanates from their *officina*, beautifully got up.—[Ed. C.E.Q.R.]

- ART IV.—1. *The Sabbath ; or, an Examination of the Six Texts commonly adduced from the New Testament in proof of a Christian Sabbath.* By a LAYMAN. London : Chapman and Hall, 1849.
2. *Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, considered in relation to their Natural and Scriptural Grounds, and to the Principles of Religious Liberty.* By ROBERT COX. Edinburgh : Maclachlan and Stewart. 1853.
3. *Sunday and the Sabbath ; or, the reasons for identifying the Lord's Day of the Apostles with the Sabbath of Moses.* By W. H. JOHNSTONE, M.A. London : Wertheim and Macintosh. 1853.
4. *My Connexion with the Sabbath Movement in France, in 1853, 1854.* By CHARLES COCHRANE. London : Houlston and Stoneman. 1854.

THERE seems to be an almost universal expectation that we are on the eve of a great contest respecting the Sabbath ; and that we shall have soon to decide whether we are to continue such an observance of the Sunday as English people have been accustomed to, or are to exchange it for the *holiday* kept in Paris or Munich. On the one side there is a tolerably large, and rather talkative class, composed partly of very liberal churchmen, or still more liberal freethinkers, and partly of railway directors or proprietors of taverns and tea gardens, who are loud in their praise of the continental Sunday, and their contempt for Puritanism. We shall not be guilty of anything offensive, if, for the sake of distinction, we call these *the secular party*. On the other side rank nearly the whole of the clergy, and ministers of various denominations, together with those who, in other matters, are accustomed to agree with their religious teachers. These deprecate any change, as likely to introduce all kinds of evil ; and declare, with one voice, that a departure from our national reverence for Sunday, will be in flagrant defiance of the Divine Law ; and, at the same time, most ruinous to the real interests of the country. We shall call these the *religious party* ; since they include the great majority of religious people, and also place Sunday observance chiefly upon a religious ground.

The conflict between these opponents will be on the expediency of throwing open places of public amusement on Sunday : and as it is felt that workpeople will be those chiefly affected, so both the *secular* and the *religious* are ex-

ceedingly anxious to secure their co-operation, or at least their sympathy. It is urged by the one side, that proper relaxation ought to be provided for those whose severe labour renders a holiday impossible except on Sunday; that drunkenness, and ignorance, and all vices peculiar to the poor, must be materially diminished, when they are engaged in rational amusement; and that the scheme is proposed only for the purpose of raising the poor man in the scale of moral and intellectual happiness, and of procuring for him comforts and enjoyments which he does not now possess. The other party, on the contrary, allege that the scheme is merely a selfish one, intended to defraud the artisan of that day which God has given to him; that property in railways and tea-gardens will rise in value; that employers will be enriched by the extra labour of the employed; that the proffered relaxation will in effect be available only for those who could as well take a holiday on any other day; and that subordinates will be cheated out of Sunday altogether, if once the religious or the legal strictness of the day be relaxed.

Now, at the very first blush of the affair, it certainly does appear that personal interest has something to do with the motives of the first-named party. At any rate, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding all logical reasonings or presumed benevolent intentions, there is a preliminary objection against those who would give a holiday to all workpeople except their own servants, and charge money which is to fill their own purses. And this is an objection which it will take a great deal of powerful argument, and a long course of unselfish activity, to remove. While, on the other hand, even if we admit all the bigotry and ignorance said to be displayed by the religious party, yet they undoubtedly have this great advantage, that, if they have their way, they will not be benefited in any pecuniary sense.

Our own conviction, moreover, is that those who propose this relaxation of Sunday strictness have the weak side of the argument, as well as the suspicious appearance of pecuniary interest. And, that our readers may judge for themselves in this matter, we have selected the books at the head of this article, as fair specimens of what may be urged on both sides.

The first of them is "The Sabbath; or, an examination of the Six Texts:" a work published a few years ago, and which we venture to join with the other books, because Mr. Cox quotes largely from it, and praises it up to the skies. We are ready to acknowledge that the anonymous layman who

framed it must be a man of considerable power and some research. There is also much calmness and patience in pursuing his object; and his pages are not disfigured by any tirades against common sense and propriety. We recommend it to those who wish to see all that can reasonably be said against the Sabbath; and we do so with the less hesitation, because the arguments in it are disposed of in Mr. Johnstone's tract.

We cannot assign the same mead of praise to "Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties." It is a bulky volume, consisting of nearly 600 formidable pages, apparently full to the brim of authorities and reasons for the worse observance of Sunday. Its constitution is somewhat remarkable. It seems that Mr. Cox is, or was, one of the proprietors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway; and that, when his brother proprietors thought fit to outvote him on the question of Sunday trains, they never thought of

"A chield amang them, taking notes,
And faith he'll prent it."

Mr. Cox did take notes undoubtedly, and rather large ones; for, after giving the letter of protest which his defeat extorted from him—a modest enough looking document in itself, extending only to 16 pages—he adds these notes, A to R, through the rest of the book; and he has filled them with all kinds of indignant remonstrances against Puritans generally, Sabbatarians especially, and Sir Andrew Agnew above all. Here and there are assaults upon those who are so unfortunate as not to agree with Mr. Cox; and occasionally an episode, in the shape of an eulogium upon Mr. Francis Newman, Mr. Rathbone Greg, *et id genus omne*. The first impression produced by the sight of this book is, that it must be a poor cause which demands so lengthy and devious a defence. We confess to a kind of pleasure when we thought how few would read so tremendous a work. But we grew sad again, when we reflected there were numbers who would look at its outside, or perhaps poise it in their hands, and rejoice that latitudinarianism had such a ponderous, if not powerful, advocate; without really endeavouring to gather up the thread of the author's argument.

We were in happy ignorance of Mr. Cox's existence, until his tome reached us. We believe that his previous publicity has been confined to the editing of some phrenological lucubrations of the two Combes. This Sabbath book is the first great original production of his, for which the world has to

be grateful. From the experience we have had of book-making, we soon formed a tolerable estimate of the constitution of Mr. Cox's "Sabbath Laws." He has been, all his life, very angry that many British Christians are so cramped and straitened in their notions, as to laugh at his friend George Combe, and to consider "The Vestiges of Creation" a piece of clever trumpery. They are even stolid enough, as we gather from Mr. Cox's notes, to prefer the words of the Lord Jesus to the mystic quibbling of modern theologism ; or to think that the musty relics of Hebrew literature have any strong claims upon an enlightened Scottish gentleman of this our nineteenth century. Mr. Cox must have kept a pretty thick common-place book, wherein, during a course of years, he has jotted down the delinquencies of those he calls Puritans, waiting for the favorable moment for denouncing them. A fitting occasion having offered in the memorable meeting of railway proprietors, he delivers this book into the hands of a printer, and feels satisfied that he has done his duty by the destruction of Sabbatarianism.

"Sunday and the Sabbath" is altogether on the other side, and differs from "Sabbath Laws" in being a *little* book. The first section is occupied in considering the nature of the Mosaic Sabbath. The second in vindicating our Lord from the charge of sabbath-breaking. The third is an investigation of the practice of the early Christians with regard to the Mosaic Sabbath. The fourth, in tracing the origin of the Christian Sunday. And the conclusion, in exposing the hollowness of the reasons for opening the Crystal Palace on the Lord's day.

Mr. Cochrane's pamphlet is not only of great interest in itself, but of the highest importance in the present controversy ; as showing the grievous state of things that has resulted in France from following out the very plan recommended by Mr. Cox and the secular party, and the strong and almost unanimous desire of French people to retrace their steps back to a decent observance of the Sunday. Mr. Cochrane began his movement at Boulogne, at the request of the Bishop of Arras, and found himself wonderfully supported by the tradespeople of that town, who nearly all desired "a general and uniform measure for simultaneously putting an end to Sunday trading." At the capital, where he co-operated with a Roman Catholic association, having the same end in view, he received the good wishes even of the Archbishop of Paris ; and the success of the movement has been really most encouraging. Mr. Cochrane says, "I think I can with safety

now (October, 1854) declare, that in the leading commercial streets of Paris, such as Vivienne, Richelieu, Rue de la Paix, St, Honoré, Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, &c., three-fourths of the tradespeople now close their shops ; whilst in December last, there were, on the average, not half-a-dozen in each street that did so." We sincerely hope that the improvement may not be ephemeral. But whether it is so or not, Mr. Cochrane's pamphlet is of the utmost value, in leading us to estimate the propriety of introducing a continental Sunday into England. We shall frequently refer to it, as a practical comment upon our own views.

Our present immediate object is to enquire into the scriptural reasons for our keeping Sunday holy, in obedience to the Fourth Commandment. For on the minds even of those who admit unreservedly the authority of the Bible, there exists great vagueness of opinion about the matter. There are those who look upon the Fourth Commandment as a mere Judaism with which we have little concern, and who respect Sunday as an ecclesiastical rather than as a Divine ordinance. And we feel constrained, however reluctantly, to accuse even the advocates of the Divine authority of Sunday, of a singular and inexcusable deficiency in ratiocinative power. Believing, as we sincerely do, that they are defending a great truth, we find the weapons employed very inadequate to the contest in which they are engaged. They seem, one and all, to proceed upon the hypothesis made in the "Westminster confession of Faith," and adopted into both the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of Scotland, that God "hath particularly appointed one day in seven to be kept holy to Him, which, from the beginning of the world, to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week ; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's day, and is to be continued to the end of the world as the Christian Sabbath."

The opinion thus categorically expressed, is ordinarily advanced in the shorter form, that "Jesus and His apostles abrogated the observance of the Saturday Sabbath, and substituted for it the Christian Sunday Sabbath." Whatever portion of truth *may* lie at the bottom of this statement, it is, in its naked condition, quite unsupported by evidence, and may be easily disproved. The tracts which are issued on the Sunday question, and which are based upon this assumption, however pleasing and edifying they may be to pious or simple people, have no hold upon the intelligent artisan, who has been misled by subtle and dashing arguments in defence

of an extended Sabbath desecration. Your tailor, or your weaver, or your factory-hand, pent up in a workshop for six-sevenths of his life, who is perfectly capable of logical induction, has been told that the proposed scheme will give him and his children fresh air and innocent enjoyment, and release from the din and worry of labour. He is told that Jesus of Nazareth, the friend of the poor man, did away with the Jewish Sabbath; and that it is a mere figment of the priests that any authority, to which he owes allegiance, has revived that Sabbath among Christians. A man of this stamp will require something much more persuasive than a tract, which merely declares dogmatically that Jesus and his apostles did effect such a change, when he has read plenty of books that have proved, to his satisfaction, that they never did anything of the kind.

We regret most deeply and painfully, that those who are on our side should ever commit so fatal a mistake as to put weapons into the enemy's hands to be used against themselves. The religious party have, over and over again, assumed two things, which we believe equally false. 1st, That Jesus and his apostles did abrogate the Mosaic Sabbath; and, 2ndly, that they ordered the Church to adopt the Sunday as a substitute. Is there any wonder if the secular champions should seize upon the first of these two assumptions as if it were proved, being the very thing for their purpose; while they flatly deny the second, and triumphantly demand proof for it? Is it because this second assumption has been made, only for the purpose of evading the difficulties created by the first, that the result has been confusion and more serious difficulties? We ourselves have held various conversations with different kinds of people upon this subject, and have been surprised by the tenacity with which they insist upon this dogma, only from the conviction that if they gave it up, they would open a door for the belief that the Sabbath was formally abrogated by authority. We have observed, with sorrow, that others speak in faltering or doubtful tones of it; and while their moral instincts and early training prevent their giving up a Sabbath-Sunday, yet they despair of making head against the active and persevering efforts of those who deny any religious character to the first day of the week.

We have no hesitation in declaring, that if the advocates of a Sabbath have no better defence than one founded on the supposition of a Divine abrogation of the Mosaic day, they have reason for very great despondency; for they assume what tells with immense force against themselves. Let us

see if our observance of the Lord's day does not rest upon a far surer foundation than this ; and if we shall not be much stronger in proclaiming the truth, that our Saviour and all his inspired disciples never said a word, or left a command, derogating in the least degree from the Mosaic Sabbath, observed by Jews on the last day of the week.

Before, however, proceeding to show that every consideration leads us to this result, let us briefly notice the insuperable difficulty which hangs about the theories of men, like Paley or the present primate of Ireland ; who, while agreeing with the seculars, that Jesus or his apostles did away with the Mosaic Sabbath, without substituting another Sabbath for it ; yet defend the observance of Sunday, as an ecclesiastical ordinance of considerable utility to man. If any New Testament authority has declared that the Sabbath was not to be observed, we may gravely enquire of his Grace of Dublin, what right he has to inculcate the salutary character of an English Sunday ? He will say, " the Church has appointed Sunday to be kept holy ; and I cordially agree with the appointment because it is of very palpable advantage." But, if this be so, the Church has flown in the face of her Lord, by reversing his decisions. And if the reversal is salutary, then the abrogation by Jesus was a wrong step.

In fact he appears to be on the horns of the following dilemma. If the Lord abrogated the Jewish, only that he might introduce the Gentile, Sabbath, then we *have* Divine authority for our day of rest. Whereas, if he did away with the Jewish Sabbath without sanctioning any other, then we are actually disobeying him when we observe our weekly holiday at all : for, unquestionably, by the very fact of such abrogation, he pronounced it wrong for his people to observe such a day.

And this argument will apply with equal force to all who wish for extra trains, tea-gardens, crystal-palaces, &c., on Sunday, *in order to give the working people a good day of rest*, if they advance their favourite assertion, that Jesus did away with the Jewish Sabbath. To every one of this kind, who calls Jesus his master, we may say, " If Jesus did as you affirm, you are committing a sin, you are flagrantly disobeying Him, in providing a weekly holiday for the people, for they ought not to abstain from work, if He repealed the Fourth Commandment."

But now let us investigate the narrative of Christ's life, to find, if possible, any excuse for this averment concerning his abrogation of the Sabbath. Whenever the Sabbath question was opened between him and his adversaries, was not the

whole matter under discussion, how the day was to be observed? Is there a word dropped to indicate that he disputed the sacredness of the Jewish Sabbath? Did he ever say, or signify, "I shall not observe your Sabbath!" Certainly not! He rebuked the scribes for feigning a regard to God, which they did not feel, he authorised his disciples to do some things on the Sabbath, which the scribes pretended were illegal, but he gave them no authority to desecrate the day. Why; consider for an instant, what such an authorisation would amount to! The Lord Jesus emphatically declared, "Till Heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven;" and yet it is assumed that the chief of this kingdom taught men to break a very important one of these commandments. It is no answer whatever to this position—it is mere trifling—to object that Jesus was not teaching disobedience to Moses, because he transferred to Sunday what the Lawgiver appointed for Saturday. Our simple rejoinder is this: If a clergyman now-a-day were to teach his flock to keep, not Sunday, but Monday holy, would he not be considered as one who taught them to violate an ordinance of the Christian church? And would it be any answer to say that Monday would do as well?

Let us also remember a very important circumstance, that the Redeemer was closely watched by active and powerful enemies, who were seeking for some words out of his mouth, whereupon they could arraign him for illegal doctrine. Why, was all this labour, if he had ever been understood to cast the least reproach on the Saturday Sabbath? If he had done this, why should they be driven to the desperate expedient of bringing forward unfounded charges concerning words of disrespect which, it was alleged, he had spoken against the Temple? Or why should they be at their wits end to discover something to tell Pilate, when he repeatedly asked them "What evil hath he done?" if he had been once heard to teach, "the Mosaic and legally appointed Sabbath is to be changed?"

He would have been amenable, not only before the tribunal of the Jewish elders, but at the prætorium of Pilate; just as the clergyman we have supposed above, who might teach his congregation to buy and sell on Sunday, and to close their shops on Monday, and come to hear him, would be liable to an action, not only in the Ecclesiastical Courts,

but at Common Law, in spite of any defence he might offer that one day was as good as another.

We are not calling in question the right of our Lord to effect such a change; we merely stand upon the fact that he waived that right, and that even those who denied his right, did not understand him so to teach.

Nor did his friends so understand him any more than his enemies. One cannot conceive the necessity of doing more than merely stating that the Christian church for many years after their Lord's death, continued to obey the Jewish law in every respect. They even carried their Jewish feelings to the extreme of prejudice, in shrinking from intercourse with the uncircumcised. We have not the slightest intimation that, before St. Paul's case occurred, their enemies so much as accused the apostle of despising Moses. It is impossible that this should have been so, if they had refused to keep the Sabbath on the same day as all other Jews did; especially when we know what is so often forgotten, that the Fourth Commandment was binding upon Hebrews, not only as a religious duty, but as the law of the land; sanctioned by imperial or senatorial enactments; and that if the Apostles had pleaded that they kept the day just as well on Sunday as on Saturday; that they bought, and sold, and laboured on the last day, and rested and prayed on the first, while other Jews did no manner of work on the last, and pursued their ordinary avocations on the first; the excuse would have been of no more legal weight than if, in the present day, a Jewish inn-keeper in England were to plead that it was lawful for him to sell wine and beer on Sunday at noon, because he did not do so on Saturday.

It seems very clear that the unbelieving Jews regarded St. Paul with feelings of far more rancorous enmity than the other Apostles, because they did believe him to be teaching the people of Israel to forsake Moses. But if, as so many take for granted, this belief was well founded, what shall we say of his consistency, or even of his honesty, when he indignantly repelled the accusation? On his arrival at Jerusalem, after his tour in Greece, the clamour against him on this account, not only from the infidel Jews, but even from the brethren, was so loud, that the apostolic college urged upon him the propriety of proving the suspicion to be false. They were particular in telling him that the point at issue was not concerning anything he had taught to the Gentiles, (whose freedom from the law of Moses they had themselves sanctioned); but whether he had taught *the Jews* not to walk

after the customs. For themselves they exonerated him from the charge ; but, as it was a very serious imputation, it would be well if he took steps to remove it. And the course he pursued—that of joining himself to some Nazarites under a vow, was most evidently for the purpose of convincing the Jews that the accusation against him was unfounded.

Now, if Saint Paul had ever taught the Jews to cease from observing Saturday, he would undoubtedly have been teaching them to forsake Moses. His whole conduct, under the imputation, would have been deceptive. How could he then have stood up before Felix, and challenged his adversaries to prove the things whereof they accused him, if he had been known to inculcate either the cessation or the change of the Mosaic Sabbath? It would have been sufficient for Tertullus, or the elders with him, to declare “ You do not keep the Sabbath sanctioned by the law and the customs and the state edicts,” to have covered him with confusion.

We are, at present, only concerned with Jewish-Christians, including the Apostles, and St. Paul himself. And we aver boldly, that there is not the shadow of an evidence that any of them ever thought of obeying the Fourth Commandment on another day than that which had always been observed : and our conviction upon this point is materially strengthened by our discovery, that as long as Jewish Christians existed—for some generations after the destruction of Jerusalem—they continued to observe the Mosaic Sabbath. And if it is alleged that these were only heretics, who had abandoned the institutions of the Church, we answer that Justin Martyr, (*Dialog. cum Tryphone*, cap. 47) speaks of two kinds of Jewish Christians, the one of which were to be “ received as brothers,” while yet they were circumcised, and kept the Sabbath.

Now it is a most important fact—a fact there is no gain-saying—one of the most certain things within our cognizance—that the Jewish Sabbath was so sacred an ordinance that the Lord Jesus himself—all his apostles and inspired disciples without exception—and almost the entire body of believers for many years after Christ’s death, not only continued to regard it, but did not even moot the question of the Sabbath. It was a settled law, that no more required discussion than the command not to kill. Let then the despisers of the Sabbath—those who speak of the Fourth Commandment as an old Hebrew enactment not concerning us, remember that no one man, to whose authority Protestant churches would implicitly submit, ever ceased to pay unquestioning obedience to that commandment. The Mosaic Sabbath was sanctioned

by all Christian lawgivers. And we say this, notwithstanding any difficulties that we may afterwards discover in the Gentile estimation of the day.

We say more. Neither Jesus nor his apostles ever said "Gentiles, do not keep our Sabbath." Search every page of the New Testament, and however probable you may think it that Gentiles did not Sabbatize, you will not discover a single word—we say it fearlessly—you will not discover a single word about releasing Gentiles from its observance. This reserve, or rather silence, is a very remarkable circumstance, make what we will of it; and we intend to make a great deal of it. It is perfectly surprising, with what pertinacity Mr. Cox appeals to Rom. xiv. 5, 6, and taunts the Sabbatarians with not taking notice of it. Why, the only notice we need take of it, is to say that it contains no mention of the Sabbath. And Mr. Cox's opinion that the Sabbath is therein referred to, is merely one of that gentleman's many peculiarities, which we decline the honour of sharing. There is no reason for supposing that St. Paul was thinking of the Sabbath at all, when he wrote those words. We may dismiss, in the same way, Col. ii. 16, where the apostle tells the Colossians that no man was to *judge* them in meats or in Sabbaths. But we cannot imagine why he should be understood to teach that the Colossians were not to observe a Sabbath at all, any more than that they were not to take meats at all.

If the matter rested here, there would be no difficulty. If a reader of the two Testaments knew nothing of subsequent history, or the practice of the Church in future ages, he would merely think that all Christians continued to observe the same Sabbath as their Lord had done. But we cannot evade the force of the fact that, in some way, or for some reasons, the day has become changed; and that instead of the last, we sanctify the first day of the week. We may acknowledge readily enough, that the day itself is of little or no consequence—that Saturday, or Sunday, or Monday would do equally well. But still we require an answer to the question, "Who changed it; and why was it changed?" If during a certain year, say A.D. 40, the Christian Church rested from their work on Saturday, and during another year, suppose A.D. 400, did so on Sunday, we want to know where the critical week was reached, when the Church resolved to pass over Saturday, and transfer its sacredness to the day following. We are constrained to avow, that most indefensible theories are urged in order to

solve this difficulty, a difficulty that would have no existence if we estimated all the facts of the case.

It is a mere evasion to say that the Saturday Sabbath was repealed by inspired authority, and that the Sunday Sabbath was ordained by the same authority, (say the religious), or by an ecclesiastical enactment of the third or fourth century, (say the seculars); for Jesus and the Apostles were Jews, and obeyed all the Jewish law. There is nothing so certain as this, that during the period traced out by the Gospels and Acts, Saturday was the Sabbath; and from Constantine onwards, Sunday was the Sabbath among all Christians.

But when we come to look into the history of the Church in post-apostolic times, we are struck with a very patent truth, that Gentile Christians for many years *kept no Sabbath whatever*. The testimony of Justin Martyr (about A.D. 150) upon this point is amply sufficient; it is perfectly irrefragable. Can any one read, with even the most transitory attention, that highly interesting document, the Dialogue with Trypho, without perceiving that two distinguishing features of Judaism are constantly referred to by both disputants—Sabbatism and circumcision: that Trypho urges the philosopher to become a Jew, and keep the Sabbath; while Justin calls upon his opponent to gentilize, and give up his Sabbath? To say that the point of dispute was only about the day, and not about the thing, is absurd. It would have been the veriest trifling to have joined issue upon this matter. And that we may remain in no doubt that the discussion was whether any Sabbath was to be kept, let the following passage be attentively read, where Justin very nonsensically argues against the propriety of such a day. “Do you consider that the elements are not idle, nor do they Sabbatize. Remain as you were born; for, if before Abraham there was no need of circumcision, nor, before Moses, of Sabbaths, and feasts, and offerings, neither is there now any need of them.” We might select other passages from the ante-Nicene fathers to the same effect. (See “Sunday and the Sabbath,” Sect. 3.) And when we see that Justin (Apol. 1, cap. 67) distinguishes between the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, by placing the latter upon the principle that God began on the eighth day *to work again*, we must fairly consider that the Christians in the middle of the second century did not give any Sabbatical character to the Lord’s day.

But in the first place we enquire whether Gentile Christians *could* observe the Sabbath? When we reflect that for some years the Roman government regarded Jewish Chris-

tians as merely one of the numerous Hebrew sects, to whom were accorded the usual privileges granted to the entire nation, we shall not be surprised if the believing Jews observed the ordinary Sabbath, without notice or comment. But the Christianity of those who did not belong to the nation of Jews, was a thing of which the State, for a long time, was not even conscious. As the fact gradually forced itself upon the attention of the State, it excited the most profound hatred and most vigorous persecution. Except here and there, the great body of Gentile Christians consisted of poor people—often slaves—who *could* not rest on the Sabbath; their masters and governors would have prevented such a folly, according to their estimation. And though, as the Church continued to grow, men of greater social standing became enrolled as disciples of the crucified Jew; yet for many generations the State never recognized their faith, and occasionally put forth all its powers to destroy it. Christians were fain to meet by stealth, in upper rooms or in dark caverns, and were regarded by heathens as members of a secret and treasonable society. How then could Gentiles abstain from work, and in every city of the empire hallow the Sabbath, while such a condition of things lasted?

An objection, however, rises up here, that if the Sabbath was a divine and unchangeable law, Gentile Christians had no right to abandon it, and the apostles ought to have ordered it. But the Sabbath law had this peculiarity about it, that it was a *social law*: it could not be obeyed unless the entire community consented to it. The testimony of modern times is amply sufficient to illustrate this. At the present moment in France, while almost every serious person wishes for a better observance of the Sunday, it is found almost impracticable to carry it out, because there is the want of universal consent. The Fourth Commandment originally was addressed to a *nation*; to those who could pass legislative enactments and oblige their members to obey it. When there is no *national* consent the day will soon cease to be observed at all. Now during the first three centuries of Gentile Christianity, the Church had no legal existence; it possessed no power to oblige its members to obey its statutes. It *could not* obey the Fourth Commandment. And we need not therefore be surprised that there was no divine edict issued to the Gentile churches concerning the Sabbath. At the same time, the absence of any divine permission to cease from Sabbatizing, is quite sufficient to indicate to us that the

law was not repealed, and should be obeyed as soon as the Church *could* obey it.

Until the actual admission of the Gentiles occurred, the Church does not seem to have contemplated the circumstances which would be sure to arise from that admission. But the apostles and elders, being Jews, had not yet entertained the thought of the way in which they were to dispose of Gentile Christians. By St. Paul's means the question was brought to an issue; and the apostolic synod at Jerusalem wisely enacted that uncircumcised believers should be counted as proselytes of the gate, and should be required only to subscribe to such regulations as had been always enforced upon those pious Gentiles, who, without becoming Israelites, yet desired to associate with the holy people of Israel. The term itself, *proselytes of the gate*, was taken from the Fourth Commandment, where the privilege of resting on the Sabbath was extended to the pious strangers within the gate of Israel. So that the common objection that Gentiles never had been required to keep the Sabbath, is at once refuted by our distinct knowledge that, whenever Gentiles associated with the Sabbath-keeping nation, they too were enjoined to observe it. When the apostles resolved to count Gentile Christians as proselytes of the gate, there was no occasion for their putting a clause into their decree concerning the Sabbath; for the Fourth Commandment itself had such a clause in it. And although, in the actual state of the nation of Israel, the power of self-government had been, in great part, taken from them, and only a scant and grudging permission given by the Roman State; yet Israel had never ceded the right of being the holy nation, and indeed possessed no power to barter away what Jehovah had granted. So that, while we think it highly probable that the Roman State would not have permitted their Gentile subjects to avail themselves of the privilege they had conceded to the Jews,—of resting on the Sabbath,—still no divine authority had repealed the edict, that proselytes of the gate were to keep the holy day of repose. And, when we know that the synod of apostles—issuing its decree as an inspired document, which seemed good to the Holy Ghost—solemnly declared that Gentile Christians were proselytes of the gate, we have here a very clear announcement of the will of God that the law of the Sabbath was binding on all who either belonged to, or associated with, a religious nation.

Joining this remarkable, but usually unnoticed fact, with the singular phenomenon, that no inspired authority breathes

a syllable against Gentile observance of the Sabbath, we are not perplexed by the impression on the minds of Gentile Christians during so many years, that they need not Sabbathize; any more than we are convinced by the absurd reasoning of Justin Martyr. We can trace in this circumstance the distinct marks of the finger of God, who never freed any of his servants from obeying his law, and yet refrained from reissuing the Sabbath law to those whose actual social condition effectually prevented their obeying it.

But the Church, during the first three centuries, was gradually gaining social position. Till the accession of Constantine, indeed, it had no power to legalise its own wishes. So late even as the time of Diocletian, it had encountered a severe persecution; and during that period could not pass any legal enactment on the Sabbath. The edict of Constantine, which ordered "all judges and people of the city, and the business of the arts, to repose on the venerable day of the sun" was the first Gentile *law* on the subject. But we cannot doubt that the emperor did nothing but put his seal to a custom that had already been prevalent among the churches. Christians had begun to feel the need of a Sabbath before the state could enforce it. They were, providentially, awaking to the duty of Sabbatizing, at the very season when it was becoming possible to sabbatize; and as soon as they were in the condition contemplated by the Fourth Commandment—that of a religious polity, able to enforce laws—they immediately proclaimed the duty of resting on one day out of seven. The restrictions which heathen governments had imposed on proselytes of the gate preventing them from Sabbatizing, were now removed; and the divine law was at once enforced. But it may be said, "Why then did they not hallow the proper, the seventh day? Who gave them power to keep Sunday as a Sabbath?" We are of opinion that the answer to this is to be found in the fact which so many disregard, but which we have pronounced, for this reason, to be a very valuable fact—that for several generations the observance of a Sabbath had been interrupted in the Christian Church. And although we might have demurred to their right to change Saturday for Sunday, if Saturday had been observed up to the time, or nearly up to the time, when the law was past; we can say nothing against the right they exercised—indeed it was the only thing they could do—to legally sanctify, not the day which used to be kept holy, but the day which had by degrees become a holy resting day in every Christian congregation.

And there is substantial reason for believing that the Church of Christ had received divine authority for setting apart Sunday, not, indeed, as a common resting day, but as a common praying day. The mention of the first day of the week in several places of the New Testament, (John xx. 19, 26; Acts ii. 1; xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2,) as that on which the disciples were used to meet, and transact peculiarly religious business, leaves us no room to doubt that Sunday had the sanction of the apostles at least; and that all Christians, Jews as well as Gentiles, agreed in celebrating this day. It has been sometimes said, that Jewish Christians kept two Sabbaths; but the assertion, in itself very improbable, has been founded upon the fact, that while they never ceased from *resting* on the last day, they also went to the prayer-meetings on the first day of the week.

There are some, we know, to whom all scriptural quotation is unwelcome; and we are glad to refer, in this case, to the testimony of Pliny, who, in his ninety-sixth letter to the Emperor Trajan (written very few years after the close of the New Testament), speaks of the Christians, in his district, being "*accustomed* to meet on a *stated* day before dawn, and to sing alternately a hymn to Christ as a God." And that this *stated* day was Sunday is not only very probable, but is proved incontestably by Justin Martyr, in whose first Apology, presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about thirty-eight years after Pliny wrote his letter, we are told, in the course of a very detailed account of the church services, "It is on the Sunday that we all hold our meetings, because that is the first day on which God, after having converted the darkness and chaos, made the world; and Jesus our Saviour, on the same day, rose from the dead."

It was evidently quite possible for Gentile Christians to attend these Sunday meetings, when it was perfectly impracticable for them to rest from their labour. They could go in secret, especially when, as Pliny states, they met before dawn; but they could not refuse to work in secret. The government, or individual masters, might sometimes connive at the short absence of slaves, when they would not tolerate their withdrawal from labour during the whole course of a day. In seasons of peace, these meetings were, of course, held more openly. When persecution raged, they were concealed from public notice. During the first three centuries, however, in spite of occasional periods of darkness, the Church was steadily gaining both numbers and strength. The very fury of the later persecutions, under Decius and Diocletian, proves that the attitude of the Church was be-

ginning to alarm her enemies. Except while these storms were raging, Christians were, by degrees, acquiring power to meet with more boldness, and profess their faith the more publicly. It is very likely that Constantine was actuated, as much by policy as by piety, in his adoption of the religion of the cross; but the policy shows the power of the Church. And when the emperor issued his before-named edict concerning the repose of Sunday, he has satisfied us that, by that time, Christian congregations all over his dominions, in their anxiety to keep, with due solemnity, their religious meetings, were also beginning to give a Sabbatical character to the Lord's day.

And now let those who, upon principle, desecrate the Sunday, and deny that it is a Sabbath at all, ponder the results we have reached. God ordered, with every circumstance of solemnity, that Israel was to keep holy the Sabbath, by resting from all their labour; and that people of other nations were not to be admitted even to dwell within the gates of the sacred race, unless they also conformed to this law. Universal experience has proved that it is a highly beneficial law, with nothing of a local or temporary nature in it. The Lord Jesus, and every one of his apostles and inspired disciples observed it: they said not a single word to show that they intended to derogate in the smallest degree from its universal obligation. The only formal decree they left with regard to the Gentiles, was to the effect that believing Israelites might associate with the believing uncircumcised, if the latter would keep the customs which they had from time immemorial obeyed, when living within the gates of Israel; and the Sabbath was one of these observances. But events proved that the Christian church was scattered and oppressed, and unable to obey the Divine law. Sometimes even uninspired men, like Justin Martyr, instead of bewailing this inability, foolishly invented reasons against a Sabbath. All along, the Christian congregations had held their prayer-meetings on Sunday, in compliance with the apostolic practice. At length the Jewish element was slowly thrust out of the Church. Gentile believers, instead of being only proselytes of the gate, or desirous of being so, had by degrees entirely absorbed all power—predominated—and at last even forgot their original foreign extraction. At first they were despised, then persecuted—sometimes tolerated or respected—till they found themselves professing a state religion. They now resolved to keep a legalised Sabbath; and having clearly the right to appoint their own day, were

in accordance with the Divine will when they made Sunday the Sabbath.

Let then those sophists among ourselves who speak of a Sunday Sabbath as an institution of other ages or climes, with which we have no concern, account for these things or answer these reasons ; or else let them shrink from sapping the religious belief of this country.

We might stop here, were it not that an objection rises up as to the *degree* of obedience we can render to the Fourth Commandment. It may be said with much apparent force that, although the prohibition of work seems absolute, it is impossible literally and completely to obey it. Some work *must* be done. The Jews always thought so ; our Saviour said so. Who then is now empowered to draw the line of distinction ? One man may deem a certain work to be a violation of the Divine law, which his neighbour may call an agreement with it. The baker, who sends every day to the inn for his ale, thinks it would be wrong to close the inn against *him* on Sunday, while he seriously objects to the tippling and rioting there of his journeyman and apprentice ; and is disposed to question the propriety of his being obliged to bake people's dinners on the general day of rest. But then the butcher has no convenience for baking at home, and is not at all disposed to give up the advantage of the baker's oven for his Sunday dinner ; while he wishes that his neighbours would buy their meat on Saturday, and not force him to keep his shop open on Sunday morning. The grocer, however, was so occupied on Saturday, as to be unable to do so ; and he hopes an exception may be made in his case. Railway directors consider it quite proper that poor folks in London, and Liverpool, and Glasgow, shall be freed from labour, and that shops and factories should be closed on Sunday ; but they exclaim against all efforts to give a holiday to their own porters and clerks, and firemen, on that day, because their dividends would be thereby materially interfered with. The shopman, who is engaged during the week in weighing sugar or measuring cloth, would feel himself aggrieved if the grocer or draper were to keep him behind the counter on Sunday ; but he would be very angry if this same holiday were granted to his friend in the tobacconist's shop, or at the hotel, or on the railway. For what then could he do on Sunday, if he were deprived of his cigar, or his glass, or his jaunt ?

If every one had his own way, what would become of the day of rest ? It is of paramount importance to every one in-

terested in the cessation of work, that some authority superior to them all should appoint for them how the day is to be kept, and how each may forego some advantage, in order to increase the convenience of the community. We are sadly afraid that, as human nature is at present constituted, no authority could do this except the strong arm of the law. The instance of France fully proves, that when this restraint is removed, every one merely looks after his own selfish interest, although he is quite aware it would be better for him if it were not so. We cannot understand how any reasonable man can object to the existence of legislation on this subject. We have no intention to defend all that Sir Andrew Agnew's party desired, in order to effect a better observance of the Sabbath; but they were unquestionably right in their appeal to the Legislature to interfere; for this simple and sufficient reason—that no other authority *could* decide the matter.

Mr. Cox, indeed, proposes that these things should be left to each man's own discretion; and he protests against the attempt of one, who may have peculiar notions respecting the Sabbath, to limit the freedom of another, whose notions may be different. We should join with him most heartily in this proposition, if it could be carried out; and if the very wish of Mr. Cox did not prove that the Sabbath must be a national law, and enforced by legislative enactment, lest a selfish man may oblige his dependants to keep a Sabbath according to Mr. Cox's notions. Mr. Cox's opinion is not very strict about this subject; and he exclaims, "Let me run railway trains and open tea-gardens if I will; it is no concern of any one, but of those who provide and those who use them." Well and good. But he claims the liberty of forcing omnibus men, and cabmen, and railway guards, &c., to follow his view, not their own; if they should happen to desire a religious Sunday. The proposal is altogether one-sided, and it means this: "Let us, Robert Cox and friends, be permitted, if we please, to run trains and open gardens in superabundance on Sunday; we are pleased to do so, because we want dividends for our capital; but let the permission stop here. Pray do not extend it to those by whose labour the thing is to be kept going. If they venture to ask for cessation from toil, they must starve."

It is evident that, because there was always this danger of rich men tyrannizing over the poor, the observance of a day of rest was made a *religious* duty, the infraction of which was visited with the severest penalties. And the necessity of

legalising the duty is made exceedingly clear in the pamphlet of Mr. Cochrane, who found almost universally that the hesitation he sometimes met with in the French shopkeepers to close their shops on Sunday, arose solely from the fear that others would not do so, and that their own custom would in consequence suffer. "They all reported, without exception, that the tradespeople (in Boulogne) were all favourable to the closing of the shops on the Lord's Day; but were anxious that the measure should be general, in order to avoid individual prejudice." (p. 6). So again at Paris, "the tradespeople of the Rue Vivienne, with one or two exceptions only, were desirous of closing their shops on the Sunday, if their neighbours would do the same." (p. 9).

The opponents of Sunday legislation may here say, "We have no objection whatever to the combination of shopkeepers for such a laudable purpose; but we repudiate Acts of Parliament that will oblige them, whether they will or not, to shut their shops." Here the example of France again comes in usefully, to show that if the law is not appealed to, selfishness is sure in the end to predominate over every other consideration. Mr. Cochrane says, "During the first year of the recent republic, 1848, several trades entirely closed their shops, whilst 1500 grocers . . . agreed to close their shops after two o'clock on Sunday afternoon; but they unfortunately, in a few months afterwards, broke their agreement, and relapsed into their former habits, and there are now very few tradesmen who keep to their original resolution." (p. 11). Can any one doubt that if the great body of French grocers wanted protection against the cupidity of a few of their number, they should have asked for a law, *obliging* them all to abide by their agreement; and they could then consult their own conscience and comfort, without being in daily dread of being overreached by some one in the next street.

Mr. Cox proposes that those who must work on Sunday should have a holiday at another time; and he specifies clergymen, engineers, guards, &c., as in this predicament. (p. 270). Now, with regard to the members of the first-named profession, they are generally so far masters of their own leisure, that they can take a holiday almost when they please. Those who are prudent do so once a week. But before we can consider the thing as generally practicable, we should like very much to know if omnibus proprietors, tavern-keepers, steam-boat companies, and railway directors are prepared to ask for an Act of Parliament to oblige them to give Monday or Tuesday as a holiday to their servants. Unless we can

ascertain this as a preliminary step, we confess we have little confidence in the mere talk that it would be advisable to adopt such a course. The instance adduced by Mr. Cox of the estimable establishment of Price's Candle Manufactory is altogether beside the mark. It is very creditable indeed to the managers of that establishment, that they do consider the well-being of those employed by them; but who will give us a guarantee that all other employers, released from the enforcement of law, will feel so thoroughly their Christian duty as to postpone money-making to the ease of their dependants? Did owners of factories or mines interest themselves about the babies and women they were wearing out; until the law stepped in to protect them? Really the example of railway companies gives us little reason to hope for such a change. Why, even in the highly favourable instance of Price's Candle Manufactory, the benevolent intention is somewhat limited by the condition, that the boon must be "without loss to the company." What then would be the case with companies who acknowledge no higher rule than the premium on their shares? And even supposing it were possible to insist that those who are obliged to labour on Sunday should rest on some other day; is Mr. Cox prepared to consider the propriety of two Sabbaths; one of which would be for half the community, and the other for the other half? We have no belief that the thing will be done at all, unless an Act of Parliament shall declare it penal for such and such work-people to be employed on such and such a day. The man of business, who is told on Monday that his usual morning train does not run, because the servants are taking their Sabbath, would at once see how much better it would have been for all parties, if these servants had been allowed the same Sabbath as the rest of the community.

Whatever view we take of the matter, it seems beyond dispute that only the law can decide in what way Sunday is to be observed; for that is the only authority to which all men will submit. And we reprobate the agitated scheme of applying to Parliament for permission to open the Crystal Palace on Sunday; because, in fact, it is an application to the Legislature that the law shall *not* be made to interfere—that all men shall be left to their own selfish ways, and that the rich may do as they please with the poor. We entreat the Senate of Great Britain not to reject the right it has,—and the duty also,—of continuing to watch over the welfare of the country; and we submit the following rules that should guide it in its decision.

First, The need is paramount of observing our Sabbath as a *religious* obligation. Every consideration shows that where this is forgotten, all is lost. In France, at the present moment, while a strict Sabbath law is what is wanted, there seems a reluctance to have one, because men there do not now feel the *religious* nature of Sunday. Good men are, happily, beginning to perceive the evil. The Archbishop of Paris told Mr. Cochrane, "The desecration of the Sabbath is one of the greatest evils of our country."

Secondly, Our Saviour himself gave us the key to the principle that should guide the Legislature in settling the details of the Sabbath, when he declared that "the Sabbath was made for man." It is a text pretty generally quoted by Sabbath desecrators as the excuse for their seeking their own pleasure on that day. It is, however, greatly abused and misunderstood if so taken. The institution was not designed for any one man, or for any number of men, but for *man* (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος*); that is, the entire human kind. A man selling in his shop on Sunday may perhaps, by the act, benefit himself and a few others; but if it do harm to the whole community, it must be forbidden. If Parliament really believes that the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sunday will be a boon to all men universally—that *public* morals will be promoted; attendance at *public* worship more regular and frequent; scenes of disorder lessened; the great majority of English people invigorated, and refreshed, and improved by it—let us by all means consider the matter. If it is right to sacrifice the well-being of some in order that they may minister to the pleasure of others; if we are satisfied that there is no danger of bringing in a French Sunday, where the millions of hard-handed careworn poor are kept down to toil and labour, because some thousands are fluttering about in thoughtless gaiety,—then we may deliberate on the propriety of beginning a new era for England. But if we know that those who advocate such a measure will gain money by it; if the directors of the Palace wish it, because otherwise the speculation will not pay; if pleasure seekers desire it, because with them everything is subservient to a day's excitement; if the question be not one of righteousness, but of mercantile advantage,—for God's sake, O House of Parliament, save the country from being ruined by a few wealthy or idle men!

Thirdly, The Fourth Commandment specifies *servile* work as that which it forbids. Every allusion to the Sabbath in the Pentateuch shows that such work as servants do for their masters, was the main, if not the sole, object of prohibition.

We are almost inclined to believe that the sweeping condemnation of *all manner of work* may be taken quite literally; and understand that no man, on the Sabbath, may require labour from him who is bound on other days to render it. A very different state of society, indeed, from what we have seen, would be the result. But we are not aware that the present condition of society is a very safe one. The Jews have always been haunted with the notion, that their calamities have befallen them, because they have neglected the Sabbaths. If God intended servants absolutely to rest on the Sabbath, the Jews certainly have neglected the commandment. Nor can we say whether all our social evils might not have been avoided, if we had been accustomed to release our servants from *all* work which they perform for us, and do it ourselves, if it is necessary. At any rate the design of the Fourth Commandment was to *relieve*, if not *release*, the employed, on the Sabbath. The master, if he is deprived of his rest, can take compensation in numberless ways; not so the servant. And as experience has proved that if the master is not a pious man, he will not give this rest to his servant, the law must be invoked to oblige him. The community, indeed, may be divided into employers and employed. It is for the last that God legislated, and for these must every government which derives its authority from him, especially provide. If we examine the feelings or the conduct of different men, we shall soon see how their selfishness causes them to require a Sabbath, in as far as they are employed, and to be careless of it in their character of employers. John Smith buys his cigar, or takes his railway ticket on Sunday; here he is an employer, and in this department he does not see why any religious strictness should interfere with him. But he is also *employed* in an office, or behind a counter, and he would be very angry if the Sabbath were not kept here. One set of men, omnibus drivers, engine stokers, railway guards,—poor fellows,—have useful arms and legs; and as employed, they are very important; while as employers they have no influence. Who, we ask, is to stand by and see these men cheated of their Sabbath, because their masters seek to drain the last drop of labour out of them?

Fourthly, We have scarcely touched upon the question of Divine worship on Sunday; for argument is here precluded by the very clearness of the case. It is utterly absurd to pretend, as some do, (very faintly indeed), that worship will not suffer. Are the attendants at Cremorne and Anerley

church-going people? Have the French, whose Sunday we are invited to imitate, been remarkable as a church-going people? And yet it is one of the surest things connected with the Sabbath question, that the apostles, acting under Divine inspiration, enjoined public worship on the Lord's day. Is the Parliament of Great Britain not responsible to Him who sitteth in the heavens, if it sanction any course that may check the celebration of his worship?

If, moreover, the principle is once adopted, that our old English ideas,—call them puritanical if you will,—about Sunday, are to be dropped, who is to check the progress of Sabbath desecration? Who is to guarantee that the labour of any one of the workpeople, for whose behoof it is said that the scheme is proposed, may not be demanded by their masters, if it is found that such labour will be available for Sunday pleasure seekers? There are many shops which holiday people would use, if they were open; and as the man on a jaunt is far more inclined to spend money than when he is going on business, he would be likely to be a better customer on Sunday, than on any other day, at the glover's, the hatter's, the grocer's, the stationer's, or the watchmaker's, if that troublesome law would only permit the apprentices to be kept behind the counter on the Lord's day. It is easy to protest that the law must continue to enforce the closing of these shops. Alas! what stability will there be in the law, when it has been found that a well directed attack has made it yield? If agitation, and newspaper articles, and lectures, and the secret influence of wealth, shall once have succeeded in overthrowing the religious feeling of the nation, where is the strength for resisting a similar agitation, when we shall have been brought to the condition of France, where public opinion will not bear Sabbath legislation, however much it may be wanted?*

The projectors of the Crystal Palace have not found the attendance so large as they had anticipated; and as the shares are falling in value, it is expected that the additional crowds on Sunday will make up the deficiency. Let us, however, warn them that the public have not taken the same deep interest in the Sydenham building as in that which preceded

* There is still a law of the 18th June, 1814, that has never been repealed, and that has lately been exhumed from the "*Bulletin des lois*," forbidding shops to be open on Sunday, under pain of fine and imprisonment. A tradesman of Guincamp was lately tried and convicted under this law by the Local Tribunal, and the Cour de Cassation has confirmed the sentence. We shall be glad to see what results will ensue.

it in Hyde Park ; because the one was known to be a great national undertaking, where no individual interests were made paramount, whereas in the other, the price of Crystal Palace Stock is the one thing kept prominently in view. From the first there has been an uneasy feeling that the beautiful building was like a gilded serpent, and would poison our most cherished customs. That feeling has been caused by the Palace directors themselves, since they have *always* shown a wish to open the place on Sunday. Have they ever considered that the absence of public enthusiasm has been the effect of their own private greed ? When the thing had a *public* character given to it ; when the world knew that there was no money speculation in the background, what numbers went, on the 28th of October, to subscribe to a Patriotic Fund !

We confess ourselves to be ardent admirers of the whole exhibition. There is everything that is beautiful and instructive in it. That opinion will be changed, if it be made a huge Cremorne. Will the serious public patronize a place where the immorality of the Sunday tea-gardens is introduced on a larger and more imposing scale ? Was it on such an object as this, that the Primate of all England besought the blessing of the Lord of lords ? Or was it to inaugurate such a canker, that the Sovereign vouchsafed her gracious presence ?

And if the alternative proposed to us be, whether we lose the pleasure of going to so attractive a building, or lose the religious feeling and the public morality of this nation, it were better, a thousand times better, that the structure should crumble into ruins,—the painted courts and stately aisles be stripped of their beauty,—the thrilling music be hushed for ever ;—yea the grounds and the lovely landscape become a howling wilderness,—than that England should cease to be a Sabbath-keeping and a God-fearing people.

ART. V.—1. *The New Cratylus ; or, Contributions towards a more Accurate Knowledge of the Greek Language.* By JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D., Head Master of King Edward's School, Bury St. Edmunds, and formerly Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Lond. 1852. W. Parker.

2. *Varronianus: a Critical and Historical Introduction to the Ethnography of Ancient Italy, and to the Philological study of the Latin Language.* By JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D., Head Master of Bury School, and formerly Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. London, 1852: J. Parker and Son.

THERE are convictions which ridicule cannot shake, which indolence cannot smile away, and which prejudice cannot withstand: they are founded upon reason. A patient consideration of the source and progression of early civilization, as recorded in the ethnical *origines* of our race, has not been unattended with results morally demonstrative of the *ubi* and the *quò*, of their primitive starting point. No one can be more sensible than ourselves of the glimmering light which shows the footsteps of those patriarchs of the human family. But let it be remembered that they form masses of such magnitude, and groups of a costume so striking, that what is wanting in distinctness, is compensated by impressive grandeur of outline.

The final adjustment on a comprehensive system, of the ethnological facts which Philology will inevitably restore to History, is not the province of any one individual; that is the work of combined intellect, and of many-sided sagacity. But the enlightened mind will not condemn the labour of the pioneer, who is resolute in clearing the forest gloom, merely because he may wield his solitary axe amid its twilight shades. If a vista is ever to be opened in the vast obscurity of the past, action, not indolent desire, is indispensable. The "possunt, quia posse videntur" has achieved conquests that to the discouraging eye of cold calculation, have appeared a visionary madness. This is, however, a principle as valuable in the intellectual as in the physical world. If the feeling be analysed, a conviction of *truth* will be found to be its basis.

It is not without just cause for congratulation to those who regard the affinities of human speech as identified with the

affinities of the human race, that so much should have been already effected by the methodic scholarship of the learned Bopp. It is impossible to peruse his luminous exposition of those principles, without acknowledging the radical unity of the European and Asio-Medic populations. It has been admirably observed, that—

“Language, writing, mythology, chronology, and monumental lore, have all of them some phase which is out of place in an historical exposition, however impossible it is for the historian to pass them over, when making his own researches. But, on the other hand, there is in all of them an historical element; and this, the historian must bring forward; the more so, as these points are often overlooked, or at least thrown into the back-ground, in the technical treatises of those particular sciences.

“It is my firm conviction, that every one of these phenomena, however dry or insignificant it appears, may find its place in an historical treatise; and it is only when taken as a part of history that it acquires its real importance, and is thoroughly understood.” *

An illustrious geographer has well observed that :—

“The names which geography, and particularly physical geography, has consecrated, may be considered the most important documents of primitive history, or of history anterior to chronology. Men, long before they thought of computing years, or arranging events according to their dates, designated by local denominations, taken from the dialects in which they spoke, all the objects by which they were surrounded—the mountains that bounded their horizon, the rivers in which their thirst was quenched, the village that gave them birth, and the family or tribe to which they belonged. Had that geographical nomenclature been preserved pure and entire, a map of the world might have been obtained, more valuable far than all the Universal Histories.” †

It is impossible for the reflecting mind to concede the derivation of the Hellenic from the Sanscrit type of the Arian tongue, a subject now established beyond controversy, without at the same time granting the probable existence within

* Bunsen “Egypt's place in Universal History,” Pref. p. xvii.

† Universal Geogr. Malte Brun. So also Balbi :—“C'est donc par le seul examen des langues que parlent les divers peuples de la terre, qu'on peut remonter à l'origine primitive des nations qui l'habitent. L'histoire ne peut nous guider dans cette investigation que jusqu'aux temps auxquels elle remonte; encore cela n'est-il possible qu'à l'égard du petit nombre de nations qui possèdent des annales, ou de celles dont quelques souvenirs ont été conservés par des historiens étrangers. Le plus grand nombre des nations du monde est hors de son domaine; et là où l'histoire se tait, et où les traditions populaires même nous manquent, là se présente l'ethnographie pour nous aider, par le sage emploi des faits qu'elle a recueillis, à remonter jusqu'à l'origine primitive des différentes nations.”—Balbi. *Introduit. à l'Atlas Ethnographique*, p. 21.

the boundaries of Hellas, of the tribal and topical evidences of this fact. The opinions of the great author of "*Cosmos*" on the historical results involved in philology, illustrate so distinctly the topical and ethnological grounds upon which the following principles are based, that they may be advantageously introduced in this place.

"Languages," he writes, "compared with each other, and considered as objects of the natural history of the human kind, being divided into families according to the analogy of their internal structure, have become (and it is one of the most brilliant results of modern studies in the last sixty or seventy years), a rich source of *historical knowledge*. Products of a mental power, they lead us back, by the fundamental characters of their organization, to an obscure and otherwise unknown distance. The comparative study of languages shows how races of nations, now separated by wide regions, are related to each other, and have proceeded from a common seat; it discloses the direction and the path of ancient migrations; in tracing out epochs of development, it recognises, in the more or less altered characters of the language, in the permanency of certain forms, or in the already advanced departure from them, which portion of the race has preserved a language nearest to that of their former common dwelling-place.

"The long chain of the Indo-Germanic languages, from the Ganges to the Iberian extremity of Europe, and from Sicily to the North Cape, furnishes a large field for investigations of this nature, into the first or most ancient conditions of language.

"The same historical comparison of languages, leads us to trace the native country of certain productions which, since the earliest times, have been important objects of trade and barter. We find that the Sanscrit names of true Indian productions—rice, cotton, nard, and sugar, have passed into the Greek, and partly into the Semitic languages.

"The considerations here indicated, and illustrated by examples, lead us to regard the comparative study of languages as an important means towards arriving, through scientific and true philologic investigations, at a generalisation of views in regard to the relationship of different portions of the human race, which, it has been conjectured have extended themselves by lines radiating from several points." *

These observations have their strict application, not only to language generally in its affiliated descent from the remotest antiquity, but to the style and title of tribes ethnically connected in their intimate collocation, as well in the most ancient as in the most modern æras.

It is impossible to derive from philology the historical line

* Humboldt's *Cosmos*, p. 108.

of proof, and at the same time to exclude from this benefit, tribal and local titles.

On this point Dr. Donaldson has most justly observed:—

“ There is, in fact, no sure way of tracing the history and migrations of the early inhabitants of the world, except by means of their languages; any other mode of enquiry, must rest on the merest conjecture and hypothesis.

“ Though we had lost all other history of our country, we should be able to tell, from our own language, that the bulk of our population was Saxon, and that they were overcome, and permanently subjected to a body of Norman invaders. When we hear a stream called Wans-beck-water, and know that the three words, of which the compound is made up, all signify ‘water;’ the first being Celtic, as in *Wansford*, the second German, (*beck*, *bach*), the last English, we at once recognise three changes of inhabitants, to whom the older successively lost its significance. The study of language, therefore, in its wider range, may be viewed as a sure means of tracing the changes of population and government which it has undergone: it is indeed perfectly analogous to geology.” *

Such evidences are particularly strong in the case of mountainous regions. Those fortresses of nature formed so many points of jealous isolation. Here, weaker tribes might hold their own against superior numbers. A congeries of rugged defiles, mountain passes, and craggy heights, became securely tenanted by bands, almost as numerous and as diversified as the natural strongholds that received them. Hence, like the Caucasus, not a few of these highland strengths remain to this day, the imperishable text books of the ethnologist and philologist. Here, human speech, faithful as the most impartial historian, tells of the settlement of Finns, of Medes, of Celts, of Toorks, of Tatars, and Alans, demonstrating in the most precise and simple manner, the infiltration of these races and its just amount. But the higher we ascend the stream of time, the earlier do we discern the evidences of this fact. No where is this more evident than in the most ancient ethnic titles of Greece.

It would undoubtedly be somewhat unreasonable to expect that a Greek logographer, however zealous for the antiquity of his country, should be able to interpret Sanscrit, Slavonic, and Celtic terms, whilst acquainted only with his native language. Let us for the moment examine the process of Greek geographical affiliation; and we shall find that a geographical son is generally the offspring of a Cælicolite, thus forming the boundary of Greek history. Hence—

* New Cratyl, p. 13.

Macedon is the son of Zeus,
 Lacedæmon is the son of Zeus,
 Targitaus is the son of Zeus,
 Dardanus is the son of Zeus,
 Scythes is the son of Zeus,
 Corinthus is the son of Zeus,
 Taygete is the mother of Lacedæmon by Zeus,
 Thrax is the son of Ares,
 Bœotus is the son of Poseidon,
 Tanagra is a daughter of Æolus,
 Teucer is the son of the Scamander.

Again: not only does antiquarian Greece attribute to Zeus, Ares and Poseidon, such children as Lacedæmon, Taygete, Makedo and Thrax, but she avails herself of a singular species of terminology, commemorative of the ill-luck of her most illustrious, but what is very suspicious, most ancient sons and daughters. Thus Icarus flies from Crete; his wings melt; he falls into the Ægæan. This part of the sea is ever afterward called the Icarian Sea. Again: Saro is a king of Trezene; he is excessively fond of hunting; he swims several miles in pursuit of a stag; he also is drowned, and this part of the Greek sea is ever after styled the Saronic Gulf. Once more: Ægæus is king of Athens; his son Theseus forgets to hoist the white sail, in token of his safe return from Crete; and Ægæus, at the sight of the black sail, throws himself into the sea, B. C. 1235; and from B. C. 1235 this piece of water is called the Ægæan Sea. Here then are two distinct substitutes for ethnological titles: class the first, consisting of celestial parentage; and class the second, of commemoratives. No sagacity is requisite to perceive that a terminology of this description, is a virtual confession of inability to communicate the historical facts standing in connection with it: at the same time, this may be taken as a valid evidence that, however fictitious such tales may be, *the names themselves are not fabulous*; but belong to an era antecedent to the Ario-Hellenic settlement in Greece, and to a nation other than the purely Hellenic; the interpretation of which antecedent language shall furnish correlative proof of the previous settlement of such nation.

"The study of foreign tongues," writes Mure, "never, either as an object of curiosity, nor as an aid to historical investigation, formed with them (the Greeks) a distinct class of pursuits. This is a peculiarity of Greek literary history. . . . The Pelasgians were considered by the ancients as standing to the Hellenes somewhat in the same relation as the Anglo-Saxons to ourselves. The Anglo-Saxon is a dead language, and a knowledge of it, consequently, is

of little practical utility in the present day ; yet its study continues to be zealously prosecuted, as well on account of its philological, as of its antiquarian interest. With the Greeks the case was different. The allusions in the extant classics to the Pelasgian dialects, spoken or extinct, are so scanty or so vague, as to prove that their affinities had never suggested matter for serious scrutiny."*

On the early Hellenic affiliations Dr. Donaldson thus admirably writes :†

"We cannot now content ourselves with meagre disquisitions about Æolian or Dorian dialects, or vague stories of Pelasgian serfs and Egyptian invaders ; we must look forth upon the great stage of universal history, and consider whether those Greeks may not have had some near relationship with those barbarians of Europe whom they enlightened by their genius, and those barbarians of Asia whom they conquered by their valour."

If, therefore, through the medium of the Greek we are unable to gain any ethnological information from such names as Thebæ, Taygetos, Peneus, Apidanus, Alpheus, Tanagra, and a host of other tribal and topical titles, the inference is clear, that the settlers who gave such denominations, were not Greeks, in our acceptation of the word ; but either a race distinct from, the early cognates or the parents, of that nation.

It is of the utmost importance that the student of classical geography, and especially of that portion which relates to Greece, should not pass onward in this science as a mere matter of rote. He should steadily contemplate the impossibility, after the numerous instances already adduced, of considering the Hellenic stem as antochthonous in Greece. Hence it cannot undoubtedly be urged, that such a name as "Thebæ" is not sufficiently Greek at once for the mythologist, the historian, and the tragedian. Whatever tales may stand in connection with this ancient city, it will not be contended that the *name* is mythological. It is therefore historical—it is Greek. What then is the geographical or ethnological value of this substantial evidence of Greek vitality ?

Greek scholarship is here completely at fault ; and from a term which should be easy of interpretation, no rational signification can be extracted. Now this is precisely the difficulty experienced by the mere English student. What, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, is more thoroughly English than the name of "London?" And yet, with the most thorough acquaintance with his own language, he is unable

* Col. Mure's Hist. of Greek Liter at., vol. i. p. 50.

† Crat. p. 76.

to give any signification of this well-known name. The cause, in both cases, is more than analogous; it is identical. Both Greek and Englishman succeeded to races which spoke a language different on the one hand from the Hellenic, and on the other from the English; and while each of these nations has, in many cases, retained the geographical nomenclature of the first possessors of the soil, the power of interpretation has disappeared with the aborigines of each country. The Tamar and the Thames, and Britain itself, are names undeniably English; but they are names which no Englishman—*quoad* Englishman—can interpret; they belong to an ancient race: he is thus only the inheritor of a title, not of an estate that he can enjoy. Just so it was with the Greek: before him came the Arian and the Celto-Arian, and then the pure Ario-Hellenic stock. It will now be apparent that the ethnography of early Greece lies within no narrow sphere. It will be well to inspect this subject closely; for we cannot afford to leave in our rear, such ancient strongholds of prejudice, and to mask these formidable defences.

To the same purpose are the following sound observations:—

“The magnitude of the earliest historical Hellenic area is of importance. Let Greece, under the leadership of Agamemnon, be as truly Hellenic, as Kent and Essex were Anglo-Saxon in the reign of Alfred: what does it prove in the way of the occupants being aboriginal? As little as the English character of the counties in question at the time referred to. Four centuries, or even less, of migration, may easily have given us all the phenomena that occur; for the area is smaller than the kingdom of Wessex or Northumberland, and the country but little more impracticable. Hence, if we sufficiently recognize the smallness of the Hellenic area, no difficulties against the doctrine of an original non-Hellenic population will arise on the score of its magnitude. It was as easily convertible from non-Hellenic to Hellenic, as Cumberland and Northumberland have been from British to English.” *

The interpreter of these primitive Greek names will find clans, tribes, and sections of nations, everywhere placed in singular confusion, reminding him of those regions which have suffered from volcanic perturbations. But there is yet another most important fact, that strikes the attentive view of the philologist. It is that of the early branching off of the present European dialects of the Arian race.

This is a fact proved by the facility with which ancient

* Dr. Latham's *Ethnology of Europe*, p. 129.

ethnic titles are to be interpreted through the medium of the Slav-Sanskrit, Zend-Medic, and Celto-Medic dialects.

We are then to view the Hellenic as that dialect of the great Arian tongue, which formed the universal solvent,* by which, while tribal titles remained unchanged, all these various clans were marvellously blended into a people speaking one general language; yet each, as Bœotians, Athenians, Laconians and Ionians, retaining those peculiarities of dialect, which were once still more distinct. History has not left us to doubt as to the wonderfully Hellenizing effect of the Greek language wherever it gained a footing. Nor, on the other hand, has Thucydides failed to note that era of the early small communities of Greece, when not only provinces, but cities also, had a distinct name expressive of the resident tribe. "Hekataeus, Herodotus and Thucydides," writes Grote,† "all believed that there had been an ante-Hellenic period, when different languages, mutually unintelligible, were spoken between Mount Olympus and Cape Malea."‡ Many of these ancient races long continued διγλωττοί, as we are informed by Strabo§

Again: speaking of the modern highland population, to the north-west of Greece, Malte Brun thus acutely writes||—

"To ascertain the Celticisms and Germanisms in the Albanian, is by no means an unprofitable task; they cannot be attributed to accidental causes, for these words form a part of a numerous class in different languages. . . . It is difficult to account for these facts from the migrations of different people; but they may be easily explained, if we admit that the ancient population of the Hæmus was made up of Celtic, Slavonic, and German tribes, as well as Pelasgian, Hellenic, and Asiatic."

To the same point, Vivian de St. Martin,¶ speaking of the population of Thrace, observes:—

* "The facility," writes Niebuhr, "with which these Pelasgian tribes were moulded into Greeks, was a characteristic of their race, and a main cause of their dissolution and extinction. It is natural to look upon this as resulting from the original affinity between the two races, which nevertheless were essentially different; and so I believe it did. We may observe, however, that the Greek language and national character often exercised a magical power over foreign races that came in contact with them, even where there can have been no such affinity. The inhabitants of Asia Minor began to be Hellenized from the time of the Macedonian conquest, though very few genuine Greeks settled amongst them."—*Niebuhr*, vol. i. p. 56.

† Grote's *Hist. Greece*, vol. ii, p. 317.

‡ Hekataeus. *Fry*, 356, ed. Clausen. Compare Strabo, vii. p. 321; Herod. i. 67; Thucyd. i. 3.

§ Strabo, vii. 327.

¶ *Univers. Geog.* (Eng. Edit.), vol. iv. p. 197.

¶ Vol. i. p. 229.

"Other races, besides the Pelasgic, pressed onward in that direction, and there left traces of their presence. The Gothic population of the north of the empire, the Celtic tribes of the western countries, above all, the Teutonic element of central Europe and the Slavonic populations of the East, have, in that region, the representatives of their respective nationalities. . . . Their languages, daughters of one common mother, must have formerly offered analogies much more intimate in proportion as they touched more nearly on those regions which were their common cradle."

So Chodzky, who remarks* that—

"There has certainly existed an universal language for the Asiatic colonies of Europe—a *Japhetic language*,—which, in consequence of the primitive disposition of the European nations, is divided into several idioms, which, in their turn, became mother tongues, such as the Greek, the Slavonic, the Gothic, the Celtic."

If then the valuable researches of Humboldt into the ethnology of ancient Spain, based upon an interpretation through the Basque, are to have any weight—if those of Dr. Prichard into that of Great Britain, resting upon the Celtic, are to be considered of authority—if those, in fine, of Anglo Saxons, as applied to Saxon England, are to be esteemed incontrovertible—how can we reject the positive and clear interpretation of the early tribal names of Greece, supplied by the Medic, Slavo-Medic, Celtic, and Gotho-Medic languages?

Independently of all direct historical information, there is still in the life of nations, as of individuals, an involuntary record. On this, the pen of the historian has never busied itself; it lies, it is true, somewhat below the surface, but it is not the less valuable, that we are obliged to dig for the treasure. The races of men who chiefly formed the populations of Southern Europe, antecedent to the Hellenic and Roman stocks, may, from topical and tribal designations, be as distinctly referred to the Medic, Slavo-Medic, and Celto-Medic families, as the Greek and Latin may be to the purer Arian. From these tribal documents, it is evident that the inquisitive mind may not be unprofitably employed in the contemplation of a process taking place on the shores of the Ægean, at an ancient period, similar to that which, thirteen centuries before our era, marked, on the borders of the Himalaya, the advent and political process of the Brahminical Arians—that Eastern section of the parent stock of the Hellenic family.

An analogy of no trivial weight would point to a similar conquest and headship of these Hellenes, or western descendants of the Arians, and the conquest or expulsion by

* Chodzky's History of the Poles, p. 360.

them from Greece of the Celto and Sclavo-Medic and Zendo-Arian bands. Such an analogy is now no longer a theory. We here present direct evidences of this important fact, by an interpretation of the early tribal and topical titles of Hellas, thus explanatory of the non-Hellenic vocables contained in the topology of primitive Greece, when Sclavo-Arii and Celto-Mædi were the founders of her cities and the inhabitants of her provinces. The range, however, embraced by this interpretative process, takes in a circle widening far beyond the limited region of Hellas, and the circumjacent lands. It is of a character so comprehensive, as to embrace the ancient populations of Europe at large, with very few exceptions. It is thus co-relative with the wide extent of the derived and affiliated dialects of the chief races from the shores of the Indus to the British Isles. Isolation in special localities, protracted through a long series of ages, acting upon the language of fragmentary sections of one and the same great family, has proved the powerful matrix out of which younger dialects were moulded; yet all are stamped with the truthful impress of the parent original. Hence tribal and topical titles follow the regular system of lingual mutation, from an older to a younger dialect. The great connecting links of the Indo-Germanic family, with which Europe is now filled, have been ably portrayed by an excellent authority; and they bear so immediately on the principles involved in the ethnic titles of antiquity, that they may be appropriately introduced in this place.

"Although," observes the author, "we cannot trace the first colonization of Greece, which is beyond the period of historical records, the analysis of the Greek language and its comparison with the Sanscrit, of which we have seen that the Zend and the Parsi are derivatives, have afforded a proof of near affinity between the Pelasgi and the Asiatic nations already described, which, to all those who have entered on the subject, has appeared fully conclusive. It seems that colonies of one original people established themselves in remote times on the Ganges, in Persia, and on the shores of the Ægean. In the former station, their speech was gradually moulded into the Sanscrit, and they became subject to the power and superstition of the Brahmins; in the second, they became disciples of the Magian hierarchy, and their dialects were the Zend, the Parsi, and the Pehlvi; in Greece, their mythology and language acquired a more graceful character, but the proofs of a common origin are still equally clear and indelible."*

We shall here introduce a brief extract from the metho-

* Dr. Prichard's *Natural Hist. of Man*, vol. ii. p. 31.

dical work of the illustrious Bopp,* which will form a powerful parallel to the Zendo-Arian nomenclature of early Greece; and will demonstrate the fact, that where great lingual principles harmoniously pervade human speech, they must be equally applicable to the tribal and topical titles of the speakers, wherever they may have resided. Such records form a self-interpreting lexicon of ethnology, as copious as it is faithful. The following is a brief table of

NUMERALS.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek (Doric).	Latin.	Gothic.
Prat'hama	Frat'hēma	Prota	Prima	Fruma
Dwitiya	Bitya	Deutera	Altera	Ant'hara
Tritiya	Thritya	Trita	Tertia	Thridyō
Chaturtha	Tūirya	Tetarta	Quarta	Fidvordo
Panchamā	Pugdha	Pempta	Quinta	Fimfto
Shashtā	Cstvā	Hekta	Sexta	Saihsto
Saptama	Haptatha	Hebdoma	Septima	Sibundō
Ashtamā	Astema	Ogdoa	Octava	Ahtudo
Navama	Nāuma	Eunotā	Nona	Niundo
Dasamā	Dasēma	Dekata	Decima	Taihundo

To these numerals we subjoin a brief conspectus of the
ANALOGY OF VERBS.

Singular.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.
Dadā-mi	Dadhā-mi	Didō-mi	Do
Dadā-si	Dadhā-si	Did-os	Da-s
Dadā-te	Dadhā-te	Didō-ti	Da-t

Plural.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.
Dad-mas	Dadē-mahī	Dido-mes	Da-mus
Dat-tha	Das-ta ?	Dido-te	Da-tis
Dad-te	Dadē-nti	Dido-nti	Da-nt

General View of the Persons of the Verb.

			1st Person.
Tishtāmi	Histami	Histēmi	Sto
Dadāmi	Dadhami	Didōmi	Do
Asmi	Ahmi	Emmi	Sum
Bharāmi	Barāmi	Phero	Fero
Vahāmi	Vazāmi	Ekho	Veho

Second Person.

Asi	Ahi	Essi	Es
Tishtasi	Histhahi	Histēs	Stas
Dadasi	Dadhāhi	Didōs	Das
Bharasi	Barahi	Phereis	Fers
Tishthes	Histois	Histaiēs	Stes
Dadyās	Daidhyāo	Didoiēs	Des
Bhares	Bharōis	Pherois	Ferās

* Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Lithuanian, Greek, Latin, &c.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Plural. Greek.	Latin.
Tishthatha	Histhatha	Histate	Statis
Bharatha	Baratha	Pherete	Fertis
Tishthētha	Histaēta	Histaiēte	Stetis
Dadyāta	Daidhyāta	Didoiēte	Detis
Bharēta	Baraēta	Pheroite	Feratis

Third Person.

Asti	Ashti	Esti	Est
Tishtati	Histati	Histati	Stat
Dadāti	Dadhaiti	Didōti	Dat
Barati	Baraiti	Phere(t)i	Fert
Bharēt	Barōit	Pheroi	Ferat
Dadyāt	Daidhyāt	Dedoiē	Det

Plural.

Santi	Henti	(S)enti	Sunt
Tishtanti	Histenti	Histanti	Stant
Dadati	Dadenti	Didonti	Dant
Bharanti	Barenti	Pheronti	Ferunt
Vahanti	Vazenti	Ekhonti	Vehunt

View of the Zend and Greek verb "TO STAND," (Præsens).

	Zend.	Greek.
Sing.	Histāmi	Histāmi
	Histahi	Histās
	Histaiti	Histati
Plur.	Histamahi	Histamen
	Histat'ha	Histate
	Histenti	Histanti

Conspectus of the verb "Terpo," in the Imperfect.

Sing.	Atarp-a-m	Eterp-o-n
	Atarp-a-s	Eterp-e-s
	Atarp-a-t	Eterp-e-t
Dual.	Atarp-a-tam	Eterp-e-ton
	Atarp-a-tam	Eterp-e-ton
Plur.	Atarp-ā-ma	Eterp-o-men
	Atarp-a-ta	Eterp-e-te
	Atarp-a-n	Eterp-o-n

View of "Didōmi," in the Future Tense.

Sing.	Dā-syāmi	Dō-so
	Dā-syasi	Dō-seis
	Dā-syati	Do-sei
Dual.	Dā-syat'has	Do-seton
	Dā-syatas	Do-seton
Plur.	Dā-syamas	Do-somen
	Dā-syat'ha	Do-sete
	Dā-syanti	Do-sonti

SUPINES and INFINITIVES.

Sanscrit.	Latin.
Sthā'-tum, to stand	Stātum.
Dā'-tum, to give	Datum.
Jnā'-tum, to know	Nō-tum.
Pā'-tum, to drink	Potum.
E'-tum, to go	Itum (cf. ἵνυε).
Yō'-tum, yāv-i-tum, to join	Jūtum.
Srō'-tum, to flow	Rutum (cf. rivus.)
Stār'-tum, to strew	Stratum.
'Ank-tum, to anoint	Unctum.
Yok-tum, to join	Junctum.
Sván-i-tum, to sound	Son-i-tum.
Sarp-tum, to go	Serptum.
Vam-i-tum, to vomit	Vom-i-tum.
Pesh-tum, to bruise	Pistum.
Jan-i-tum, to beget	Gen-i-tum.

To these we might add a mass of corroborative evidence under the heads of pre-fixes, post-fixes, and formatives, so striking and so copious, as to satisfy the most sceptical, and rouse the most thoughtless. It is impossible to contemplate such a marvellous accord of language—such a mirror-like reflex, as is here shewn in the case of the Sanscrit and the Hellenic—without granting an *historical* value to the *personal agency* of the speakers of the parent tongue in early Greece. This conclusion will be found borne out by a mass of evidence, ranging over the entire topography of that region, interwoven with the ethnological titles of its tribes, and the distinctive features of its cities. With respect to the source of the European dialects, Dr. Donaldson thus writes—

“It appears that the origin of these languages is traceable to Iran, a country bounded on the north by the Caspian, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the east by the Indus, and on the west by the Euphrates. Within these limits were spoken, as far as we can discover, two languages, which bore the same proportion to one another, that we recognize as subsisting between the low and high German.”*

ARIA, whence the modern name of Iran, takes its name, as is well known, from the Αῖριοι, an ancient Median people.† It is a term derived from the Sanscrit vocable “Arya,” venerable, hence descriptive of the “Noble Race”—a term which has even penetrated the Celtic tongue, under the form of “Aire” and “Aireach,” expressive of an ancient “*privileged nobility*,” as well as of the class possessed of wealth.‡

* Cratylus, p. 117.

† Herod viii. 62.

‡ “Bo Aireach,” one rich in cattle. As to the extent of the Arian dialect, Professor Wilson thus writes :—“With regard to the affinity of the lan-

Nor is the vocable less distinct in the German *Ehre, Ehren*. This name included the whole of the Persian race,* as well as those who spoke dialects of the Median; and "the Greek geographers lay down a region in the East which they term *Aria* and *Ariana*, and which appears to have been co-extensive with the *Iran* of Oriental writers."†

With regard to Dr. Donaldson's view of the Pelasgi, as the parent stock of the Sclavonians, in our opinion it assumes the importance of an historical fact.

"The connexion of the Pelasgi with the Sclavonians, . . . brings them in close contact with the early Celtic tribes. . . . It has been proved that the Sarmatians belonged to the parent stock of the Sclavonians; and we find in the Sclavonian dialects ample illustrations of these general principles, by which the Scythian languages seem to have been characterised. . . . So that whichever way we look at it, we shall find new reasons for considering the Pelasgians as a branch of the great Sarmatian and Sclavonian race."‡

Again; "The result of the whole discussion is to prove that the Pelasgians were an Indo-Germanic tribe, who passed by the north of the Euxine into Europe, and re-crossed into Asia Minor by the Hellespont."

Once more: "If, however, the old Mysians and Sclavonians were the same people, it is pretty clear that the Pelasgians were also of Sclavonic origin, for the inhabitants of Mysia were evidently of the Pelasgian race."§

It is evident that two grand masses of the Arian stem lay, at an era of great antiquity, to the north of the waving and

guage from Bactria to the Persian Gulf, it would of course follow, that the country being that of the ancient Persians, the Persian language would be spoken in it, varied as to dialect, but radically the same. If the language of Persia was Zend, this would have been in use throughout Ariana; and its strong affinity to Sanscrit would justify the extension of Strabo's remark, even to the Indians of the Parapomus and the west bank of the Indus. With all the other divisions of Ariana there is no difficulty, even if the Persian of ancient did not materially differ from that of modern times; for Persian is still the language of the inhabitants of the towns of Afghanistan and Turkistan, of Kabul and Bokhara." We thus see that to this day the Arian, in the dialectic form of the Persian, continues to be spoken in the Transoxianic regions.

* The celebrated M. St. Martin thus writes on the Armenian use of the term:—"Depuis fort long temps, les Arméniens donnent aux Persans le nom d'*Ari* et d'*Arik'h*, qui est chez eux synonyme de celui d'*Iran*, et qui a peut être, la même origine. . . . Selon eux, les Persans ont reçu le nom d'*Ari*, à cause de leur vaillance; *Ari*, signifie effectivement en Arménien, fort, robuste, vaillant; en Zende, le mot, *aérido* signifie fort et vigoureux."—St. Martin, *Hist. d'Arménie*, vol. i. p. 275. It is easy to see in this the source of "Αρης, Ἀρεος.

† Dr. Prichard's *Nat. Hist. of Man*, vol. i. p. 275.

‡ Varronianus.

§ Cratyl, p. 91.

protracted line of the Hæmus, the natural barrier to Thrace and the northern frontiers of Greece. The lines of the Danube, and the mountain range just noticed, may be stated as roughly marking out these two corresponding branches of the Medic stock, each of which had its representative in Hellenic Greece. To the north of the Danube, were the Daki and Getæ, whose cognates may be easily recognized in Italy, in the Peloponnesus, and in Northern Greece; for the topologies of these regions form in themselves truthful records. To the south of the great river-line, lay the immense nation of the Mæsi. Now internal evidence of an interesting nature corroborates Dr. Donaldson's view of this vast section of the human family. The Slavonic elemental basis in the Mysian population we look upon as the southward progression of the Mæsi; and the Dardanoi of N. W. Asia Minor, as the advanced cognates of the Dardanoi of the Hæmus.*

That this was a Slavonic population, common at an early period to the Hæmus, Macedonia, Thessaly and the N.E. angle of the Ægæan, is indubitably recorded in the nomenclature of its people and its chiefs; thus harmonizing with tribal and topical evidence of the same nature.

Hence we have, not only Ant-ander, Ante-nor, as the "man of the Antes," or the Slavonian;† but the "town of the Antes," Antium and Antandros; and Virgil is at once an unconscious historian and ethnologist when he writes, that

"Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi."

To these valid evidences of the Eastern Slavi or Antes, we may add the ancient names, Antigonos and Antigone, as the "son of the Slavonian" and "daughter of the Slavonian" respectively. Anti-gone is the wife of Peleus—Antigone is the sister of Priam—Ant-i-gone is the daughter of Œdipus—Anti-gone is, in fact, but an unit of the great Slavonic population common to Macedon, Mysia, Thessaly, and Southern Greece. It is thus that *history* is recorded in an ethnic title, centuries before it makes its appearance in a more regular form. Thus, too, it was, that the Eastern Asi and the Ægæan Asi, existed in the forms Asius, Iassius,

* "*Darada*," from the Sans. root "dri," "to tear," signifies a *precipice* or rugged height. Hence it is the ethnic of the highlanders of the Hæmus those of Mount Ida, and the N.W. of the Himala, the Darada, or Dards.

† Ant-e-nor (quasi, 'Αντ-ανρ) is in the last member of the compound the Sansc. "nara," and the Persian "nar," a male—the former the source of the Greek ανρ.

Iason, ages antecedent to their formal recognition in the pages of the historian. We know that the Antes are the Eastern branch of the Sclavi, from whom the Moscovites are descended. As a nation indeed, under this designation, they appear of very modern date; since the first notices discovered of the Antes are in the Gothic history of Jornandes, who mentions the conquest of that division of the Sclavi, by Vinitar, the successor of Hermanrich, king of the Goths. He subdued the Antes, who then inhabited the country lying to the north of the Euxine.*

It is not a little interesting to observe the description of dialect spoken at the earliest periods of the Sclavo-Median settlement in Mysia—the very name of Priam is a remarkable instance. It is preserved to us under two forms, the one almost a pure Celtic, the other equally close to the Sanscrit. In both these forms, however, it must be borne in mind, that the Medic tongue embraced a more Japhetic or comprehensive range, than at present, when the result of centuries of tribal isolation must necessarily impart a very false and contracted idea of its original extent as a grand whole, enriched by the amazing number of tribes connected with the Arian stem, from which the Celtic itself was one of the earliest seceders. Here we find the usual Hellenic substitute for history, in the full ingenuity of philological fiction. Priam, we are told, received this denomination from the circumstance of his having been once taken captive and then ransomed (πριπαυ).†

We have then to consider the country of the Mæsi as Sclavo-Arian, and the grand feeder of the districts on the northern frontiers of Greece, and the north-eastern angle of the Ægæan. The Mæsi, in fact, we assume to be but an ordinary variant of the Mædzi or Mædi.‡ Now the Medes are Arians, as shown by Herodotus. But the Persians, who were Arians, were also *Asians*, for Dareius Hystaspes ex-

* Dr. Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. iii. p. 408.

† Priomh (Priam) and Primh, signify in Celt, "first" or "chief," immediately connected with the Latin primus. On the other hand the Æolic form of Priam is "Perrhamus," identical in all material points with the Sanscrit "Përamüh," best, chief, or first. Note the Celtic forms on the coast of Asia Minor, and the south-west of Greece. See the observation on the Celtic settlement of Sighæum, under the head of the Celtic ethnics.

‡ Conf. the Sansc. Madhya, Lat. Medius, Gr. Meesos, the Gr. Rhodon, Lat. Rosa; in fact, see Bopp passim on the interchange of *d. z. s.* Conf. the Sanscrit Aham, the Cuneiform Adam, and the Zend Azem (Ego) So the Arabs wrote Mahi for the Medi. The Asiatic dress of the Mæsi on Trajan's column corroborate the identity of Mædi and Mæsi. See "Quatre-mère Journ. des Savants," in *v. Mahi*. 1847, pp. 2—12.

pressly states himself to be "*a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Asian, of Asian extraction.*"*

"The resemblance," writes Dr. Donaldson, "which the Greek bore to the Persian in particular, must have been much greater than formerly; so much so indeed, that a Greek could learn Persian without any difficulty. Democedes makes a witty remark in Persian, before he had been long at Susa; and Themistocles, an elderly man who had never learned a foreign tongue in his life, made himself a proficient in the language within a year."†

The *Asians*, indeed, were an important scion of that immense trunk, whose branches touched the Himalaya, and whose head overshadowed the western extremity of Europe—the Scandinavian Asi are well known. The *Asians*, in fact, possessed very early settlements upon the coast of Asia Minor.‡ Even Ionia itself was called *Ias* at a period of great antiquity,§ when Attica was not only called Ionia, but *Ias*;|| the *Azeiotes* occupied the Troad,¶ and the *Iazyges* called themselves *Ias*,** thereby connecting, in a manner, the population of the Danube and the N.E. *Ægean*. The very name of *As-ander* implies the "*Asian-man*," just as *Ant-ander* or *Ant-e-nor*, does that of the "*Sclavic-man*."

The Caucasian *Ossi* are well known to be the *Asi* of antiquity, and they still speak a Median dialect.

"Thus," to use the words of an admirable authority, "the Pelasgian Ionians are *Asi*: like the Caucasian *Asi*, the Medes and the Hyrcanian *Asi* or *Dakhi*, they speak a dialect of the Iranian stock. Like these, also, they belong to the immense family of fair-haired races which has covered with a vast net-work, all the west of Middle Asia, and almost the whole of Europe."††

But the Germanic and Gothic section of the Arian family are not less distinctly marked by internal Hellenic records. Such vocables as *μυχαρή*, *α-μέλω*, *θήρ*,‡‡ and such local names as *Nessonis* Palus, *Nestus*, *Strymon*,§§—such appellations as *Teutamus*,||| *Teuth-ras*—such localities as *Teuth-rania*

* Cuneiform Inscript. Naskhi Rustam, by Rawlinson. † Cratylus, *in loco*.

‡ Darius of Elea, B.C. 322, calls Smyrna "the most celebrated city of the Iasians;" and Homer mentions the Asian meadows on the Cæster.

§ Steph. Byzant. v. *Iac*.

|| IX. 392, B. Casaubon.

¶ Hellenicus. Steph. Byz. *Αζειωραι*. Vide Suidas likewise.

** "*As-hoc*," itself implies the *abode of the Asi*. Vide Vivian de St. Martin *Etudes Géographiques*, vol. i, p. 179. *As-gard*, the city of the Asi.

†† Viv. de St. Martin, *Nouvelles Ann. des Voyages*, vol. cxiii, p. 154.

‡‡ *Germ.* Machen, Milch. Melker, Thier.

§§ *Germ.* Nass, moist, wet; real root the Sansc. *Nish*, (*part.* *Nishta*.) to sprinkle, wet. *Germ.* strüma; and Engl. *stream*.

||| The German national title "*Teut*." Conf. the historical value involved in *As-ander*, *Ant-ander*, *Ante-nor*. We consider *Teuth-rania* to imply the

Pergamus—such musicians as “*Orphe-us*,”*—such a progenitor of the Hellenic stock as “*Deuka-lion*,† are all *facts involved in names*, drawing forth internal evidences in harmony with Dr. Donaldson’s remarks on the Indo-Germanic origin of the Hellenes. Nor is the Getic connection of the early Greek population less distinct.

“*Assus*,” as the name of a river, is a pure Gothic term, descriptive of a “*flowing*”—a current. Nor has a well-known ethnologist failed to point out the early connexion of Greece with the shores of the Baltic.‡ “There must,” says he, “have been a very ancient intercourse between the maritime people of the two great inland seas of Europe, since amber, a produce of the Baltic coast, was known at the innermost recesses of the Mediterranean by the Greeks before the time of Homer.”—(Dr. Prichard’s *Physic. Hist. of Man*, vol. iii, p. 384.)

“The resemblance,” writes Dr. Donaldson, “between the low German dialects and the Sanscrit, even after a separation for thousands of years, is so striking, that an eminent philologist has said, ‘when I read the Gothic of Ulphilas, I could believe I had Sanscrit before me.’§ “An element of this kind,” writes an esteemed ethnologist, “either in part Finnic, or purely Getic, blended in the earliest population of Greece. . . . The Heraclæidæ were of the fair-haired stock. They came from Thrace and from Asia Minor, and in the quality of marine swarmers down the Euxine, occupied por-

kingdom of the Teut. Conf. Pergamus with Bergheim and the Greek *πρυ-ov*.

* “Orpheus seems absolutely nothing but the Hellenic form of the Sax. *Earp*, the German *Harpfe*, *Harpfner*, descriptive of an early poet and musician under the name of the “*Harper*,” (*quasi* ‘*Ἀρφευς*’).

† What, it may be asked, is the signification of *Deukalion*. The name *itself* is as *historical* as Geta, or Gothicus. We here venture to offer its interpretative value, viz., “The *Dakian* PEOPLE,” (*quasi* *Δακτα Λεω*-)ς Here then, ethnology, geography, tradition, and philology, will be found to harmonize. “Three centuries before our era,” writes the celebrated M. St. Martin, “Hungary and Bactria equally bore the name of *Dakia*; and this denomination, always recognizable, but differently modified by the idioms which succeeded each other in Europe and Asia, serves still to distinguish the German.” St. Martin, on the “*Arsacides*,”¹ edited by Lajard, p. 301. The Armenians called the *Daki* of their country, *Daik*, and Xenophon denominates them *Taochi*. The celebrated St. Martin here alludes to the national ethnic “*Deutsch*,” Conf. the forms *Deutcha-le*, and *Deuka-li*.

‡ We would here enquire, is there not a solid historical and ethnical connexion between the national forms “*Arikh-li*, *Erich-li*, and *Heracl-les*?” If we refer the more useful labours of *Heracl-les* to the Gothio-Arian stock in primitive Greece, we shall see at once a striking harmony between tradition and philology.

§ Cratyl. p. 84.

tions of the coast, or passed on to the Mediterranean, to the the Adriatic, Gaul and Spain; where the fabulous Gorgon is again represented to have been a fair-haired giant."*

Ethnologists have noticed the wide application of the word "MAN," as an *ethnic*. The extent, however, of the principle of LOCALITY, as an eponymous of different tribes, has certainly been greatly overlooked. Hence Dr. Donaldson† has well observed, "We cannot fail to see the resemblance between the names of the Ambrones, and that of the river Humbro; and no Englishman is ignorant that the North Umbrians are so called with reference to an Ymbraland through which the river Uمبر flowed.‡ So, too, Dr. Prichard, who observes,§ "that it has been conjectured that they (the Salian Franks) derived their celebrated name from the river Sala, the Issel." The following ethnics enforce and elucidate the principle. The "Polsky," or people of the plain, from Polé, a plain; the Suome, or Same, ethnic of the Fins, from Soume, a "swamp;" Campania, or the plain country from its "Campi;" Ar-Morica, from "More," the sea, as the coast district; Aturia, as the district on the Atur, i. e. river or water; Murcia, as the "marsh" country, the "Albanich" (Albani) or "highlanders," from "Alb," a height; the Ugorian stock, the inhabitants of the Oural mountains, from *Ogour* and *Agour*, in Ostiak, a height, mountain, elevated country;|| the "Mœati" of ancient geographers, as the Celtic "Maiatic," or men of "the lowlands;" the "Kaledonioi," as the inhabitants of the "forests," (*Kelydonach*); the Croats, so called from the Slavonic ethnic, Chrovat or Chrobat,¶ a mountaineer; the "Aramæi," the Shemitic expression of the highlands, i. e. Armenia; the Bedouins as people of the "desert," from the Arab; "Badiya;" the Carni, as the tribes of the "cairn," or heights, the origin of the modern district of Cärnthen or Carinthia; Arabia, from "Arabah," a desert; to which

* Col. Hamilton Smith's History of Man, p. 438.

† Varronianus, p. 63.

‡ To the same point is the observation of Dr. Latham, that "the Ambrones seem to have been on the lower Rhine, the Umbri on the lower Po, and the Cambrians of Cumberland on the Solway.

§ Nat. Hist. of Man, vol iii, p. 365.

|| This is usually, though incorrectly, derived from the Russ, "Ou-gorei," "ad-montes."

¶ The Slavonic "Chrobat," was the source of the "*Carpai h-ii montes*" of ancient geographers, as also of the "*Carpatus*" isle, and the Carpetini montes of Spain. The Russians apply the term to chains of mountains, as "Ouralakoi Chrebet," the "Uralian Chain;" "Stanovoi Chrebet," the "Stanovy Chain." The Slav. for a crested hill or mount is "Chr'b"—in fact the *Rhip'hæi montes* of the ancients, and the Latin "*Rupis*."

numerous others might be added. We shall now, upon the basis here laid down, proceed to notice—

THE PRINCIPLES OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL TERMINOLOGY, in their special connection with the OREOLOGY of Greece, Italy, and the outlying countries. These will be found in accordance with acknowledged authority on Arian philology: the same principles of lingual mutation applying to *local* titles, as to language in its general attributes. Hence we find the “Hæmus” mons in Thrace, the “Imæus” in Italy, the “Imaus” to the north of India, the “Em”-odus, as the “source of snow;” the Him-alaya, as “the abode of snow.”* All these terms lead us up to the same family of man and of language.

If again, we turn to the far-famed region of Pieria, the same evidence is at hand. “Pieria,” as a Greek term, gives forth no signification; as an Arian word, it is exactly descriptive of the district to which it is applied. “Pahar,” a mountain peak, is a term of very constant use in the north-western regions of the Himalaya, where “Pahariya” signifies a “mountaineer.” Hence the origin of the classical “Pieria:” simply “the mountain country”—a name also applied to the “Highlands” in the vicinity of the Sinus Issicus. In Thesaly, again, the student will perceive the mons “Kuphos.” It is simply the Zendic term “Kuph,” a mountain; thereby disclosing the ethnological affinities of the early population of Greece. Nor is the southern part of Hellas less distinctly marked with the indelible evidences of the same fact. Hence we find the Aroanius mons. “Rohan” and “Arohan” signify an ascent on high ground, from the root “Rooh,” to rise; from this source also springs the Greek “O-ros,” a mountain. On the north-east and on the north-west of the Peloponnesus will be found two different forms of the same vocable; viz. S’collis, the sibilant of the well-know Latin Collis and “Cullene;” the last an attributive form of “Collinus,” or the hilly country, *quasi* (Κολλινῇ γῇ). For the real root, however, as used by the early populations of Italy, Greece, and Ariana, the classical scholar must ascend to the Sanscrit “Cool” or “Cul,” to heap up, to pile, to accumulate. Such tribal use of sibilant or non-sibilant forms, as in Collis and S’collis, are familiar to the Greek student, in the numerous words formed on the model of μικρός σ’ μικρός. The “Cithæron” chain of heights, which separates Bœotia from Megaris, is a

* The ancient Em-athia (*Em-at’hia*) seems but another form of *Hem-od-aya*.
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pure Sanscrit term; and one of the most interesting results of a clear development, is to form a complete solvent for separating truth from fiction, as standing in connection with the name.

"Helicon and Cithæron," writes Plutarch, quoting from Hermesianax of Cyprus, "were two brothers; but very different from each other in temper and character. The former was mild and courteous, and dutiful to his parents, whom he supported in their old age. Cithæron, on the other hand, was covetous and avaricious. He wished to obtain all the property of the family for himself. To gain this object he destroyed his father, and afterwards threw his brother by treachery down a precipice; but he himself also was carried over the cliff at the same time from the thrust given to his brother. After his death, by the will of the gods, these two brothers were changed into the two mountains which bore their names. Cithæron, by reason of his impiety, became the abode of the Furies. The Muses, on account of his gentle and affectionate disposition, chose Helicon as their favourite haunt."

This very romantic tale is at once disposed of, by knowing that "Cu'thera" and "Cut'hara" simply signify "a mountain;" consequently, the whole legend of Hermesianax stands out as a pure figment, and exemplifies at the same time the process by which the Hellenic localities were gifted with *origines* suited to Mythopæic fancy.* Again: Taygete is said to be the mother of Lacedæmon, and the name-giver of the Taygetus mons. "Tauge-ta" (Ταῦγετος) is an attributive form of "Taug," the well-known name for a mountain in the regions of the north-west of the Himalaya, where "Taugestan," or the "mountain-land," is the exact equation of "Tauge-tos" of the Peloponnesus.

On the north of Illyria was the "Adrius" mons; a name equally Arian with that of Hæmus: "Adri" implying a mountain in the Sanscrit. Hence it is that the Himalaya is called "Adris" or the "mountain-king," † just as the Thracian Rhodope, the Mons Æropus of Epirus, and the Indian mons "Meandrus," respectively signify the "king of the earth." ‡ The exact equation of "Adris" is found in the well-known "Pyrenæi" montes; "Purinæi" being the Zendic "Pur," a mountain, and "ina," a king. From the *Sansc.* "Vasu," fire, is formed the attributive "Vesu"-vius or the "Fier"-y mountain; just as from the Helleno-Pelasgic "Ait'hinos"

* The Cytorus mons (Cutāra) of Phaphlagonia is another slight variant of the same vocable.

† From Adri, a mountain, and Is, a king.

‡ Rooda pa, earth king; Ira pa, earth king; Mahe Indra, earth king.

(*Αἶθρος*) was produced the syncopated "*Aitna*" (*Αἶθ'να*) or the burning mountain. The ethnologist and historian alike discern in the "Tagrus" mons of Hispania, and the "T'haguri" montes of Serica, a population common to that whence descended a section of the Arian Hindoos, amongst whom "Tegra" is a well-known term for a "height" or "rising ground."

With respect to the relative antiquity of the two great classic languages of Greece and Rome, Dr. Donaldson has well-observed, "that the Latin is the older language of the two, was recognized even by those who wished to derive Latin from Greek; for they sought a connexion between the language as it stood, and the oldest, or Æolian dialect of the Greek."* This fact rests not only upon the mere historic or philological speculations of antiquity: what is of more importance is, that a positive text-book of such facts is still extant in Greece itself—in other words, in her topological nomenclature. Hence, such names as "Alpheus" the Latin "Alveus," mount S'Collis, the sibilant of "'Collis," the Ætolian Calli-ensis (*Lat.* Colli-enses) or hill-tribes, the isle of "Scopelus," and many other tribal or topical titles, form at once an ethnological and historical record of the Hellenic and Italian populations. Considerable ethnological interest attaches to the grand Pelasgic settlement of southern Greece. Arcadia, a country which is acknowledged to have known no change of its ancient settlers, and whose physical peculiarities, by their interpretation, stamp with veracity the first records of Hellenic antiquity. The existence of the Ossi—the ancient Asi—in the Caucasus, to this day, surrounded as they are by numerous tribes of Ugorian original, demonstrates the power of Arcadia, not less than that of all mountainous regions, to become the conservative bulwark of ethnology.

ARKAS or ARCAS, the ethnic of the race, unites by its style and title the old populations of Greece and Italy, and amply testifies to the truth of the traditional emigrations from the former to the latter country. Arca-s, identical with the Latin Arc-s (*Arx*), properly a point, peak, or height, is but the metathesis† of the Greek "Akro"-n, which in its turn flows from the Sanscrit and Zend, "Agra" and "Aghra."‡

* Page 89.

† Conf. *κρατός* *καρός*; Æol. *όλχος*-*όχλός*; *κραναός*, and Celt. Carn.

‡ It is not a little peculiar that the Arab. "*Arkaḥ*," the high rugged defiles of a mountain, the plural of "Rakh," should be so exactly the counterpart of the Pelasgian ethnic in sound and sense.

Hence, "ARCAS" implies a "MOUNTAINEER," and ARCADIA the "LAND OF MOUNTAINS OR PEAKS."

In the case of foreign names, the same process of adaptation to his own language, possessed irresistible attractions to the Hellenic man. Hence, the "*Keraunii*" montes were plausibly stated to be so called, from being so frequently smitten with thunder (*κεράυνος*). A due knowledge, however, of the Arian dialects here separates facts from fiction. KERAUN is a Persian term, expressive of the *border* or *coast* of a country. Hence ancient geographers use the same word to describe that system of mountains which meets the Caspian at the pass of Derbend, i. e., at the "Keraun" or *coast* of the Caspian. It requires little acuteness to perceive, that if the ordinary interpretation of the "*Keraunii*" montes is to be received, the people on the north-west of the Caspian must have spoken Greek. This is a philological contingency, however, which Hellenic invention had never contemplated. The same simplicity of nomenclature is presented to the inquisitive mind in nearly every other section of the Hellenic mountain region. Hence, just as the Celts of North Britain denominated their Highland district "Albanich," and just as their early congeners in Italy called its loftiest regions "A-penn-ina" or "The-Hill-Country,"* just so did the Pelasgi of Epirus style one of the most commanding summits "Tomaros," or "The Mountain," by way of eminence. "*Mer*" "*Meroo*" are the well-known terms in Western India, descriptive of this physical peculiarity; and it is from this principle of *locality* that the Indian tribe of "Mhairs" derive their ethnic.†

A population identical with that of Epirus was early settled in Sicily, for here we find the same nomenclature of "*Maro*" mons. Nor is the true Zendic stock to be less distinctly recognized by the local designation of the Sicilian highlands, under the name of the "*Heræi*" montes.‡

* "A" the old Celt. article (the Gr. *η*); "Pinn or Pen," top, height, hill; and "in," a country (A-penn-inus).

† The Celtic has retained this eastern vocable, under the form of "*Mer*," and "*Mir*," the "top, summit."

‡ Zend. "*Hara*," a mountain. Heræi, or Herai-oi, signified simply "The Mountains." In India, from Komul-mer to Aj-mer, the whole space is termed Mér-warra, and is inhabited by the mountain race of *Mér* or *Mair*. And "*Meru*" is used distinctively as in Jessul-mér, the hill of Jessul; Mér-warra, or the "mountain-region;" and its inhabitants the Méras, or "mountaineers."—*Col. Tod's Western India*, vol i. p. 11—24.

They are elsewhere called *Mhairs*. Their country is composed of successive ranges of huge rocky hills, the only level tract being the valleys running between them. Another traveller in those regions remarks, that the "in-

The Tissæus mons of the Magnesian promontory connects the north-western provinces of the Himalaya with north-eastern Hellas. "Tissa" is the term, applied by the Bhootya population, of the former region to the famed Cailas.*

The celebrated *Ismarus* mons, and the Epirotic *Asnaus*, are both from the same root; the latter being the Sansc. *Asma*, a stone or rock, and the former its attributive *Asmara*, *rocky*,† whence also may be inferred the early affinity of the Thracian and Epirotic populations. But among the most interesting of the Alpine nomenclature of Hellas is the classic height of Hymettus. Here, as is well known, was an ancient Pelasgic—i.e. Ario-Zendic—settlement; and accordingly the name bears an historical testimony to the fact. The Zendo-Sanscrit *Hu-madhu* (*Hu-mettus*)‡ or the "*Good-honey mount*," is completely descriptive of the fame which this mountain has ever acquired for the sweet produce of its bees, where, as the poet sings,

" Their race remains immortal; ever stands
Their house unmoved, and sires of sires are born."

The Cand-Avii§ montes of Macedonia are as self-descriptive as the name of To-Maros of Epirus, the Cam-bounios|| of

habitants reside in the deepest jungles, on the summits chiefly of their most inaccessible mountains. Their towns formerly were securely hidden from all human search, and not a trace of man was there to meet the eye of a stranger, yet the mountaineers were ready to rush down on their unsuspecting victims. I recollect," says the writer, "passing a spot which most powerfully brought to my mind Sir Walter Scott's beautiful description of the ambuscade in the 'Lady of the Lake.'

' Instant through copse and heath arose
Bonnets, and spears, and bended bows,
On right and left; above, below,
Sprang up at once the lurking foe.
From shingles grey, their lances start,
The bracken bush sends forth the dart:
The rushes and the willow wands
Are bristling into axe and brands,
And every tuft of broom gives life
To plaided warrior armed for strife.'"

* The Persian has "Tij" a peak (the j sounding like j French). Conf. the Pers. Tij, to shape, and the Greek *θύγ-ω*.

† Conf. the constant weakening of the Sansc. *a* to *i* Latin, as Sansc. *Agni Ignis*, just as in *Asma-a*, *Ismara*. Conf. *Asma-us* and *Asna-us*, with *μυρ* and *viv*. From Sansc. *Asman* comes the Lithaun *Akmen*, a stone.

‡ The Zend "Hu" (Greek *ἔν*) and Sansc. *Madhu*, honey. Greek *μέθυ*, mead.

§ From *Khand*, a division, section, or district, and *Avi*, a mountain.

|| *χαμ* Ionic *καμ-βουν-ιος*, "the mountain country;" the old root is inferred from *χαμαί* (Sansk. *Kshma*).

Thessaly, or the Dic-te* of Crete, the native land of "the man of Ida."† Hence, the Das-sareti‡ are found located on the Candavii montes, as well as on the Hæmus mons, in their proper character of mountaineers. Hence to the Dardanoi, are alike posted on the latter highland as well as in the vicinity of Mount Ida. The heights of Ossa demonstrate the same Zendic population that so extensively settled in Southern Greece.§ Ossa, as is well known, is a tall mountain of a more pointed form than Olympus or Pelion; hence the Zendic appellation of *oos* or *ooz*, "*high*," the *Ossa* of the Greeks used substantively as a special height. A due comprehension of the ethnological facts standing in connection with philology, will throw an interesting and even an historical light upon apparent fable. Thus it is that the semi-fabulous accounts of the battles of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ are divested of all mystery, and at once resolve themselves into the short and simple fact of a fierce contest between the "*Coast Tribes*||" and the "*Mountaineers*."¶ We know, too, that the great seat of the Lapithæ was on the slopes of Mount Ossa, and that the early position of the Centaurs was on the Magnesian coasts; their ethnics, therefore, are in strict accordance with the accounts which we have received of their respective localities. So again of the Enchelees, to whom Cadmus is said to have retired, they are simply descriptive (as their position also shows) of a tribe "near the sea."** We are therefore enabled to decide that here the *basis* is *historical*, the superstructure *poetical*;

* Sansc. *Dik*, inflected form of *Dis*, a region, and *t'ha*, a mountain; i.e. the mountain district.

† Ido-Meneus. Sansc. *Menu*, a man.

‡ Dhas, a mountain, and Sarata, going, and frequenting; i.e. mountaineer.

§ The Sanc. is *Ooch'ha*, high. The Greek has no letter nearer in sound to *ch* than *ss*. Other cognates are, *Gothic*, Hauhs, height; *Germ.* Hoch; *Greek*, *οχ* (as in the Homeric *οχ'άπιστος*); Nogay Tatar, Hushka, a mountain; *Celt.* Osca, above all.

¶ *Kant'haura* is the Marhatta term descriptive of the coast; its force as a Celtic derivative is seen in the "Cantii" or Coastmen of Ancient Britain; the Ital. "Ac-Canto," "Cant-aber," (i.e. on the coast); and the Celtic "*Cantyre*." Such terms as "Cynuria" (*Persian*, Kenaur) "Krossæa," (*Greek*, *κρόσσαί*) the fringe, border—hence coast. Keraunios (*Pers.* Keraun) are equations to Kant'haura. So also "*Thyreatis*," or the "shore district" in Argolis, from the Sansc. *Tir*, the shore, bank.

¶ Lapi't'hæ is absolutely the Latin Lapid-æ (Lapis-id) in the sense of a stone, or rock, or mountain. Hence, too, from the Lapi't'hæ mons of Arcadia, we learn that this was the name of a rocky height. The Greek retained the form *λείρας*, a bare rock or scaur. Conf. the *Pers.* Lakh, a stone; "*Lakhman*, stony;" with the *Lakmon* mons of N.E. Thessaly, and the *Celt.* Leach and Welsh Lech, a flat stone.

** *Αγγι-άλης*. Sansc. Anka, n ar; and Hala, water.

and this is a satisfactory acquisition, however small, towards the early history of Hellas. The Pheacians appear to us as a people half fabulous, half historical. Their wealth, luxury, and maritime enterprize—their marvellous possession, if not manufacture of, the most elegant works of art—naturally excite our wonder.

“ Fixed thrones the walls through all their length adorned
With mantles overspread of subtlest warp
Transparent, work of many female hands.
On these the princes of Phœacia sat
Holding perpetual feasts ; while golden youths
On all the sumptuous altars stood ; their hands
With burning torches charged, which night by night
Shed radiance over all the festive throng.”*

And yet their ethnic is not a coined one ; it is just as matter-of-fact as that of Scyros, Scheria,† and Sciritis, of which indeed it is the equation. As in the case of the Thesproti, subsequently noticed, the *place* gave the name to the *people*, and not the *people* to the *place*. The “*Phikius*” mons of Southern Greece is thoroughly exegetical of the ethnic ; it simply implies the “*PEAK*,” in the same manner as we apply the term to the “*PEAK*” of Derbyshire ; hence its name is precisely in accordance with fact. Leake observes, “ that ‘*Phikium*’ is a *single* bare and ragged *PEAK*,”‡ thus unconsciously giving the exact value of the Greek form. The Celtic form is *Feighe* (quasi *φειγε*) ; and *Phæak* is absolutely but the aspirated variant of the English *P e a k*,§ with which the Celt. “*Peac*,” any sharp-pointed thing, is identical ; its application to the well-known “*Pic du Midi*” is familiar to our readers. Here the previous settlement and passage of a Celtic population is evident from the older title of the region Scheria.

The Celtic vocable *Ait'h*, a mountain, from the Sansc. *Vit'ha*, of the same meaning, gave rise to the forms *Oita* mons, *Ait'hikes* and *It'ha-ka*, all specially descriptive of the mountains and mountaineers to which they refer.

* Odyss. vi. 85—102. *Cowper's Transl.*

† “*Sceir*” or “*Sgeir*” is a Celt. term, signifying a sharp sea-rock or cliff ; and “*Sciritis*” is the well-known rugged mountain region of Peloponnessus. The cognate vocable is the English “*Scaur*.” The terminative “*itis*” is analogous to the Georgian attributive, as in “*Oss-ethi*,” the land of the Ossi ; the latter often erroneously called “*Osetes*.”

‡ Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 219.

§ “*Istone*” mons, on the east coast of the island, is distinctly the Greek euphonic form (I-stone) of the *Engl* stone ; and the *Germ*. “*Stein*,” descriptive of the “*stony*” mountain.

Chaonia,* Aonia, Kat' Aonia, Stumpha,† are all equally accessible to prudent and patient philology. It is to be remarked, that whatever fictions the Greeks may have invented, the *names* themselves, whether of persons, places, or tribes, are historical facts, *often* when they seem to have a Greek etymon.; and *always*, when they cannot be traced to the Greek.

Thus, when the Caucones are mentioned as one of the early tribes of Hellas, we at once perceive that the name and the tribe were not fabulous; i.e. they were *historical*; because, had the ethnic been an invention, it would have been in the Greek language. The people were a tribe of "*mountaineers*." Hence it is that the *Cauco-ensii* are found near the Co-gæonus‡ mons of Dacia. "*Koh*" is an Arian term, implying a mountain, and in a gutturalized form *Kokh*, or *Kaukh*; in a labial form the Zendic *Kooph*. Hence the far famed appellation of the "*Kaukh Asa*" (Cauc-asus) or "*mountain region*";§ hence also the form *Cauc-ones*.

Similar examples might be multiplied to a great extent, illustrative of the primitive populations of Europe and Asia. These, to avoid unnecessary prolixity, might easily be classified under a "Geographical Index."

We shall now pass on to survey the fluvial terminology of antiquity, which is equally accessible to the Sanscrit, the great type of the Arian tribal dialects of the East and the West.

FLUVIAL TERMINOLOGY.

In accordance with the simplicity of early local nomenclature, the three chief physical peculiarities that fixed the names of rivers in general, were *motion*, *moisture*, and *sound*. The terms expressive of the former property alone, are exceedingly numerous in the Sanscrit. Hence the amazing number of the various derivatives may be readily imagined. Thus we have, as descriptive of "water," from the root "sri," "sar," to move, the forms "*sara*," water; "*saran*," a lake or bay; "*sarni*," a small river. Hence the "*Sarus*" river of Cilicia, the "*Sarnius*" river of Campania and Hyrcania. It is from "*saran*" that the Greeks derived the

* *Chao*, is an Eastern term signifying a mountain, evidently a *quasi-Ionic* form of the Arian "*coh*," of the same meaning. "*Aon*" is close to the Celt. form, "*aonach*," a hill. Kat'Aonia is the country near the hills (of Cilicia.)

† *Sansc.* "stümbha," a mountain.

‡ "*Koh-gæa*," or mountain-land.

§ The *Sansc.* "*asa*," signifies a quarter, district, or region.

attributive form of "Saron-icus sinus," expressive of the "BAY," lying between the Scyllian and Sunian promontories. Just in the same way that the import of "Cuthæra" had become lost to the Hellenic descendants of the Pelasgi, and the terminative "stow,"* to the English descendants of the Saxons, just so the real force of the word "Saron" had become quite obsolete with the Hellenes. Hence, the very pleasant invention that the name of this bay was derived from a certain king "Saron," who was drowned here, in consequence of swimming too far after a stag who had taken to the water. It is obvious that philology here, as in many other cases, presents us with a ready and certain means of separating truth from fiction, and in this point of view it is a very valuable accessory of history. From the root "re," (ar,) is formed the vocables arna, water, and anarva, the ocean; hence the appellation of "Arnus," the modern Arno river of Italy; from "ri," to go, to flow, comes "raya," a stream, current; "Rheo," of the Greek; "Rhinus," of Germany; the "Rha," or Volga of antiquity; the "Rheka," or "river" of the Sclavonic; "Hrutos," and its compound Eu-Rotas of Southern Greece. The root "pa," to drink, supplies two names, apparently different, but in reality identical, to Greece and to Italy. From this one and the same source, the classical student will derive the "Peneios," through the Sanscrit "paniya," water, and the "Padus," through "pat'hus,"† water. So the Naro river of Dalmatia, the Narus of Italy, the Greek "Naros," flowing, and "Nereus," the sea-god, are through the Sanscrit "nara," a term signifying water. The "Plavis" river, from "plava," jumping, running, flowing; the Turas, from "tur," speed, haste; the Spercheius, from σπέρχειν; the Thracian Trausus, or Tonzus, i.e. current, from *Sansc.* "tras," and *Zend* "tans," to run; the Rechius, the Sclavonic "rheka," a river, and the Celt. "rec," speed, from the *Sansc.* "rikh," to go; the Ludias river, from *Sansc.* "lud," to trickle, to roll: the Italian Anio, the Peloponnesian Ænus, the Rhætian Ænus, through the Celtic "in," "an," "en," water, from the *Sansc.* "ina," to go (whence the Cornish "en," to go); the Savus, from the *Sansc.* "sava," water, root "sav," to go; the Dravus, from "drava," flowing, from "drav," to flow or go; the Varus, from "vari," water, root "vri," to

* As in Good-stow, Felix-stow. This Saxon vocable is simply a form of the Oriental "St'han," place, city, or country.

† The Latin form of Pat'ha. Conf. the Hindoostanee "pina," to drink, with the Greek πίνω.

surround; the Pelopnesian Nedo, from "nadi," a river, root "nad," to sound; the Messenian Sela and German Sala, from "sala," water; source "sal," to go; the modern Don, and the Ossetic Dan, a river, from the *Sansc.* "dhooni," a river, root "dhoo," to agitate, to run; the Arnus, *Sansc.* "arna," water, root "ri," to go; the Italian Vomanus, *Sansc.* "vahamana," a river, root "vah," to flow; "Ganga," a river, from "gam," to go;* all these, to which a numerous list might be added, illustrate the principle of primitive fluvial terminology. We now proceed to notice the formation of

TRIBAL TITLES

among the people of antiquity. Here the great principle to be borne in mind in the majority of Arian and Celto-Arian settlements in Greece, is that LOCALITY gives the name to the tribe, and not the tribe to the locality. Until this principle be thoroughly recognised, all attempts to decipher the primitive Hellenic or Italic settlements, will be liable to great doubt and distrust.

It may thus be safely affirmed, that with very rare exceptions, all the first populations of Hellas, lost whatever tribal titles they possessed previous to their entrance into that country, to merge them in a new name, descriptive of their new settlements. Thus, the same principle which applied to the smaller communities of the ancient Medic family, guided the larger sections of that race in fixing the ethnic title by which they became known. Their more permanent abode in vallies, on mountains, in forests, on the banks of rivers, on the shores of the sea or of lakes, gave rise to those titles† by which the polished Greek, no less than the rugged Thracian, became distinguished in the pages of the historian and the poet. It is a fact, not a little singular, that these tribal *origines* of the Hellenic and other ancient races, should have been so completely shrouded from the view of the educated Greek of antiquity. The lapse of ages, so far from obscuring these evidences, has called in the aid of philology to draw aside the veil which concealed the features of the early Japhetic society. Of this powerful agent we now proceed to avail ourselves.

* To which we may add the Cornish "guner," a brook.

† Speaking of these ethnics, Balbi observes (Introd. à l'Atlas Ethnologique Vol. I. p. xxxii.) "Quelques uns sont dérivés des localités; mais ceux que expriment un position *relative* à un autre pays, ne sont presque jamais *nationaux*; ils ont été imposés par un peuple voisin, ou ce ne sont que des surnoms adoptés par les diverses tribus d'une même nation."

One of the most simple and obvious applications of the principle here laid down, is to be observed in the name of "Epeirus," descriptive of the main land: another of "Pontus," so called from its being the district on the sea, (πόντος). Another, equally obvious, is to be found in that narrow strip of sea-board on the north of the Peloponnesus, called the "Achæa," or water-land, the first part of the compound being an old form of the Latin *aqua*. It is thus that we find "Achæa," an harbour on the northern coast of the Euxine: a port which the Greeks, with their usual etymological vivacity, affirmed to have been a settlement of a party of Greeks who had missed their way on their return from Troy. The real value of the ethnic is, that it shows unity of race with the early population of Thessaly and Southern Greece, just as the same unity is designated by the *Tanaus* of the Peloponnesian Cynurians, and the *Tanais* of the Scythians. Hence, too, we find the "Sindi," on the northern coast of the Euxine, and the town of "Sindus," on that of the Ægæan. Both terms, in describing a position on the "sindu," or sea, exhibit in the unity of language a unity of race.

We shall now pass onwards to other exemplifications of this principle, which are less obvious, since they ascend to periods beyond the range of the Greek and Latin dialects, in our acceptance of the term.

If we now turn to another portion of Thessaly, we shall not be slow to meet with an instance of the principle of *locality*, as furnishing a tribal ethnic. It is well known that the lower valley of the Peneus, as far as the sea, was early occupied by an ancient tribe of Pelasgic origin. Hence, from this locality they derived the ethnic of Per-Rhaibi-oi, or the tribes on the *River*, from a root in connection with the Latin "Rivus," a river, and the ordinary preposition, "per," by. The student will recognize the same race of men upon the banks of the Oxus, where they appear as "Rhibii," without the prefix of the Thessalian tribe; he will recognize the same race as dwellers in the city of "Rhypæ," or close to the river Phoenix in Achaia.* It is thus clear that the populations of

* The Latin word "Rivus" is a dialectic form of the Sanscrit root "Rev," to go by leaps, to flow as a river. Hence the origin of the Indian "Reva," rising in the eastern part of the Vindhya, to which side of the mountain it gives the name of the "Revati." In another root we have "Reb," to go; and from a similar one "Rebh," to sound. These two last forms express some of the most essential properties of rivers, viz. motion and sound. Hence, on the Oxus are the "Rhibii," or River-tribes; on the course of the Thessalian Peneus the Per-Rhaibii; on the Danube, the town of Ar-Ribium; on its tributary, the Brongus river, is Ar-Rhibantium; while the northern feeder

the regions of the Oxus, the north-eastern regions of Greece, of Achaia, and the main stock of Italy, were radically congeneric in race.

The same observation applies to the dwellers in the Scythian Tan-ais, the Argolic Tanus, or Tanaus. It is only by taking enlarged views of ancient history, based upon a right comprehension of ethnic records, that it is possible to correct the contracted and partial views of the primitive populations of Greece with which we are presented in the pages of the logographers and the early poets of that country.

The tribal title of "Aineanes" is an ethnic convertible with the preceding form "Rhibii." The name points to a Celtic innervation in the tribe so denominated. The Celtic radicals, In, En, Ean, Ain (from the *Sansc.* root "Ina," to go), signify water. Hence "Aineanes," from the Celto-Arian root just noticed, implies the "People of the River." Thus Leake has approximated very closely to the fact in his conjecture, that "the Aineanes derived their name, perhaps, from 'Ania ;' which as it occurs simply or in composition as a river's name, both in Greece and Italy, it would seem to have been a generic word for *river* in the Pelasgic tongue."* The Aineanes, after occupying the Dotian plain, took up their abode on the lower valley of the Spercheius.† Hence, too, the city of *Ainos*, on the coast of Thrace, is simply indicative of its position "on the water," or, "super mare." It is thus satisfactory to be enabled to test the assertion of Virgil, that it was founded by *Æn-eas*, on his way from Troy to Italy. The plain fact is thus apparent, not that *Æneias* necessarily founded such a city, but that wherever this element exists in a geographical form, whether in Italy, Greece or Thrace, we are there to recognize the germ of the present Celtic family. The antiquity of *Ainos* is undoubted, since it is mentioned by Homer. Again: the student will notice the same term, with a slight terminative deviation, in *Ainea*, a town of Chalcidice. Here also it is situated *on the water*; being built upon the north-western corner of the peninsula of Chalcidice. Turning again to Acarnania, we have noticed by Strabo the town of *Æn-ea*, upon the right bank of the Achelous river; by Stephanus Byzantius, the town of *Ainos*,

of the Danube is the "Rhabon river." The name of the city built upon the Bedesis river, near the coast of the Adriatic, takes its denomination from its position *on the river* "*Ravenna*." "*Rawana*" or "*Ravana*," as a Persian word, signifies running or flowing.

* Leake's North. Greece, vol. ii. p. 22.

† Conf. with this Pelasgo-Celtic term the Arab. "*ain*," a fountain or eye.

on a river of the same name. Among the Greek tribal nomenclature, the designation of the Cassopæi, or Cassispæi, is particularly interesting; since, independent of any historian, it gives so clear a view of the race of men who settled on the western shores of Greece. "KASHA" or "CASHA" is a Zendic vocable, descriptive of the shore of the sea, or the border of a river; its real original, however, being the *Sansc.* Kach'ha, signifying land contiguous to water, marshy ground, or a country bordering the bank of a river, or of water generally, or even the margin of a lake. It is, in fact, a term no other than that which is familiar to the geography of Western India, in the province of Cach'ha, or as the English write it "Cutch," the "Casha" of the Zend, and the "Casso"-pæi of the Greek writers. The Indian Cach'ha, as is well known, is situate between the 23rd and 25th degrees of north latitude, and consists of two portions; one an immense salt morass named the Runn, the other an irregular hilly tract completely insulated by the Runn and the sea. During the rainy season Cutch is wholly insulated by water, and during the fair season by a desert space from four to sixty miles in breadth. The latter part of the compound is the Sanscrit "Oopa," by, or "near to," as in "Gang'oopa," "near the Ganges." Hence "Cass-oopæi" (κασσ-ωπαῖοι) signifies the people near the sea-shore, or the marsh district; a term exactly descriptive of the locality occupied by this tribe.* In Epirus the Cassopæi dwelt in the maritime country between Thesprotia and the Ambracian Gulf, and bordered on the territory of Nicopolis; a position, with respect to the Gulf of Ambracia, strikingly analogous to that of the inhabitants of the shores of the Gulf of Cutch. Cassopœa, the capital of this part of Epirus, stood at a short distance from the sea, on the road from Pandosia to Nicopolis.

So, again, it is *locality* that gives the ethnic to the Thesproti, and not the Thesproti to the locality. The "THES-PROTIA" signifies the REGION FACING THE SHORE; a compound variant of the Hellenic *θῆς* beach or shore, and *πρωτῖ*, the Doric of *πρός*, towards, to, or upon. This Doric form, however, is in reality the Sanscrit "Prati," a particle implying to, towards, upon; also opposition in place.* It is well known that the Thes-

* Kachha-pa (Cashapa) signifies besides, "one who inhabits watery districts" Hence it is a name given to the turtle, from "pa," to nourish or feed. We consider the "Cas-pi" as simply another form of Casha-pa, or the tribes on the sea shore (*quasi* Cash-*πῖ* or Cash-*πῖ*). *Sansc.* "Abhi" is in Gothic "bi;" hence *Bi-santhe* is equal to *Ap-sinthei*, or super mare.

* "Thes-proti" as a post-positive form of locution, is similar to the Hero-

proti occupied the vallies of the Acheron and Cocytus, and the country as far as the west bank of the Thyamis.

To illustrate this principle still more closely, the student may contemplate a great variety of other tribal ethnics, all founded upon this basis, and all of which will prove to be in harmony with these developments. Of these the tribal title of the Molossi is a striking example. This is another local descriptive, compounded from the Sanscrit "Māla" a mountain, and "oot," above, on, or upon," and a post-positive compound, like "Thes-proti." The word "Mal," with the broad sound of the "a" as in "au," is equivalent to Mol. Hence it is found in the Celtic "Maol," a hill, and "Mol," the top or summit; in the Latin Molus, a heap or mass. In Asia Minor the same vocable has the dental prefix as T'Molos.

In the Zend dialect the Sanscrit "oot," over, or "on," become "oos" (us); in the Celtic it is "os." Hence the true Sanscrit form seems to be Mal-ooti, and the Zendo-Celtic, Mol-ossi. This appears to be the real origin of these well-known varieties of Mol-otti and Mol-ossi,* both alike signifying the people of the mountains—Mountaineers or Highlanders. The Molossi occupied the mountainous district which connects Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus to the Ambracian Gulf: the term is thus again exactly descriptive of locality.†

It will now be of advantage to notice at some length the celebrated ethnic of the Spartans.

Were not the whole of the tribal titles of Greece found to repose upon a topological basis, the charge of empirical rashness might possibly attach to him who should use philology as a pedestal for history.

Such numerous examples, however, have already been brought forward, establishing the actual custom and uniform practice of name-giving in Greece and the circumjacent countries, especially of Asia Minor, Macedon, and Italy, that an exception, rather than adherence to that system, should excite doubt in the reflecting mind. This principle of topology is so constant in the primitive races of the Medic stock, alike in Greece, Italy, Persia, and India, that it forms a

dotean phrase *τυρανίδος περί*, and corresponds to the Hindoostane "Mere pas," by me; "Tere-pas," by thee; literally "Me-by," "Thee-by," or the Latin Me-cum, Te-cum, Se-cum. To Thes-protia may be added At-this (quas Ad-θic) the eponymus of Attica, the fabled daughter of Cranaus.

* It may be perhaps possible that Mol-ossi and Mol-otti are dialectic forms, as in *θαλάσσα* and *θαλάττα*.

† Another Celtic variant is "Mull," top or promontory. The "Malea" of Greece.

valuable canon of interpretation, especially instructive to the Greek historical student.

"Λάκκος" or "Λάκος," as a Greek word, signifies a hollow, tank, or pond. As used by the Western Arians, or the Latin race, (Lacus), its ordinary application to a lake or collection of water is well known. The Sanscrit root "lakh," to go, may be considered the real origin of the Arian and Celto-Arian forms of "lacus" and "loch," in their multifarious forms; just as "dhoo," to move, to agitate, is the root of "dhooni," a river; "drav," to go, to flow, the root of "dravus;" "gam," to go, the root of "ganga;"* "ri," to go, to flow, the root of "Pεω" and "Rhinus;" "sri," to go, the root of "saras," water; "va," to go, the root of "vas," water; "sal," to go, the root of "sala," water; just so is the Sanscrit "lakh," to go, the root of "lacus," in its general sense of water. Hence the ethnic "Lacon," "Lake's-man," implies an inhabitant by the water's side; as on the banks of a river, the shores of a lake, or those of the sea. It is thus, in fact, the counterpart of the ethnic Casha or Casha-pa. "Lace-Dæmon" (Λακε-Δάμων) is a compound substitute for "Lacon," the latter part of the ethnic being a cognate form of the Greek δέμω.† Hence the topological description of Sparta or "Lace-Dæmon," as the building, or "*Town on the Lake.*"

The same form is found near the eastern shores of Thessaly in the name of the city *Lac-eria*, situated near the junction of the small river Amuros, with Lake-Bæbeis, hence simply "*Lake-town.*" The oldest form that we possess of the Arian root, in connection with "δέμω," is to be found in the Vedas, where it appears as "*Dama*," a house or abode, —the *Domus* of the Latins. But here arises a most interesting question, for we are now touching upon the fact of the very early separation of the Celtic element from its parent Medic stock; and of that ancient period, when both in Greece and in Italy, it is clear from tribal and topical evidence, that the present Celtic races were separated by the smallest possible interval from the genuine Arian. If the Celtic "du" and "dui"‡ touch closely upon the Homeric "Δω" (doo or du), it is equally apparent that the *Celt*. "daimh," a house or people, and the Zendic vocable "daim"§ are exactly the old form of "daim" in "Lac-e-Daimon."

* Hence the Cornish "guner," a brook.

† See also observations under "Celtæ."

‡ House and houses.

§ A people.

It is thus that "*Lac-s-Daimon*" is but the more Oriental form of the "*Lac-i-Domus*," of the Western Arians or Latin tribes. But there is yet another power attached to this celebrated ethnic which must not be omitted in this place. As the Zendic "*daim*," just noticed, stands alike in connection with the Hellenic "*Δῆμος*," and with the *Celt.* *Daimh*, this renowned title may also be interpreted the "People of the Lake."^{*}

These considerations lead us to the other celebrated ethnic of the Spartans, viz., "*DORII*." Here topology is again our guide. "*DURI*"[†] is a *Sansc.* word signifying a "valley," and, as used in Persia, it especially signifies a "*valley through which a river flows*;" in India, popularly known as a "*durah*." This is the origin of the provincial name "*Doris*," the eponymus of the "*Dorii*." "*DORIS*," or the VALE-COUNTRY, lies between Mount Oeta and Parnassus, and consists of the VALLEY of the RIVER PINDUS, a tributary of the Cephissus. It has been well observed, that this little tract of land could scarcely have been the only source of the mighty Dorian people. It is, however, equally clear that the dwelling-place of the great body of the nation was strictly of the same physical character with that of Doris. Thus the region of the river Pindus, and that of the Eurotas, were identically of the same nature,—VALLEYS—differing from each other in extent alone. Hence, it will be observed, that the "*Duri*" gave an ethnic alike to the valesmen of Northern and of Southern Greece, just as the "*Arca*" did to the *Arca-des*; the *Casha*, or shore, to the shores-men, (*Cassopæi*); the *Epeirus*, or main-land, to the *Epeirotæ*.

Laconia is formed by two mountain chains, running immediately from Arcadia, and enclosing the river Eurotas, whose source is separated from that of an Arcadian stream by a very trifling elevation.

"The Eurotas," writes Müller, "is for some way below the city of Sparta a rapid mountain stream; then after forming a cascade, it stagnates into a morass; but lower down it passes over a firm soil in a gentle and direct course. Near the town of Sparta, rocks and hills approach the town on both sides, and almost entirely shut in the river both above and below the town. This enclosed plain

* In the Sanscrit, the vocable "*Dhāman*" not only signifies a "dwelling" or "abode," but also a "*place or country*." This form, as the source of the latter compound of the Greek, would give us the "*Lake Country*" as well as *Lake-town*. The Doric form of *Δάμωρ* would still more closely approximate to the *Sansc.* and *Celt.* forms above noticed.

† In Armenian, the word "*Dzör*," a "valley," is very close to the Greek "*Dor-is*" and the Sanscrit *Dūri*.

is, without doubt, the 'Hollow Lacedæmon' of Homer. Here the narrowness of the valley and the heights of Taygetus, projecting above in a lofty parapet, increase the heat of the summer, both by concentrating the sun-beams, as it were into a focus, and by presenting a barrier to the cool sea breezes; whilst in winter the cold is doubly violent. The same natural circumstances produce heavy storms of rain, and the numerous mountain torrents frequently cause inundations in the narrow vallies."*

There was in the line of the Eurotas (*the River*, by way of eminence,)† the district of the Limnæ, or marshes; nor is there any doubt that the greater part of the circumjacent country must have been subject to inundations which left extensive morasses. Hence the semi-mythological account of the draining of this district by Eurotas, the supposed "third king" after Lelex, who supplied the eponymous to the river, with about as much truth as Saron, Acarnan, Locrus, and Taygete, did to their respective regions. But, further; the whole of the Peloponnesus was early called the "Apian" land, a denomination that has proved a stumbling-block to classical commentators and historians of all ages. "*Απια*," a Sanscrit derivative from the root "*Ap*," signifies "*watery*;" a *Sansc.* version in fact of "*Laconius*." Hence the *Ἀπία γῆ* simply implied the "land of water," as abounding in lakes, marshes, or *λίμναι*.

Such is the Pelasgian or Zendo-Arian force of the early name of the native land of the Southern Greek. We now proceed to notice the grand national ethnic by which the people of Hellas at large were known by the Italian populations, as well as by these of the outlying countries of Greece; it was that of GRAIOI and Gräikes, a modification of the Sanscrit GAIRIKA,‡ a "MOUNTAINEER," a term eminently descriptive of the entire race, who dwelt in the highland regions so characteristic of Greece.

The Zendic populations, whom topology shows so distinctly to have settled in Greece, used the form *Gara* and *Gairi* to express *hills* or *mountains*. These terms have even reached the modern Persian, in which *Gerewa*§ signifies a "steep or

* Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 76.

† *ἔν*, well or much, and *πυρός*, flowing. The Eurotas was remarkable for the fullness and rapidity of its stream. The *πυρός* of the Greek is completely the *Roodh* of the Zend, and the *Rood* or *River* of the Persian.

‡ "GAIRIKA" is the regular formative from "*Giri*," a "mountain."

§ "Grava," signifies also a "rock" or "mountain." The common variants of *κράτος* *κάρτος*; *κράναος* *Celt.* *καρν*, *ὄχλος* *Æol.* *ὄλχος* easily point out the corresponding *Gara* to *Graa*, *Gairikes* to *Gräikes*. The Zend has also "*Hara*," a mountain; hence the *Herai montes* of Sicily. Either the

difficult pass, an acclivity or low hill." Thus both from Sanscrit and Zendic sources, the same vocable has penetrated the Ostiak and Hellenic dialects under different forms. This celebrated ethnic, brought by the early immigrants into Italy, and the bordering countries of Greece, demonstrates effectively the nature of the ancient stock, who in the latter classic region, preceded the Hellenic race. As in the case of the Arcadians, and their Pelasgo-Italian congeners, the fact is to be distinctly proved, independently of historian or logographer, by the internal evidences of topology and tribal titles, common alike to Italy and Greece.

The great body of the "Mountaineers" or "G'raikes" were again localized under the titles of VALESMEN and COAST-MEN; the former of a decidedly Germano-Arian origin, as warlike in their character as their western cognates in Germany; the latter, the tribe of the *Ἰωνες*,* with maritime tendencies, fostered by their peculiar position, leading first to a brilliant career of commercial, and next of naval, supremacy.

But again: the Zendo-Arian population of non-historical Greece, is equally incontrovertible on the eastern shores of the *Ægæan*. Hence while we have the settlement of the "Cor-Inthos,"† or "sea-coast," the "Eu-Boia," or the "Good land," and the "Hu-Mettus,"‡ or "good honey" mountain; on the opposite coast, we find such towns as Ab-dera,§

Arian "Gara," or "Agra," has given rise to the Ostiak "Ogorai" of the same force, whence the ethnic "Ugorian," descriptive of the inhabitants of the Uralian mounts. We learn that the Greeks were also called *Ῥαῖκες*, (Hraikes)—*Vide Grote's Hist. Greece*, vol. i. p. 136, which seems the formative "Haraikes," Mountaineers, from the Zend "Hara," just as we have *ῥαῖω* for an older form *ραῖω* the *Lat.* *tollo*; *ῥαῖα* for *ῥεπαῖα*. Grote observes, *ut supra*, "I cannot bring myself to believe that the name *Ῥαῖκες* (Greeks) is at all old in the legend." The origin of the ethnic *Gara* and *Hara*, *Gairikes* and *Haraiikes*, leave no room to doubt of the genuineness of the text, as vouched for by the language of the Pelasgic, i.e. Ario-Zendic stock, the parent stem of the Hellenic.

* *Ἰώνες*; *Dor.* *Ἀιώνες*; "People of the Sea-shore." So also the other chief ethnics are locals, as *Achæi*, *Lacones*, *Epeirotæ*. *Amphi-Lochi*, or "People round the Loch;" i.e. G. of Ambracia.

† *Hindoost.* "Cor," or "Kor," the edge, top, border; and "Indus," a river, sea, water (root *Sansc.* "Und," to be wet). It is from this root we have the compounds *Per-Inthus*, *Ol-ynthus*, *Cer-Inthus*, *Sam-Inthus*, *Ap-Sinthus*, *Probal-inthus*.

‡ The Gr. *ἐν*, is the *Sansc.* "Su," and the Zend "Hu." "Hu-Madhu," good-honey; "Hu-Bhoo," the Good-land (in allusion to its extreme fertility).

§ "Ab" is the cuneiform representation of the Sanscrit "Abhi," "upon," the Gr. *ἐπὶ*. Hence from the *Sansc.* "Dheera," the ocean, and "Uda," "water," we have "Abd-era" and "Ab-uda," or *Ab-ydos*, i.e. "Super-Mare" and "Super-Aquam," respectively.

Ab-udos, At-arneus,* and S'm-urna, more properly Sam-urna.†

The following is a conspectus, though but a partial one, of some of the local and outlying populations of Hellas. Ethnic of the Grand-stem (subsequent to the Celtic) Pelasgic; i.e. Sclavo et Zendo-Arian.

Zendo-Arian name, GRAII or GRAIKES, i.e. MOUNTAINEERS
In three great subdivisions.

<i>Highlanders.</i>	<i>Lakesmen and River Tribes.</i>	<i>Coastmen and Borderers.</i>
HELLENES.†	LAKONES or LAK-E-	IONES.
Arkades	DAIMONES, or DORII,	{ Attikoi
Selli, Helli, or	i.e. VALESMEN.	{ At-This (Eponym.)
Hell-opes	Thessaloi	Thes-Proti
Magnetes	Per-Rhaibioi	Lóc-ri
Molossi	{ Par-Avœi	{ Amphi-Lochi
Lapit'hæ	{ <i>Gotho-Arian</i>	{ <i>Helleno-Celtic</i>
Ætolii and Oitæi	Par-Orœi	Achæoi
Ait'hikes	Par-Asopioi	{ Cassopœi
It'hakoi	At-Intanes	{ <i>Zendo-Arian</i>
Pieries	Epi-Cephisii	{ Kent-auri, properly
Parioi	{ Aineanes	{ Kant'hauri
Carnos. I.	{ <i>Cello-Arian</i>	{ <i>Indo-Celtic</i>
A-Carnanes	Odrussæ Sansc { Odra-vus	{ Keraunioi and
Cranaoi		{ Cynourii
Chaones	Botticœi	{ <i>Perso-Arian</i>
Aones	Amph-Axites	Sinthii
Kat'Aones		Ap-Sinthii
Phaiakes		Cor-Inthioi
Scheria (Isle)		Per-Inthioi
Cephalenioi		Cer-Inthioi
Dardanoi		Probal-Inthioi
Dassaretii		Sam-Inthioi
Briges		Crossœi
Caukhones		Enchelees
<i>Calli-eis</i> (Lat. <i>Colli-enses</i>)		

* "At" is the Lat. "Ad," as seen in the eponymous *Ar-Θις*. Hence from the Sansc. "Arna," water, comes "At-Arne" or "Ad-aquam."

† The Sansc. "Sam" is the Gr. *αῖμα*, the Persian "Ham," and Lat. "Cum." Thus, Sam-urna=Cum-aqua, or Ad-aquam.

‡ Later Arian name, equivalent to GRAIKES. "Alānes" is the corresponding Massagetic ethnic to "Hellenes." The "Alānes" derived their title from the "*Alani montes*;" hence like "Hellenes" indicative of Hillsmen or mountaineers. From the Sansc. "Saila," a rock, hill, we have the Selli, or Gr. Helli, Hell-opes. "Hellas" is the mountain district near Othrys. Conf. Mongolic, Oula, and Celt. Ail, a mountain, Eng. hill, and Arab. ala, high. Conf. also Engl. peak and Gr. Phœak-ia; Eng. Hill, and Gr. Hellas.

And here we would make a few brief remarks relative to the early Graio-Armenian population. The connection of Greek works of art and Greek weights and measures with those of Asia Minor, have been amply established.*

We know that Armenia formerly extended to the west of the river Halys, and hence we may easily perceive that tribes of Armenian blood may have crossed that river at a very early period: their progress thence westward into Thessaly and other parts of Greece would be easy.

"Strabo," writes Dr. Prichard, "has thought it worth while to preserve a story current among the Greeks, which derives the Armenians from one Armenus, said to have been a contemporary of Jason, and one of the Argonauts. Of this it was thought to be some confirmation, that the Armenians wore long dresses like the Thessalians, and that the Peneus in Thessaly, sometimes bore the name of the Araxes."† The circumstance of the Peneus having borne the name of the Araxes, merely identifies the early populations of Armenia and Thessaly; and just as we have seen that Antenor and Antander and Asander, imply respectively, the *Slavonian* and the *Asian*, just so have Perseus and Armenus the historical value of the *Persian* and the *Armenian*. Viewed in connection with the Asiatic localities whence sprung the Æginetic scale just noticed, one at least of the early legislative offices of Attica is with the strongest probability of Armenian origin. As seen from this point we shall, we trust, be enabled to throw a clear light upon an official appointment of early Greece, which has hitherto been a subject of much discussion among the highest classical authorities of modern times—we allude to that of the Naukrary. The *Ναυκράριος*, or the chief officer of every Naukrary, was, as we are informed by the grammarians, the same as the Demarch.‡ Now the term "Naukrar" seems to be of pure Armenian origin, descriptive of the office of a "Prefect" or "Intendant," and thus equivalent to that of *Dem-arch*.§ Philolo-

* See Layard's Nineveh, and Grote's Hist. of Greece; the latter on the origin of the Æginetic scale of weights and measures.

† Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. iv., p. 257.

‡ Dr. Lenhard Schmidt, (Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. s. v. Naukraria), remarks that "the Naucraries before the time of Solon can have had no connection with the navy, for the Athenians then had no navy, and the word *ναυκράριος* cannot be derived from *ναῦς*, a ship, but from *ναίω*, &c.

§ "I satrapi in Armeno, sono chiamato *Nakarai*; la qual voce corrisponde appunto al nome generalmente conosciuto di Satrapo. La voce *Nakarar*, e composto dalle due parole "*Nak*," primo, e "*arar*," fece; cossiche essa corrisponde precisamente al vocabolo di "*Prefetto*."—Capelletti's, Armenia, vol. ii., p. 74.

gical researches demonstrate that the Armenian is one of the Indo-Germanic dialects, with which the Phrygian was closely allied. It was not certainly without some solid ground for an early ethnical connection, that Greek logographers and poets referred the source of their earliest affinities to the Caucasian regions, or at least to their vicinity. The tale of the golden fleece of Colchis, in connection with the early piratical expedition of those Thessalian Vikings, the Iasones or Asi; but, above all, the singularly early settlements of the Greeks on the shores of the Euxine, together with the identity of topical titles in Greece and Northern Persia, throw a light upon the fact of the primitive cognate populations in both countries.

Müller had undoubtedly clear views of this ancient Graio-Armenian element. After speaking of the fabulous rose-gardens of king Midas, and the position of the Bryges at the foot of Mount Bermius, he observes*, that the Armenians were once beyond a doubt of kindred to the Phrygians, and were considered an aboriginal nation in their own territory: he then with great sagacity makes the following remark:—

“It will be sufficient to recognise the same race of men in Armenia, Asia-Minor, and at the foot of Mount Bermius, without supposing that all the Armenians and Phrygians emigrated from the latter settlement on the Macedonian coast. The intermediate space between Illyria and Asia, a district across which numerous nations migrated in ancient times, was peopled irregularly from so many sides, that the national uniformity that seems to have once existed in those parts was speedily deranged. The most important documents respecting the connection between the Phrygian and other nations, are the traces that remain of its dialect. It is well known that in Plato’s time many primitive words of the Grecian language were to be recognised with a slight alteration in the Phrygian, such as *πῦρ*, *ῥῶδρ*, *κύων*,† and the great similarity of grammatical structure which the Armenian now displays with the Greek, must be referred to this original connection.”†

* Müller’s Dorians, vol. i. *sub. init.* The name of “Midas” appears to us to be nothing more or less than the “Median,” in fact another form of “Medus.”

† Plat. Cratyl. p. 410. A. It is remarkable that these words are also in the German language. *Πῦρ* (see Grimm’s Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i., p. 584.) in ancient High German was “*viuri*,” in Low German “*für*.”

‡ Thus the verb “*sum*,” keeps in the Armenian or Haikanian, the same fundamental form which it has in all the languages allied to the Greek (*γῶμ*, *yes*, *e*, *sum*, *es*, *est*). For valuable information on the literature, ethnology, and geography of Armenia, see M. St. Martin’s “Armenia,” also M. Viv. de St. Martin’s “Recherches sur les Pop. du Caucase;” The Georgian Chronicle of Wakouchi, by M. de Brosse; Ingiyan’s Arm. Geogr.; the work of Capelletti, &c. &c.

It is well known that to the Minyan race, belonged a chain of cities stretching along the coast of Thessaly to the Pagasæan Gulf. The Argonauts themselves are called Minyæ. It is not a little singular, that the "*Minni*" of the Scriptures and the "*Manavas*" of the Armenian chronicles should designate alike a province of Armenia. Here again we encounter the same corroboration of the true original of this series of colonization. Just as we are told that Armenia took its name from *Armenus*, a companion of Jason, and the Persians from *Perseus*, just so we are informed that the Argonauts were called *Minuæ* from Minuas, a Thessalian. Invert this, and *fable* becomes *history*. The philologist hesitates not to read in the Thessalian "*I-Olchos*," the Sclavo-Æolic variant of the Eastern Colchis.*

When we find such names as "*Sen*," "*Tissa*," "*Teba*," common to the Bhootya populations of the N. W. Himalaya, and to certain tribes of Italy and Greece, under the forms "*Seno*" river, "*Tissæus*" mons, and "*Thebai*," and yet with roots in the great Arian type of speech;† and when further we find such a vocable as 'Iw (Ioo), significant of the "*Moon*" at Argos, and "*Ayoo*," as a Tatarian expression for the same; when further we find a "*Tauge-tos*," or the mountain region, in the Peloponnesus, and a "*Tauge-stan*,"‡ or "hill-country," to the north of the Himalaya, we gain an insight of a value nothing less than historical, of the composition of some of the very earliest populations of the western coasts of the Ægæan; viz., Toorko-Arian amalgam, not less than a Celto-Arian element in other districts; while still further to the west, among the Latins, such vocables as "*Jovis*," "*Lar*," and "*Sanguis*,"§ carry us back to a progression from the high table lands of Central Asia and their Tatarian stocks, whose peculiar habitat those regions have ever been.|| With a

* The Æolic Ὀλκος, the old Latin *Volgus*, the Saxon *Folk* (Folχ), are alike the wide-spread ethnic of "*the people*." The Mingrelians call themselves *Codchi*, i.e. the people, *Colchii*. So the "*Legæ*," from "*Leg*," a man, the Hindoost. "*Log*," and Sanscrit, "*Loka*," "*people*." Dr. Latham's Ethnology of Europe has some acute remarks on the identity of *Iolchos* and *Colchis*.

† *Sansc.* "*Syan*," to trickle, flow. It is from this root that the Celtic derives the names of the Shannon, such as "*Seann*," "*Sin*," and "*Sind*." The North Bhootyas call the Himalayan peak of Cailas by the name of "*Tissa*," the Persian "*Tî*" (the j as in French) signifies a peak. The *Sansc.* "*Tij*," to sharpen, may be conf. with the Greek θήγω. *Tiba* is from the *Sansc.* "*Tib*," to pile up.

‡ *Daugh* or *Taugh*, the Toorki for a mountain. Conf. the ungutturalized *Sansc.* "*T'ha*," a mountain, and the Persian "*Tay*" and "*Tay*," a top, summit.

§ Tibetan "*Jovo*," Lord; "*Lah*," a spirit; "*Lahri*," divine; *Mongol*. "*Sangue*," blood.

|| It is difficult to decide whether the "*Gargara*" mons of Mysia should be

Gangitis or Gangas in Thrace, and a Ganga in India; with an Indus in Asia Minor, and an Indus in the Himalaya;—we equally recognize a race of a still purer Arian innervation than that which we have just noticed. We would here venture one speculation. Does—or rather does not—the arrival of the *Eu-Roopæi** in the west, mark the advent of the Fair, or “Handsome Race,” in contradistinction to a mixed Toorko-Arian stock?

The early cannibalism of Logographic Greece, embodied in such conventional names as Lycaon, may possibly be a fact not less certain than that of the South Sea Isles. Nay, certain it is, that Western India itself presents us with examples of practices, terribly similar in the Aghora, who finds a place in the interminable nomenclature of Hindu sectarianism.

“I may,” writes the author from whom we quote, “style this outcast of human nature, the jackall of his species; but even this midnight reveller amidst graves and impurities is cleanly in his habits compared with the Aghori. . . . I had heard that such wretches did exist, not only in the sacred Aboo, but amidst the impenetrable recesses of other mountains dedicated to the Jain faith, in the peninsula of the Sauras. . . . It is a curious fact, as D’Anville adds, that this ‘espèce de bête,’ this *Merdi-cour*, or properly, *Merdi-khor*, should have been noticed by Pliny, Aristotle and Ctesias, under the same name of *Marti-chora*, giving its synonym in their own language, viz. *Ἀνθρωπο-φάγος*; for *Merdi-khor*, is a compound of *Merd*, a man, and *Khoordun*, to eat. Three facts are deducible from this etymology of the Greek writers; first, that this brutalized sect is of ancient date; secondly, that the Persians must have had an intercourse with these regions in early times; and, thirdly, that the Western historians must have had more recourse to Persian authority than we are at present aware of.”†

We now enter upon the consideration of Towns simply descriptive of

“FORTS” OR “CITIES.”

As the Saxon and classical scholar are well aware that, both in a simple and compound form, the vocables “Stow,” “Wick,” and “Chester,” signify a place or town, a village, camp, or fort; and as the Orientalist is familiar with the

referred to a Toorki or Arian settlement: if the former, from the Toorki “*Gar*,” snow, is the *Region of Snow*; if the latter, it would imply “The Mountain Passes,” i. e. the Sanscrit “*Ghargara*.” Conf. mons “Laureion,” and the Gr. *λαύρα*, a defile, pass.

* The Gr. *ἔν* (Zend. “Hu”), and Sansc. “*Roopa*,” a form.

† Colonel J. Tod’s *Western Asia*, p. 83.

corresponding terms in the East, such as "Pur,"* "Nagar,"† "Stan"‡ or "S'than," "Abad"§ so likewise the Greek student will have no difficulty in recognizing the principle in such names as "Tegea,"|| "Tecmo,"¶ "Amphrakia,"** "Erchomenos" or "Orchomenos."††

There are, however, many towns in Hellas of high antiquity, whose nomenclature is beyond the reach of the classical scholar. These are closely connected with the fortunes of the old Pelasgic population of Greece and Italy, and they have uniformly carried with them an air of mystery. An interpretation of these local names will give us a clear view of the ethnology of this mighty people, and will at the same time demonstrate their identity with the great Arian family. We shall commence with Tanagra.

"Tanagra," writes Colonel Leake, "was advantageously situated in the centre of a fertile champaign, consisting of plains and undulating ground, included between Mount Parnes and the Eubœic Frith, and extending in the other direction from the Thebæa to the Oropia. Standing at the eastern extremity of the ridge of Mount Soro, and not far from the root of Mount Parnes, which stretches to Delium or Oropus, it was placed exactly in the point of communication between the plains at the foot of Parnes, and those towards Aulis and the Sea."††

This appellation is in itself one of the most interesting historical records of the early identity of the Eastern and Western Arians, of the Pelasgians and their Indian congeners." "TA-NAGARA"§§ signifies literally "THE CITY," and it is in every respect identical with the numerous districts and towns in India, bearing the name of Nagari, Nagore. Of such a nature are Nagari in Bengal, Nagara in the Carnatic, and the well-known Chander-nagore, or "city of Chandra." The student of classical history will now perceive that he has ascended to a period so ancient in Greece, that the name of a Greek city has become lost to the Greek language, being given by an earlier branch of the Arian stock than the Hellenic. We learn from Strabo and Stephanus Byzantius, that in distant ages, Tanagra bore the name of Poimandria or Poimander. This is another designation of extreme interest

* A city. † A city. ‡ A place or city.

§ Abode or town. || Τέγη, τέγος; Celt. Tegh.

¶ Seen in Τέκ-των. ** Ἀμφι-φράσσω.

†† Ἐργω-ἔρκος. ‡‡ Leake's Morea, vol. ii. p. 455.

§§ The ellipse of the short α is as obvious as in τλαω for ταλαω, and in numerous other instances.

to the student of primitive Hellenic history; and is in itself one of the most decisive evidences of the parent stem of the Hellenes. Poimandria is compounded $\pi\omicron\iota\nu$ and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$, the latter an enclosed space, a fold, or pen for cattle. "Poimandria" therefore signifies the "sheepfold." But the Greek $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$ itself is derived from the *Sansc.* "mandir," a house, dwelling; from the root "mad," to dwell, to inhabit, to surround, encompass; and hence are derived both "mandir" and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$: just as the Latin "vallum," a rampart, is from the *Sansc.* "val," to enclose or surround; the true source of the French "ville." But the interest of the inquisitive mind is yet more deeply excited, on learning that "Ta-nagara" bore a name still more ancient than the title of "Poi-mandir;" it was that of "Graia." It will now be seen that this latter appellation is purely Arian.

"Griha" is a *Sansc.* vocable signifying a house or habitation in general; and "Grihya," a village adjoining a city. Hence the form "Graihya" or "Graia," as simply expressive of the village or small town, and thus very nearly the equation of "Ta-nagara."

Of the same description is "Pitane." "Pat'hani," from the root Pat'h, to surround, and "Pattan" signify a town or city—an equivalent to "Ta-nagara"—and thus pointing out an early population in the vicinity of the Eurotas, ethnologically identical with that which dwelt at Graia and Ta-nagara. The same fact is seen in the case of the Pelasgic "Bodon." *Bod-on* (Boodon) is the Persian "Bood" or "Bood," a dwelling; a more purely Arian form of the Iranian a-Bad, and the English "Abode;" a word which so copiously enters into the compounded names of Oriental cities, as Sultan-abad, Hyder-abad. "Bod"-on is thus the equation of "Graia." The real root, however, is to be found in the *Sansc.* "B'hoo," a place, site, or place of abode. This Arian vocable is found firmly fixed among the Armoric branch of the Celtic stock. "Bo," "Bos" and "Bod," in the Cornish, denote a dwelling or house; as "Bo-dinick," the dwelling by the river (the Bhoodhena* of the Sanscrit); "Bo-kelly," dwelling in the grove. Hence the forms "Bhoo," "Bo," "Bod," "Bodon," "a-Bod," as Sanscrit, Persic, Cornish, or Pelasgic variants, signify nothing more than the equivalents Stow or Wick.

The following is Dr. Donaldson's remark on the sequence of primitive Greek and Italian ethnology.

* *Sansc.* Dhena, a river.

"Our own opinion," he thus writes, "drawn purely from philological and geographical considerations, is, that the first population of Italy and Greece, was Erse, or low Celtic. After them, came the Slavonian element in each country, and then a Lithuanian element was super-added in Italy, and a Persian, High-German, High-Celtic, or to speak generally, High-Iranian in Greece."

These acute remarks are thoroughly borne out by the evidences of ancient topical titles.

"The Thraco-Pelasgi, the Heracleidæ, and Achæi, writes an esteemed ethnologist, seem to have been Celto-Scythæ, that is, likewise of Illyrian, or Gæto-Finnic affinity belonging to the giant races; who, as far as the two first-mentioned, came round from the Kuban and Don, along the shores of the Euxine, and then sought conquests towards the south, as all the more northern nations were impelled to undertake."*

This intimate Celto-Arian position of the earliest communities of Greece, and of the coast of Asia Minor, is sufficiently obvious, and may be amply supported by a copious list of such topical titles as *Carnos* Isle, on the coast of Acarania, *Loc-ris*, *Amphi-Lochii*† *Scheria*, *Oita*, *Corax*,‡ *Cragus*, *Cassius* mons.§ Notwithstanding the immense swarms of the Celtic family that had passed onward in their migratory course from the east through Italy and Gallia, into the British isles, a very considerable proportion of their tribes, with a stronger Medic element than at present exists in the members of that race, remained in Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria, and on the coasts of Asia Minor, and in a more Hellenized form, in Epirus and Thessaly. Hence the origin of the various settlements within the area of Greece and the contiguous regions, with names sometimes entirely Celtic, often purely Sanscrit; sometimes a compound of both, and at others, so closely approximating to the great Arian type of speech, that it is difficult to say whether the original settlement was that of a Celtic or a Sanscrit speaking race.

The more ancient topology of Greece demonstrates a Celtic innervation in its earliest colonists. Thus, we know that the primitive name of the island of Samos was *Scheria*, identical with that of the well-known island off the Epirotic coast. In addition to the thoroughly Celtic name of *Cragus*, we place that of *Sigæum* || as indicative of a Celtic settle-

* Col. Hamilton Smith's Nat. Hist. of Man.

† Loch, Celt., a lake.

‡ Carac, a rock, cliff. Caraig, a crag.

§ Celt. Cas. steep. *Amphi-Lochia*, designates the district round the loch.

|| Celt. *Sigh*, a hill, a promontory: root, *Sansc. Sikha*, a crest, hill.

ment having a positive historical value—just as descriptive of such a settlement, as the “*Polí*”* campus, or *Palupedion* is of a Slav-Arian colony in the Peloponnesus. Nay, further; even the classical name of the poetic “*Castalia*”† fons is an indubitable evidence of the settlement and progression of the mighty race that subsequently filled our western isles. When we read of the *Alban* fathers, we must not lose sight of the historical fact contained in the very name given by the colonists of *Alba Longa*. Nor does the appellation of the classic Tyber fail to link the onward movements of this mighty emigration. The Celt. “*Tobar*,” and “*Tibhir*,” and “*Tibra*,” a fountain or spring; *Tibbreamh*, “flowing,” give certainly to these historical and ethnological deductions. *Tobar* Seagsa, or the “majestic river,” was an ancient name of the Boyne.‡ The true root, however, is found in the Sanscrit original, under the forms *Tep* and *Tepri*, to be wet—to sprinkle—to pour out—to flow. Here, then, ethnology, history, and philology are at one. But further, the great poet of Rome has unconsciously preserved the fact of this Celto-Arian origin in his allusion to the “*Grinæus*” Apollo. As a Latin word, the attributive of the God, possesses no signification; as a Celto-Arian term, it is highly descriptive. The god of day is in Celtic “*Grian*,” its Sanscrit original is “*Ghrini*,” the sun, from the root “*Ghran*,” to shine. Here, then, we have a highly expressive term, lost to the classic languages of Greece and Rome, and preserved in the Celt and Sanscrit.

Nor do the most important oreological titles of Italy fail to corroborate these facts. Such names as *Alpes*, *Pen-inus*, *A-penn-inus*, *Cim-inus*, together with the established fact of the very early separation of the Celtic stock from the great Arian family, powerfully demonstrate the nature of perhaps the earliest population that reached the Italian peninsula.§

* Slav. *Polé*, a plain.

† Celt. *Castá*, clear and *li*, water—“*The clear water*.” The Celt. “*Cast*,” and “*Lat*.” *Cast-us*, have alike their true root in the *Sansc*. “*Ch’has*,” pure, clean, or chaste.

‡ With these we would collate the Celt. *Topar*, copious, and *Dubris*, on the coast of the Cantii; the Sanscrit “*Dubrah*,” the ocean, and “*Tivrah*,” of the same value; and finally the Arab, *Dibr*, a large body of water, and *Dibar*, rivulets.

§ Such is the Celtic emigrant track seen in the terms “*Alpes*,” Celt. *Alp*, a hill; the *Peninus*, from *pen*, a hill and “*in*” a country. Hence *A-pen-ninus*, “the hill country.” “*A*,” the old Celtic article, corresponding to the Gr. *η* or *Dor á*. So *Carnos*, isle; *A-Carnania*, the highlands; *Alpes Carni*. So again, *Ceim-inus mons*, or the “hill-country,” from *Ceim*, a top, summit, and “*in*,” a country. Conf. French, “*Cime*.”

The following is Dr. Donaldson's very clear and accurate division of the great Celtic tribes :—

"The Celtic nations, the claim of whose speech to a place in the Indo-Germanic sisterhood, is now fully established, appear to have been the oldest inhabitants of Europe; but by the pressure of subsequent emigrations, they have been thrust out to the extreme corners of the continent: and Arndt has endeavoured to show, that they were also connected to a certain extent with the Finns, the Samoides, and the Mongols; nations, like themselves, detruled to the uttermost parts of the earth.

"There are two great dialects of the Celtic, which are thus exhibited by the most recent writers on the subject.

- (I.) The Gallic or British; comprehending,—
 - (a) The Cymric, or Welsh;
 - (b) The Cornish, which is extinct;
 - (c) The Armoric, or dialect of Brittany (Bas Breton.)
- (II.) The Gaelic, (Gadhelic or Herse), comprehending—
 - (a) The Ferric or Irish;
 - (b) The Highland Scottish, (Gaelic);
 - (c) The Manx, in the Isle of Man.

"From this enumeration it will be seen that the remains of the Celtic language are now found only in nooks and corners of western and insular Europe."

Pictet has acutely remarked on a subject in which history is involved in philology, (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1836,) as follows :—

"A subject of research still more attractive, is the state of civilization, which the parent stock of all the European race had attained. I do not hesitate to affirm, that the Celtic languages will present numerous and important elements for the solution of this problem. A very interesting example, which may furnish an approximation indicative of the geographical position of the cradle of the human race, is found in the Irish word *tolg*, a bed; Gallic, *tyle*, couche, identical with the Greek *τυλη* matrass, cushion. All these words have a direct affinity with the Sanscrit *tulikha*—matrass, bed. Now this substantive is a derivative of the Pers. "*tula*," one of the Sanscrit names of cotton, (from the root *tul*, jeter en dehors). These matrasses, then, were made of cotton, in the country (indeterminate let it be) which was the cradle of the race. The result is, that this country must have been situated within, or at least very near the limits of the growth of cotton; for a material of which matrasses were made, must have been abundant, and of very trifling cost. Now the cultivation of cotton, does not go beyond Persia; this would seem, then, to indicate that the cradle of the family was more southerly than is generally supposed."

To this term we would add that of the significant Celtic vocable *Bed*, signifying a "book," the origin of which is

distinctly seen in the Sanscrit "Ved," or "*Veda*," or, locally, "*Bed*."* What a spectacle does this present of the juxtaposition, or rather inter-position of the Celts with the Arians of the east. Certainly, if any thing be a proof of the varied fortunes and vast wanderings of the great and ancient Celtic stock, nothing can be more striking than the numerous terms which now show a Semitic intercommunion, and anon, an Arian original.

The Trans-Sindic regions, in truth, were no strangers to the Celtic family of mankind, to their altars and their tombs, their priests and their warriors. The following is from a competent eye-witness.†

Captain Henry Congreve, speaking of the Antiquities at Alcheni, in the Neilgherry Hills, thus writes in the Madras Journal, 1847.

"Near a village lying about three miles eastward of Kotagherry at the extremity of a field, beyond the village and overlooking a ravine, rises an artificial terrace, twenty-one paces in length by ten in breadth, supported by slabs and masses of stone. Along the western side of this platform, I found a row of those remarkable relics of antiquity, belonging essentially to the Druidical religion, called Cromlechs. There are twelve still standing; ten on the side of the terrace, and two in the centre of it. The ruins of several others are apparent. Most of the entire ones consist of three upright slabs, planted firmly in the earth and supporting a fourth, which is passed horizontally on the top of them. Four of the Cromlechs are larger than the rest, being about four feet square and five high, the length of the upper slab measuring seven feet. Inquiring of the people what they knew respecting these remarkable structures, I was told with much gravity, that they had been constructed by a race of men not a foot high, who existed before mankind were destroyed by a flood which overwhelmed the earth. An account remarkable, as manifesting the universal belief in faires; and important, as exhibiting a tradition of the Deluge among the lower orders of the Hindoo peasantry, who cannot have access to the Brahminical accounts of the Cataclysm.

"The Cromlech is a vestige of antiquity well-known in Europe, and is thus described by a modern writer:—'Cromlech, literally stone table. Remarkable structures learnedly ascribed to the Druids; unlearnedly to the Dwarfs and the Fairies; and numerous throughout Western Brittany. One or more large and massive flat-stones, over-laying great slabs, planted edgeways in the ground,

* It is difficult to say if we should class the Celt. "*Fáth*," a poem—the cognate of the Lat. *Vat-es*—with "*Veda*," from the root *Vid*, to *know*, or with "*Vad*," to *speak*. The Arab. analogy is the same. "*Sháir*," a poet, from *Sháara*, *gnosis*.

† See also "Notes on the Cassia Hills, by Lieut. Yule." Bengal Asiatic Trans. vol. xiii. p. 617.

form a rude and sometimes very capacious chamber or grotto.' It is very remarkable, that not only are the Cromlechs of the Neilgherries *fac-similes* of those in Europe, but that the same legend is attached to both. Cromlechs, found chiefly in Wales and Cornwall at home by antiquaries, are considered to have been altars used by the Druids, upon which they kept the sacred fire constantly burning. The one perhaps best known, is called Kits Cotty House, near Aylesford, in Kent, and consists of three flat stones containing a fourth. A drawing of this Cromlech in my possession, is an exact representative of one of the most conspicuous at Achemy on the Neilgherries."

The singular and very interesting connection once subsisting between the pure Arian and the Celto-Arian races, has been thus stated by the learned Pictet, in a profound and critical treatise which has stamped his opinion with the highest authority.

"I here terminate," he thus writes, "this parallel of the Celtic idioms with the Sanscrit. I do not believe that, after this marked series of analogies, a series which embraces the entire organization of these tongues, that their radical affinity can be contested. The Celtic languages belong then, to the Indo-European family, of which they form the extreme western link. The identities which have been pointed out in the course of this treatise, appear to me of such a nature, as to prove how necessary the study of these two languages has become, for all researches connected with this group in its widest extent. The Celtic race, established in Western Europe from the most ancient times, must have been the first to arrive there, and in all probability it separated from the common stock before the rest. The decisive analogies which these languages still present to the Sanscrit, carry us back to the most ancient period to which we can attain by comparative philology, and thus become one of the most important bases to investigate what degree of development the mother-language of the whole family had attained."*

* Pictet "*Lettres à M. Humboldt*," Journ. Asiatique, 1836, p. 455, who thus further writes:—The Gaelic suffix of the dative case is *dh*, and it is not difficult to recognize the initial of the Sansc. *Bhas*, the Zend *Byo*, and the Latin *Bus*. This suffix *dh* is always preceded by a short *i*, and presents itself under the form *ibh*. If we compare the Irish "*breacha-ibh*," with the Sanscrit *Vreke-bhyas* and with the Zend *vehrka-eibyo*, it is difficult not to believe in their common origin. Again: to show the singular harmony of the datives plural, we have the Sanscrit, "*anile-byas*;" Irish, "*anala-ibh*," ventis; Sanscrit, "*Vag-byas*;" Irish, "*bagh-a-ibh*," voci-bus. Again: the degrees of comparison present several interesting analogies. The Sanscrit suffixes, "*tara*" and "*tama*," are found under several different forms. The ancient Irish still possesses for the comparative, the form "*ther*" or "*thir*:" thus "*glas*," cæruleus, glaisi-*ther*; dubh, black dubhi-*thir*; this suffix, in the modern Irish, has become "*de*" and "*c*." The suffix of the first person singular Sanscrit "*mi*" or "*m*," evidently derived from the pronoun, is found in the final "*m*" of all the present indicatives Irish; as beir-im, I bear, meall-im, I deceive. The unadi affixes present also some points of

When we see such names in Greece as Ladon—the Celt. “*Ladh*,” a water-course or *lade*,—Corax, Amphi-Lochia, Loc-ris, and Scheria, Oita, and Ait’hikes, we perceive the intimate application of these remarks, and they throw a strong light upon even the ante-Pelasgian populations of Hellas.

After an admirable course of critical collation of the Sanscrit and Celtic languages, in which the latter stands forth as the direct descendant of the former, M. Pictet thus concludes—

comparison, so much the more interesting, as these suffixes, which have not escaped the category of recognized analogies, carry us back to the most ancient epoch of the formation of these languages. The following are a few examples :—

Sanskrit Affixes.	Sanskrit Root.	Irish.
<i>An</i> as <i>Pat’h-an</i> , a road.	<i>Pat’h</i> , to go.	<i>Fath-an</i> , journey.
<i>Ila</i> , as <i>An-ila</i> , wind.	<i>An</i> , to blow.	<i>An-ail</i> , breath.
<i>Ira</i> , as <i>Av-ira</i> , the sea.	<i>Av</i> , to go.	<i>Aibh-eis</i> , the sea.
<i>Ula</i> , as <i>Tan-ula</i> , extended.	<i>Tan</i> , to stretch.	<i>Gall. Tan-awl</i> .

The prefixes gave rise to observations of the same nature. These elements of formation have been preserved by the Celtic language in two different ways: First, in their nature of inseparable or separable prefixes, combined with roots from which they are not to be distinguished, without comparison with the Sanscrit. The following is a comparative table of the first class of these prefixes :—

Sanskrit.	Celtic.
<i>A</i> , privative.	<i>E, ea, ei.</i>
<i>Ati</i> , above.	<i>Ath, adh</i> , intensive and iterative.
<i>Adhi</i> , with access. }	
<i>Ut</i> , above, upon.	{ <i>Uas, Os, (Brethon.)</i> <i>Ut, uch.</i> <i>Fra, Frea.</i> <i>For, Foir.</i>
<i>Para</i> , behind.	
<i>Pra</i> , before.	
<i>Sam</i> , with.	
<i>Dur</i> , bad, difficult.	<i>Comh.</i>
<i>Su</i> , well, easy.	<i>Dor, dos.</i>
	<i>Su, So.</i>

... The “*a*” privative, at first preserved as a regular prefix under the form of *e, ea, ao*, is found again without any change in several formations entirely Sanscrit. Thus the Irish words *amad*, *mad*, *amadachd*, “madness,” “*amaideach*,” inconsiderate, are connected with the Sanscrit *a-mati*, “mind-less,” or “want of sense.” In the same manner, *a-prainn*, “ill, melancholy,” is the Sansc. *a-prāna*, want of life and spirit. But the following is an analogy still more remarkable. Before words which begin by vowels, the Sansc. prefix “*a*” becomes “*an*”; thus, *a* and “*agha*,” “fault, sin, impurity,” form the Sansc. *anagha*, “pure, clean;” now this adjective is found again in the Irish, “*anag*,” clean, neat. The Sansc. prefix “*su*” and “*dur*,” opposed to each other as “*so*” and “*do*” in Irish, present several identical analogies in these languages when compared. If these analogies were isolated, they might be looked upon as fortuitous circumstances; but this is not the case: the following are a few selected from numerous examples :—

Sanskrit.	Celtic.
<i>Suhrid</i> , a friend.	<i>Sochroideach</i> , benevolent.
<i>Sukrita</i> , well made.	<i>Sucridh</i> , easy.
<i>Sukha</i> , joyous.	<i>Sugach</i> , joyous.
<i>Subhaga</i> , happy.	<i>Subach</i> , joyful.
<i>Sukara</i> , charity, benevolence.	<i>Sochar</i> , obligingness, favour.

"If the high antiquity of the sacred language of India had need of still further demonstration, these facts would, in every case, be most triumphantly established. The linguist who, in the Sanscrit, meets with the clear and precise explanation of words, transported so far from their cradle, though worn and mutilated by time, and by their isolation rendered enigmatical, is struck with the same astonishment as the geologist; who, in the bosom of the Alps, finds the granitic mass to which the block belongs, that has rolled into the plain. In both cases, the certainty of each fact bursts upon us with an evidence equally brilliant."—Pictet Lettres à M. Humboldt; Journal Asiatique, 1836, p. 454.

"The Celtic nations," writes Colonel Hamilton Smith, "often designated by the appellation of Gomerians, may be regarded as amongst the very earliest that left the high-lands of Central Asia, and moved not only in tribes towards the west, but likewise, as we have before shown, penetrated to the extremity of India."*

And again: "In the peninsula of India, we have pointed out the Pandoos of remotest antiquity, with their Cromlechs and an Arkite worship evinced in their genealogy; and, towards the west, we have them greatly com-mixed with other races in Armenia, Circassia, Asia Minor, Ancient Greece, Sarmatia, in the Baltic, in Scandinavia, on the Danube, in Friesland, in Britain, Gaul, Italy, Spain, and Northern Africa."†

Of a similar nature is the testimony of Lieut. Yule, in his Notes on the Cassia Hills. (Bengal Asiatic Transact, vol. xiii., 1844, p. 617.) He thus writes:—

"A most peculiar and striking aspect is thrown over almost every scene in the upper parts of the country, by the various remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every way-side. These are of several kinds, but almost all of them recall strongly those mysterious solitary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries, which abound in our native country, and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe, and western Asia. The most common kind in the Cassia country, is composed of erect oblong pillars, sometimes almost quite unhewn, and in other instances carefully squared and planted a few feet apart.

"The number composing one monument is never under three, and runs as high as thirteen; generally it is odd, but not always so. The highest pillar is in the middle, sometimes crowned with a circular disk, and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of these is what English antiquaries call a *cromlech*, a large flat stone, rising on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary roadside resting-place of the weary traveller. The blocks are

† Col. Hamilton Smith, p. 418.

† Ibid, p. 419.

sometimes of great size. In 'Bell's Circassia,' may be seen a drawing of an ancient monument existing in that country, which is an exact representation of a thousand such in the Kasia hills, and nearly as exact a description of them may be read in 'Irby and Mangle's Syrian Travels.'"

We propose continuing the notice of Dr. Donaldson's interesting and masterly discussions on the development and progression of the Pelasgic or Arian tribes in Italy and Greece. No one can fail to be struck with the vigour and success with which the learned author of the volumes now before us has treated a subject so favourably inaugurated in its philological department by the illustrious Bopp.

It is not a little singular, that although the most brilliant philological discoveries of our day have distinctly proved the affiliated descent of the Hellenic, Sclavonian, Celtic, German, and Gothic dialects, from the Sanscrit type of speech; the speakers of those dialects have been overlooked as the ancient brethren of the Greeks, who, themselves, as before noticed, spoke a branch of this mighty and wide-spread language. But it is not alone by a marvellous similarity in the structure of these forms of speech that original identity of race is established. The various, but not less harmonious moulds of mythology, popular customs, warlike habits, and psychological tendencies, that distinguish all these sections of the Arian family, carry with them the same historical results. It too often happens that the admirable grace with which the imaginary world of Hellas is pourtrayed by her early writers, particularly by Homer, has a tendency to fix the mental vision of the literary man upon a smaller and a more exclusive circle than that which comes under the scrutiny of the philosopher. The province of the latter is the classification of national æsthetics, with a view to the same practical result that philology has furnished to history. Hence, in treating of the ethnical basis of mythology, he pursues the same process by which the observant traveller is drawn onward from the embochure to the source of the river. It is thus apparent, that he is proceeding upon a broad principle of historical interpretation, that extends the circuit of its influence to every single member of one vast family. It is the general resemblance of each relative in the group, and not the individual lineaments of each that he is thus depicting.

Here then, mythology itself is the substratum of history; for identification of race, or of ethnic affiliation, results as much from identity of custom, warlike and mythical, as from

identity of glossology. Hence it has been admirably observed that—

“the Nereids of antiquity, the daughters of ‘the sea-born seer,’ are evidently the same with the mermaids of the British and northern shores; the habitations of both are fixed in crystal caves or coral palaces, beneath the waters of the ocean; and they are alike distinguished for their partialities for the human race, and for their prophetic powers in disclosing the events of futurity. The Naiads only differ in name from the Nixen in Germany and Scandinavia (Nisser) or the water-elves of our own countryman, Ælfric; and the Nornæ, who wove the web of life, and sang the fortunes of the illustrious Helza, are but the same companions who attended Ilithyæ at the births of Iamos and Heracles. Indeed, so striking is the resemblance between these divinities and the Grecian Mæræ, that we not only find them officiating at the birth of a hero, conferring upon him an amulet which is to endow him with a charmed existence, or cutting short the thread of his being; but, like their prototype or parallel, varying in their number from three to nine, as they figure in their various avocations of Nornæ or Valkyriæ, as Parcæ, or muses.”

This analogy holds good with respect to the nymphs of the north.

“The places of their abode—the interior of green hills, or the islands of a mountain lake, with all the gorgeous decorations of their dwellings,—are but a repetition of the Dyonisic and Nymphæic caves described by Plutarch and Diodorus: and their term of life, like the existence of the daughters of Ocean, though extending to an immeasurable length, when compared to that of the human race, had still its prescribed and settled limits. To this may be added, that the different appellations assigned them in Hellas and Northern Europe, appear to have arisen from a common idea of their nature, and that in the respective languages of these countries the words ‘elf’ and ‘nymph,’* convey a similar meaning.†

Nor is this psychological tendency less distinct in the eastern-Arian or Indian family. Here the Apsaras, like Aphrodite, rise from the foam of the sea, and dwell upon the lofty mountains of the gods, and they are nymphs conspicuous for their beauty.

“Myriads were they born, and all
In vesture heavenly clad, and heavenly gems;
Yet more divine their native semblance, rich
With all the gifts of grace, and youth, and beauty.”‡

* In the northern languages, “elf” means a stream of running water, and hence the name of the river Elbe. The Greek *νύμφη*, has the same import with the Latin *lymphe*.

† “Price’s Dissert.” prefixed to “Warburton’s History of English Poetry.”

‡ “Prof. Wilson, from the First Book of Ramyuna.”

"The old Gothic songs," writes Grote, "were cast into a continuous history by the historian Ablavius;* and the poems of the Germans, respecting Tuisto, the earth-born god, his son Mannus, and his descendants, the eponymus of the various German tribes,† as they are briefly described by Tacitus, remind us of Hesiod, or Eumêlus, or the Homeric Hymns. Jacob Grimm, in his learned and valuable *Deutsche Mythologie*, has exhibited copious evidence of the great fundamental analogy, along with many special differences, between the German, Scandinavian, and Grecian mythical world; and the dissertation of Mr. Price (prefixed to his edition of 'Warton's History of English Poetry,') sustains and illustrates Grimm's view. The same personifying imagination, the same ever-present conception of the will, sympathies, and antipathies of the gods, as the producing causes of phenomena, and as distinguished from a course of nature with its invariable sequence—the same relations between gods, heroes, and men, with the like difficulty of discriminating the one from the other in many individual names—a similar wholesale transfer of human attributes to the gods, with the absence of human limits and liabilities—a like belief in nymphs, giants, and other beings, neither gods nor men—the same coalescence of the religious with the patriotic feeling and faith—these are positive features common to the early Greeks with the early Germans; and the negative conditions of the two are no less analogous—the absence of prose writing, positive records, and scientific culture."‡

The excellent chronicler of the Rajpoot tribes has evinced a clear view of this original connexion.

"If we can shew the Germans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths (Getes or Jits), a wide field of curiosity and enquiry is open to the origin of government, manners, &c.; all the antiquities of Europe will assume a new appearance, and, instead of being traced to the bands of Germany, as Montesquieu and the greatest writers have hitherto done, may be followed through long descriptions of the manners of the Scythians, &c., as given by Herodotus. Scandinavia was occupied by the Scythæ five hundred years before Christ. These Scythians worshipped Mercury (Budha), Woden or Odin, and believed themselves his progeny. The Gothic mythology, by parallel, might be shewn to be Grecian, whose gods were the progeny of Cœlus and Terra (Budha and Ella).§ Superstition may be found in the Scandinavian creed. The Goths consulted

* Jornandes, *De Reb. Geticis*, cap. 4—6.

† Tacit. *Mor. German*, c. 2. "Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud eos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuistonem Deum terræ editum, et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Quidam licentiâ vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandaliosque affirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina."

‡ Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 618.

§ Mercury and Earth.

the hearts of victims, had oracles, had sybils, had a Venus in Freya, and Parcæ in the Valkyrie."*

The objects embraced by the Argonauts, the Vikings of the Thessalonian Asi, described under the Slavonic form of Iason, are similar to those of their Scandinavian collateral descendants. The same composite ideas give demigods for their chieftains, a sentient existence for their maritime vehicle, a Median dame of magic powers, a seer and a harper for the godlike band, a dragon for the defender of a treasure, fire-breathing oxen for the yoke, moveable rocks to enhance the perils of the deep, and a talismanic man of brass as a guardian of the ancient Crete. But while we recognize the marvellous accessories to the actual roving and piratical excursions of the Central and Western Arians, we are not thence necessarily to conclude that no such early maritime expeditions took place. Such a cheap negation would authorize a denial of the battle of Marathon, because the unearthly voice of Echelus was reported to have been heard on that occasion; or would justify our disbelief of the battle of Lake Regillus, because Castor and Pollux were said to have appeared on that spot; or would compel us to disbelieve in the existence of Augustus, because of his asserted apotheosis. Poets are not ethnologists; though they build palaces, they do not create the materials.

It is impossible, therefore, to grant the unison of fact and fiction in the expeditions of the Norse-warriors, without granting the same peculiarity to the earlier Eastern races of the same daring sea-rovers. When Lodbrog, in his death-song, declares that men are the slaves of fate, and must succumb to the Nornæ that presided over their birth,—“or that he is going to quaff the generous ale with the immortals in the highest seats”—we recognize a fact and a fiction; in the first place, the existence of Lodbrog; with the second, the belief of Lodbrog. So it is with a far higher antiquity; a fictitious belief, wherever held, can never be the test of personal identity, although it may confirm it. If we thus look at the *marvellous* in connection with the Thessalian Asioi, or their chief Iason, it will be found, judging by the analogy of their collateral descendants—the Scandinavian Asi—to furnish, by the identities of thought, fiction, and physical habit, a confirmation alike of the main fact, and of its mythical accessories.

Iolchis and Colchis are both lands of magic. The Persian

* Rajast'han, by Col. James Tod, vol. i. p. 60.

and the Mede—Perseus and Medea—are alike professors of the black art ; the one is the owner of the invisible cap, the other the mistress of poisonous herbs. To the historian, the Asi of Thessaly are but the westward progression of the Arian stock, the subsequent Asæ of the Don and of Scandinavia. And just as the antiquary pronounces such and such a mode of coinage, to belong to such and such a people exclusively, even though the legend be completely lost ; just so does the language of the Occidental Asæ give forth the conviction of a cognate origin with their eastern brethren. Hence, not only is the Argo, the ship of the Thessalian Jason, endowed with the power of speech—a piece of the speaking oak of Dodona being inserted in the prow—but

“ The Scandinavian ship Freyor, called Skidbladmir, though sufficiently spacious to contain the whole tribe of the Asæ, with their arms and equipments, was yet so artfully contrived that it might be folded up like a handkerchief and carried about in the pocket. The sails of this extraordinary vessel were no sooner hoisted than a favourable wind sprang up, an attribute which has descended to another ornament of Icelandic fable, the bark Ellidé ; but this, like the first, and oftenest sung of ancient ships, was also gifted with the power of human speech. Homer, however, has told us that the fleets of Alcinoüs combined the advantage of the favouring gale with an intelligence which enabled them to divine the wishes of those they bore ; and that they also had the power of reaching their destined port without the assistance of a helmsman or guide.

“ ‘ So shalt thou instant reach the realm assigned
In wondrous ships, self-moved, instinct with mind ;
No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,
Like men intelligent they plough the tides ;
Conscious of every coast and bay
That lie beneath the sun’s alluring ray.’ ”

With regard to the actual facts involved in mythical geography, the illustrious author of “ Cosmos ” has thus written :—

“ In entering upon subjects which must present important considerations connected with philological studies, I could not prevail upon myself to pass over in silence that which belongs less to a description of the actual world, than to the cycle of mythic geography. It is with space as with time, we cannot treat of *history* in a philological point of view, by burying in absolute oblivion the heroic times. The myths of nations, mixed with history and geography, BELONG NOT WHOLLY TO THE DOMAIN OF THE IDEAL WORLD. If the vague is one of their distinctive traits—if symbols cover the reality of a veil more or less thick,—these myths, intimately connected among themselves, do not the less reveal the ancient stock

(souche) of the earliest cosmographic and physical views. *The facts of primitive history and geography are not merely ingenious fictions, but the opinions formed as to the actual world, are there reflected.*"*

So also O. Müller—

"In mythical narrations, what is done, and what is imagined, the real and the ideal, are most often closely combined with each other."†

Hence it has been justly observed by a high authority, that

"The Homeric world is not a region of enchantment, called into existence by the wand of a magician; it is at once poetical and real. In confining our view to its real side, we do not break the charm by which it captivates the imagination. The historian's aim, however, is very different from the poet's; it is the province of the former to collect what the latter scatters carelessly and unconsciously over his way, to interpret and supply dark hints. For the subjects on which the poet dwells with delight are not always the most interesting and instructive to the historical inquirer, though there are few in which curiosity is absolutely disappointed. Homer is often eminently exact in describing artificial productions and technical processes; while the social institutions, the moral and religious sentiments of his age, as things universally understood, are never formally noticed, but only betrayed by accidental allusions. But the light which he affords is confined to the circle into which he draws us: it is only one period, and one stage of society, that he exhibits, and he is wholly silent as to the steps which led to it. When we desire to look back to an antecedent period, we are reduced to depend on traditions and indications which are seldom so clear and authentic as his evidence with regard to his age. They are not, however, on that account indiscriminately rejected; nor can his silence always be held conclusive as to things which, if they existed, must have come within his knowledge."‡

Hence likewise it is, that another acute writer on the History of Greece, has granted the weight of an historical testimony to the poetical descriptions of Homer, and to general tradition, in an instance which passes even beyond the chronological barrier of the Olympiads.

"The foundation of the temple of Delphi itself," he writes, "reaches far beyond all historical knowledge, forming one of the most aboriginal institutions of Hellas. It is a sanctified and wealthy place even in the Iliad: the legislation of Lycurgus at Sparta is introduced under its auspices, and the earliest Grecian

* Humboldt's "Cosmos," p. xxxix. Introduction.

† Proleg. Zu einer wissenschaftl. Myth., S. 68 and 109.

‡ Thirlwall's Greece, vol. i. p. 180.

colonies, those of Sicily and Italy in the eighth century B.C., are introduced under its sanction.*

Here, then, is one of those strong cases of high antiquity, which rests its historical basis upon generally received tradition, on the writings of Homer, and the oracular verses recorded by Herodotus.

The Danish banner of the Raven embroidered by night with magic incantations by the sisters of King Sweyn—a token of victory to the Scandian Asi—and the Median enchantress (Medea), the protecting guide of the Asian Danaoi, are thus, however fictitious their incantations, the members of one and the same great Arian race, possessed of the same tendencies, piratical and superstitious, alike in the 14th century B.C., on the shores of Thessaly, the Euxine, the banks of the Tanais, the Argolic Tanaus; and in the eighth century of our era on the coasts of the Baltic. Nor should we greatly err, in the absence of direct history, if carrying this analogy still farther, we concluded that like these northern Asi, the Asiic sea-kings of Thessaly, cruised near the coast of the Euxine, “awaiting their prey in the straits, bays, and roadsteads; and at other times giving chase and steering across the open sea.” Of these Scandinavians the collateral descendants of the Thessalian Arians, the authority just quoted offers a lively and interesting picture.

“Often,” says Thierry, “did the rallying sign remain unanswered; but this neither increased the cares, nor diminished the confidence of the survivors, who laughed at the winds and waves from which they had escaped unhurt. Either as seamen or horsemen they were equally the terror of maritime districts. They ascended the great rivers until they found a commodious station; there they quitted their barks and moored them or drew them aground. Then scattering themselves over the neighbouring country, they carried off all the beasts of burden, and from marines became horsemen. Thus becoming cavaliers, according to the tactics of their predecessors, they marched rapidly across the country, suddenly presenting themselves when they were thought to be at a distance, and surprising the fortified castles and cities.”†

The Argonautic Asi, are represented as carrying their vessel during one part of their adventurous course. It is well known that the Asi of Scandinavia, after entering the estuaries of rivers, ascended them sometimes to their very sources, disembarking on either bank, bands of bold and disciplined

* Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 338.

† Thierry *Hist. des Norm.*

marauders. "Wherever a bridge or any other obstacle impeded the navigation, the crews, hauling the barks ashore, unloaded them, and moved them on the dry land till they had passed beyond the impediment."*

"With regard to those standing types of popular fiction which have been compared to the roots of language, the history of their application in various periods of society displays the same frequent occurrence of certain primitive images, and the same series of ever changing analysis and combination which mark the growth and progress of language itself."†

It has been truly observed, that

"the astronomical apotheosis of Orpheus follows the eastern Arian, or Hindoo system. There the sage Dhruva is made the Pole Star, by virtue of the imperial award, 'a star shall be assigned to thee above the three worlds.'"‡

Niobe changed to stone and Daphne to laurel, are the representations of mytho-theurgic doctrines known to the Eastern Arians of India, long previous to their western brethren of the Homeric times. They are doctrines again strongly revived in Greece B.C. 540—510, by Pythagoras, and by him ranging up through Hesiod and Orpheus to the great Indian and Indo-Zendic cosmogonies. The leading principles of these two metamorphoses, are plainly stated in the Manaveh Dherma Sastra, a work which has been placed at an antiquity varying from the ninth to the twelfth century before our era. "For sins committed in the body, a man shall after death assume a mineral or a vegetable form."§ The fate of Niobe is found duly chronicled by the poet Valmiki, B.C. 1200, in that of the fair Rambha. Rambha was a beautiful nymph, who had attempted to captivate with her charms the affections of the sage Vishwa Mitra; upon which daring attempt the great ascetic pronounced no very lenient sentence.

"The sage indignant thus the maiden hailed,
Since thou wouldst lure me Rambha with thy charms
Of beauty boundless, in this sacred grove
Cursed by my art, a myriad years remain
In living stone."||

* Therry Hist. des Norm.

† Price Pref. to Warton, p. 25.

‡ Vishn. Pur. C. x.

§ Sastr. XIII. Slok. 9.

|| Rambhan kopasamavishatā idam vāchānāmabravit
Yāmāllobhyasē Rāmbhē, māmātmāgūnāsampādā
Tāsmāchailamye bhūtwā st'hāsyāmihā tapovānē
Vārshānāmāyātan. *Ramay in loco.*

It must not be forgotten that the final scene of the metamorphosis of Niobe, is laid out of Hellas and in a part of Asia. In the time of Pausanias, people still imagined they could see the petrified form of Niobe on mount Sipylus. The Orphic and Pythagorean belief in the doctrine of vegetable metamorphoses, not less clear in the teaching of Empedocles, is well portrayed in the writings of Calidasa, the Indian Shakespeare, whose drama of the "Hero and the Nymph," depicts the prince Pururavas, as restoring to her natural form the object of his love, who had been transformed into a vine.*

"PUR. What means this strange emotion ; as I gaze
Upon this vine, no blossoms deck its boughs.
Nipped by the falling rains, like briny tears,
That wash the ruddy freshness from the lips,
The buds have perished, and the mournful shrub
All unadorned appears to pine in absence.
No bees regale her with their songs—silent
And sad, she lonely shows the image
Of my repentant love, who now laments
Her causeless indignation. I will press
The melancholy likeness to my heart.

AIR.

Vine of the wilderness, behold
A lone, heart-broken wretch in me,
Who dreams in his embrace to fold
His love, as wild he clings to thee.
And might relenting fate restore
To these fond arms the nymph I mourn,
I'd bear her hence, and never more
To these forbidden haunts return.
(*Goes to embrace the Vine, which is transformed to Urvasi.*)

What can this mean ! through every fibre spreads
The conscious touch of Urvasi ; yet all
I deemed her charms deceived me—let me wake
And realize the vision or dispel it.
'Tis no deceit—'tis she, my best beloved (*Faints.*)

URVASI (*in tears.*) Revive my lord."†

Cadmus and the Serpent Genii at Thebes—Cadmus and Harmonia changed to serpents, not as a punishment, but as wafted to an elysium of happiness—are the Nagas or Serpent Genii of the Rajpoots ; possessed of a semi-human structure, precisely as Diodorus describes the snake-mother of

* Vikrama and Novasī, Professor Wilson, p. 255.

† Hist. Greece, vol. i. Encycl. Metrop. New Edit.

the Scythæ; nor is the ὄφις ἀκούρος of the Athenian Acropolis any other than the Naga deity of the Eastern Arian. The Golden Fleece of Colchis is guarded by a dragon, not less than the fountain in the vicinity of Thebes—it is the Raksha or guardian genius of the East.

“The zone of Hippolyte,*” writes Price, “which gave a supernatural vigour to the thews and limbs of the wearer, is not to be distinguished from the girdle of the Norwegian Thor; and there can be little doubt that the Brisingamen of Freyia, which graced the person of the same pugnacious deity on his visit to Thymheen,† is the cestus of Venus under another name and form.”

“The Aswa medha, or sacrifice of the horse,” observes Colonel Tod, “was practised on the Ganges and Sarjoo 1200 years before Christ, as by the Getes in the time of Cyrus. Deeming it right, says Herodotus, ‘to offer the swiftest of created, to the chief of uncreated, beings;’ and this worship and sacrifice of the horse has been handed down to the Rajpoot of the present day.

“The Getic Asi carried this veneration for the steed, symbolic of the chief deity, the Sun, into Scandinavia; equally so of all the early German tribes, the Su, Suevi, Catti, Sicambri, Getes, in the forests of Germany, and on the banks of the Elbe and Weser. The milk-white steed was supposed to be the organ of the gods, from whose neighing they calculated distant events. The steed of the Scandinavian god of battle was kept in the temple of Upsala, and always ‘found foaming and sweating after battle.’

“‘Money,’ says Tacitus, ‘was only acceptable to a German when bearing the effigies of the horse.’ So also, the sacrifice of the early Hellenes to Helios or the Sun, was especially that of the horse.‡ The white horse was a prominent object in the banners of the hardy northern tribes, the descendants in fact of the Asic tribes of the East.

“The national faith, as embodied in the well-known Homeric hymn to Helios, is thus recapitulated by an excellent authority, who writing of the early son of Hellen, observes, that ‘he saw the great god Helios mounting his chariot in the morning in the East, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the Western Horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. Helios having favourite spots wherein his beautiful cattle grazed, took pleasure in contemplating them during the course of his journey, and was sorely displeased if any man slew or injured them; he had moreover sons and daughters upon earth.”§

* “Ἐίχε δὲ Ἰππολυτή τον Ἀρεὸς ζωστήρα, σιμβόλον του προτευνάσασων. Apoll. Bib. ii. 5, 9. In Parsee lore the girdle was a symbol of power over Ahriman.

† In the “Little Rose Garden” the belt of Thor has descended to King Laurion. Weher, p. 153.

‡ See Smith’s Classic. Biog. Dict., art. “Helios.” Strabo also mentions the early sacrifice of horses on the summit of Mount Taletón.

§ Grote’s Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 292.

It might afford scope for no uninteresting investigation, to trace and connect the Vedic worship of the Sun with the Arian race, as well as the connection of the Indo-Arian doctrine of the sacredness of the cow, with the "Sacred Oxen of the Sun"—the former worship practised by the Arian of the Ganges, the latter by the Western Arian of the Peneus. "Temples of the Sun existed in Greece very early; and in later times we find his worship established in various places; and it may be remarked in general that sacred flocks, especially of oxen, occur in most places where the worship of Helios was established."* Sicily was an island peculiarly hallowed by Helios, who there had flocks of sacred oxen and sheep.

"There sacred to the radiant God of Day
Graze the fair herds, the flocks promiscuous stray."†

Hence, too, the complaint of the Sun-god to Zeus, demanding vengeance upon the sacrilegious companions of Ulysses, who had slain his oxen:—

"Slain are those herds which I with pride survey,
When through the ports of heaven I pour the day,
Or deep in ocean plunge the burning ray. }
Vengeance, ye gods! or I the skies forego,
And bear the lamp of heaven to shades below."‡

It is equally clear that the same living faith in the personality of the Sun-god Helios existed among the German branches of the Asi, down to the historical period of the Roman war with this valiant people. Hence we see the German chief Boiocalus, in his address to the legate Avitus, apostrophizing the sun, as though possessed of personality, and its physical powers.§ It may here be incidentally remarked, that if the dicta of some modern historians are to form a canon for discriminating between history and mythology, such a war with the German race can never be classed with historical fact; because the belief of the German Asi in the sun's personality is as strongly expressed as that of the Hellenic Iasones|| in the agency of Athene at the Symplegades. It is clear, therefore, that *mythologic faith* is itself an essential part of *history*; but at the same time wholly dis-

* Art. "Helios," Smith's Class. Biog.

† Odyss. xii. 261—263. Pope's transl.

‡ Odyss. xii. 379—384.

§ Tacitus xiii. 55. See also Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 466.

|| Iason and Ias, the Slavonic form of Ason and As.

tinct from the narrative with which it stands in connection. Hence it has been truly observed, in an admirable comparison of the Asi of the East and of the West, that

“The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajpoots, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the Yuti of the Jaxartes. Thor, in the eleventh fable of the Edda, is denominated *Asa-Thor*, the ‘Lord Thor,’ called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The northern warrior makes the presence of his Sun-god *Thor* the most splendid of the celestial abodes, in which are five hundred and forty halls, vying with the *Surya Mandala* (abode of the Sun), the supreme heaven of the Rajpoot. Whence such notions of the Aswa nations of the Ganges, and the Asi of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic *Sachæ*, who adored the solar divinity under the name of *Geto-Syrus*, the *Surya* of the *Sac’ha Rajpoot*.”*

At what time the Gothic tribes reached the Baltic it may be difficult to say. Thus much, however, is certain; that as *Getæ*, they occupied the whole course of the Danube, at a period of high antiquity; nor is it probable but that branches of the same stock, after following the course of that great stream to its source, soon after moved through the comparatively short space that separated them from the shores of the Baltic. The singularly early connection of the Greeks with north-western Europe, either individually or by commerce, has been noticed by an admirable ethnologist,† whose remark has been already quoted, that there must have been a very ancient interchange between the maritime people of the two great inland seas of Europe, since amber, a produce of the Baltic coast, was known at the inmost recesses of the Mediterranean by the Greeks before the time of Homer.‡

“It might be deemed folly,” writes the author of ‘*Rajpootana*,’ “to trace the rites and superstitions of so remote an age and nation to Central Asia; but when we find the superstitions of the Indo-Scythic *Gete* prevailing within the Indus, in Dacia, on the shores of the Baltic, we may assume their common origin; for although the worship of arms has prevailed among all warlike tribes, there is a peculiar respect paid to the sword among the Gethic race.

“The Greeks and Romans paid devotion to their arms and swore by them. The Greeks brought their habits from ancient Thrace, where the custom existed of presenting as the greatest gift, that peculiar kind of sword called *Akinakes*. The most powerful oath of the Rajpoot, next to his sovereign’s throne, is by his arms—

* Colonel Tod’s *Rajast’han*.

† Prichard’s *Nat. Hist. of Man*, vol. iii. p. 384.

‡ Strabo, p. 201.

'*ya sil ca an*'—by this weapon; as suiting the action to the word he puts his hand on his dagger, never absent from his girdle.
'*Dhal, turwar ca an*,' by my sword and shield."

When Thucydides observes that the Hellenes, as being the most warlike in Thessaly, "were called in by the inhabitants of other cities to their military succour;" or that "the desire of gain induced the humble to take service with the great and powerful;" or that Agamemnon drew together the armament against Western Asia "by his being a potentate superior in power to the princes of his day;"—he is unconsciously indicating an ancient feudal principle, well-known in the case of the Arsacidæ, the lords paramount of the "Sac'has," or "branches" of the Asi. There appears to be much of this, as a practical institution, unconsciously developed in the pages of Homer. Thus Achilles exclaims—

"I came not in my strength to brandish here,
'Gainst Troy, that wronged not Peleus' son, the spear;
My steeds they ne'er purloined, my cattle drove,
Or spoiled the fruits of Phthias' fertile grove.
O'ershadowing mountains, and the sounding tide
From Ilion's shore my native realm divide.
We, that *thou* mightst insult—*thou* rejoice,
Here freely came, and freely heard thy voice.
We sailed, vile wretch, for injuries not our own,
Ilion must fall for Atreus' race alone."*

The reply of the Sac'ha chief, in the spirit of feudal despotism, is discerned in the following:—

"Hence shalt thou prove my might, and curse the hour
Thou stood'st a rival of imperial power.
And hence to all our host it shall be known,
That kings are subject to the gods alone."†

While the conciliatory address of Nestor, is still further exegetical of the principle:—

"Nor thou the king resist, the loved of heaven;
Jove ne'er to other king such power hath given.
Though goddess-born, in war thou rule alone,
A nation's mightier arm sustains his throne."‡

Nor is the celebrated history of the descent of the sceptre unconnected with the principle; and while in courage and military virtues Agamemnon is so far below his bravest chief Achilles, in power, dignity, and in majesty, he is supreme over the combined host of warriors.

* Iliad 1 v.—Sotheby's Homer.

† Iliad 1 v.—Pope's Homer.

‡ Iliad 1 v.—Ibid.

The original rude source of the Hellenes betrays itself as they gradually advanced towards civilization. From the sacrifice of human victims, they appear not to have been so completely emancipated, but what the occasional, and in later ages the stealthy, practice of these horrid rites, pointed to their original localities and once associated tribes. The poetical sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis—the human sacrifices in Arcadia at the temple of Zeus Lykeus—the occasional practice of the same rites by the Lacedæmonians,—and more particularly the immolation of twelve Trojan youths by Achilles, on the funeral pile of Patroclus—exactly quadrate with those of the Taurians mentioned by Herodotus.* If we compare with the psychological tendencies of our species, the inherited bias of the lower orders of animals—a bias not only the product of nature, but of trained and implanted sagacity ;—if, further, we note the delicate organism of certain classes of our own race, and the aptitude of such an organism for specific mechanical agencies ;†—we shall, *à fortiori*, readily acquiesce in the historical value deducible from tribal idiosyncrasy and its trains of thought, action, and mythical product.

Hence, we purpose resuming our notices of the history involved in the religion and policy of the Arian nationalities in connection with their topical aspects.

* We quote the following from a high authority. "Respecting the sacrifices at the temple, Zeus Lykæus in Arcadia, (see Plato, *Republ.* viii. p. 565 ; Pausanias, viii. 38, 5) seems to have shrunk, when he was upon the spot, even from enquiring what they were—a striking proof of the fearful idea which he had conceived of them. Plutarch (*De Defectu Oracul.* c. 14) speaks of τὰς πάλαι παμμέγας ἀνθρωποθυσίας. The Schol. ad Lycophron, 229, gives a story of children being sacrificed to Melikertês at Tenedos ; and Apollodorus (ad Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, ii. 55, sec. Apollod. *Fragm.* 20, ed. Didot) said, that the Lacedæmonians had sacrificed a man to Arês—καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἄρει θύειν ἀνθρώπον."—*Grote's Hist. Greece*, vol. ii. p. 173.

† The caste of the Indian Weavers is particularly a case in point, in whom a succession of identical employment for centuries has produced a physical conformation, peculiarly adapted to a perfect mechanical result.

- ART. VI.—1. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority ; or, Reasons for recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy.* By the Rev. R. J. WILBERFORCE, M. A. London: Longmans. 1854.
2. *The Sphere and Duties of Government.* Translated from the German of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, by JOSEPH COULTHARD, JUN. London: Chapman. 1854.
3. *The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church, viewed in their Scriptural and Theological Aspects, and in relation to Principles professed by Wesleyan Methodists.* By the Rev. ALFRED BARRETT. London: Mason. 1854.

IT would be useless to enter on a disquisition concerning the constitution, doctrine and discipline of any particular church, without first having a clear idea of the meaning of the term. Half the disputes that arise from church matters take their origin from a want of accuracy in the use of terms.

What then is a church? This is the first question to be considered; and the meaning which will be affixed to the term in this article will be that adopted by our own communion—"A congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered."—Art. XIX.

This definition makes the church a *visible* corporation, and is therefore tenable with the doctrine that there is *also* an invisible and spiritual church. The faithfulness contemplated by the Article must consequently be a faithfulness to the principles of a visible congregation; a strict and dutiful adherence to its discipline, and an acquiescence in its doctrine; so far at least as to offer no opposition thereto, and to express no doubt therein. But further than this faithfulness, more is not required by the definition; for the belief of the heart, which bringeth unto salvation, may be absent, where there is yet an acquiescence both in the doctrine and discipline of the church.

Thus our Lord, speaking of the kingdom of heaven (by which is understood the visible church), likens it to a field in which were both wheat and tares, and to a net in which were good and bad fish; and we are also told that "all are not Israel that are of Israel." This distinction between the visible and invisible church must be borne in mind when we come to speak of ecclesiastical discipline, which has necessarily to do with the visible church, and *with it only*.

A more accurate notion may be obtained of the nature of

a church by considering its *intent*. Now the object for which the church is instituted is to evangelize the world. The visible church is a scaffolding to build up the living stones of the invisible church—the external is for the sake of the internal. The outward ordinances, rites, meetings, prayers, sacraments of the church, are all means to an end; and that end is the edification of the body of Christ; the nourishing and supporting that body, visible only to God, and which consists of all those who are justified by the blood of Jesus, and sanctified by the Spirit of God. From this definition springs the danger and mischief of heresy and schism; for heresy is a corruption of true doctrine, and schism a departure from apostolical discipline, so as to separate the person or body so offending from the external unity of Christ's members.

If then Christ has ordained his visible church to be the means, by its united and compact action, of evangelizing the world; if for this purpose the concentration of its powers, and the unity of its plans, be highly needful; then it will follow that all which tends to injure that compactness, and to break that unity, must tend to retard the accomplishment of the purpose for which that compactness and unity were designed; i. e. must retard the progress of the gospel here on earth. And hence, however holy, personally, may be the individual separating from the external church, he is to a certain extent damaging the machinery and diminishing the energy by which the great work is being carried on; hence the reasonableness of the term, "the sin of schism." If, as some assert, the external and spiritual churches were ever co-extensive, then correctness of discipline would be of the same moment as purity of doctrine and holiness of life; and the schismatic would not only lose the advantages which church-fellowship with the great body of his co-believers here is calculated to afford, together with all the blessings of which the visible church is the authorized channel, but he would also lose his interest as an individual in the blood of the Redeemer, and forfeit his title to everlasting life. But as the visible church is only of importance by reason of the vast interests it is intended to serve, so its provisions are only valuable so far as they *do* conduce to the advancement of those interests; and hence we derive the doctrine:—that apostolic discipline is to be adhered to, because experience shows that it is the most conducive to the effectiveness of the church; and not because the apostles laid down rules which, by divine command, were to be for ever obeyed therein.

Had there been any necessity for such a perpetuity of discipline in order to secure the salvation of the souls of the church's members, there would doubtless have been a scheme systematically drawn up by the apostles themselves for the regulation of every point of church government. We should not have been left to infer so much; to gather so much from uninspired sources; to trust so much to tradition. The very fact that we are so left ought to teach us two things:—first, that discipline in the church, however important, is not of the essence of Christianity; and, secondly, that very considerable differences in discipline may be allowed in various ages, various countries, and under various conditions of society, without involving any necessary departure from important truth.

The temporal headship given by our Church to the sovereign of this country is precisely such a point of discipline as we have been contemplating; and the recent attempts made by the ex-Archdeacon of the East Riding and others, to overthrow the foundations on which it rests, make it expedient that we on our parts should re-examine, and if possible re-affirm the grounds of our practice.

If there be any connection between the Church and State it must be effected by a sacrifice, not of essentials but of non-essentials on both sides. We see in our own ecclesiastical constitution many mutual concessions thus made, and we come now to consider one condition of all others the most essential to such an alliance. There can be no safety where there is any toleration of an "*imperium in imperio*." The same power must be paramount as well in Church as in State, or the former cannot be permitted to exist under the form of a visible corporation, holding independent property, ruled by her own ministers, and regulated by her own laws. Hence it is that "the Queen's Majesty is admitted to be *in all causes, as well civil as ecclesiastical, within these her dominions, supreme*." Hence it is that Henry VIII. and his successor assumed the title of "supreme head, here on earth, of the English and Irish Church."

The proper mode of viewing the royal supremacy will be to consider, first, its origin; second, its extent; and the former of these will not fail to throw a strong light on the latter.

The Church, as a corporation, holds property subject to the same law as other corporations—that is, subject to the law of the land; for few, if any, in these days will attempt to set up any species of *divine* right on her part to any kind

of earthly possessions. The Church, therefore, holding her property thus, seeks, by the same rule, protection in the peaceable enjoyment of it; admits the authority of the law, and receives its guarantee in return. The chief magistrate, therefore, exercises the same powers with regard to the property of the Church as it does with regard to the property of any chartered company.

The persons of church ministers are subject to the same law as their fellow-subjects, from the highest to the lowest. In this respect, then, the Church admits the authority of the State, and so far the royal supremacy. By our constitution, the sovereign appoints all the bishops, and not a few of the other dignitaries of our Church. This branch of the prerogative is only so far limited, that the parties to be chosen must be already qualified by being in priest's orders; for though the crown can appoint any priest to be a bishop, it cannot make a layman or even a deacon a priest, nor can it directly or indirectly compel a bishop to ordain. With this limitation, the crown nominates all the prelates and places them in the Upper House of the Legislature.

The next point to be considered is, under what circumstances this power was assumed. We find that it was taken immediately from the Pope, and that when the Pope's supremacy was denied, all that had been attributed to him was handed over intact to the crown, reserving only that which imperatively demanded a sacerdotal agency. Thus our thirty-seventh article states distinctly, "we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments." With this reservation, all the authority that had been the Pope's was transferred to the sovereign.

This origin will lead us to a right understanding of the extent of the power thus committed. We shall see that is is of a compound character, and consists of two parts—

1. That of the State in general.
2. That of the sovereign as the temporal head of the Church.

It was practically ruled at the Reformation, that the English Establishment was "*the expression of the national religious will*;" and that as that national will changed, so should changes be made in the ecclesiastical establishment to correspond thereto.

This is the distinction between a church as a church, and an establishment as an establishment. Church rates, tithes, &c., were national gifts; and when the national mind was turned from Popery to Protestantism these national gifts

were bestowed no longer on Papists but on Protestants. Private benefaction, shared the same fate; and as now we should deem it no wrong, if an endowment had been made centuries ago to keep up the worship of Odin, for us to divert that endowment and use its revenues for a church, a school, or a hospital,—so government, recognizing the Establishment as the expression of the national religious will, has never hesitated to make the designs of the past bend to the necessities of the present. From the judicious application of this principle, it is that the Establishment of this country has, though with many drawbacks, kept a more even pace with the requirements of the nation than that of any foreign country.

But this is not a mere question of property; by the same rule we may interpret the article (the 20th) which decrees that “the Church hath authority in controversies of faith;” for the Church consists of the whole body of worshippers, and ought to be co-extensive with the nation, whose religious will is represented by its establishment: so that the authority of the Church should be the authority of the nation—not the authority of the clergy—still less the authority of any person or order among the clergy. Convocation itself can decide nothing without first the permission and next the confirmation of the crown.

We go then at once to the Sovereign as the *general expression* of the national will, and, regarding the Queen in this light, as well as possessed of all the powers (save those of a sacerdotal character) once possessed by the Pope, we come to the conclusion that the crown is the ultimate appeal in cases where doctrine is involved.

Let it be distinctly understood that this refers to the Establishment, as a National Institution, and not to the Church, properly speaking, as an Apostolical Institution. The Sovereign, with and by the advice of the Privy Council, may come to an erroneous decision; but it is not the less the decision of the legitimate power, and decisive of the doctrine to be taught in *the Establishment*.

We do not believe that *any such case* has occurred, or is likely to occur; but if it should, it would then be the duty of those who perceived the error to argue in defence of the truth—to take every constitutional means to advance and vindicate it—but not to deny the competency of the authority which our civil and ecclesiastical constitution has rightly and wisely placed in the crown.

The supremacy of the crown, then, is that of the State.

First, a supremacy in all questions of church property. Secondly, a supremacy over all ecclesiastical persons. Thirdly, a supremacy in deciding points both of doctrine and discipline.

This authority has been so gently exercised, that it has been scarcely felt—too gently indeed for the necessities of the times. The corruptions, both of doctrine and discipline, which have of late crept in, imperatively demand the hand of a strong and wise civil administration. This would at once strengthen the hands of those who naturally desire to prevent the “unprotestantizing of the Church,” and would tend to enlarge the means of usefulness and general acceptability of the Church herself.

“We shall not enlarge here on the benefit obviously accruing to a country from the accession to her councils of God’s chief ministers, nor shall we speak of the uniformly humanizing and civilizing effect which such accession has had on the lay portion of the legislature: through it, our laws are more Christian and more just than otherwise they would have been; nor can we call that a Christian country, and ruled according to Christian laws, when those laws have had no revision by the heads, at least, of Christ’s visible and Catholic Church.

“We pass on, then, to consider the question of Episcopal Elections—for it is in the episcopal order mainly that we shall find the articles of union between Church and State. We have seen one point of this union in the admission of a body of ecclesiastics, viz., the bishops, to the great council of the nation: they are elevated to the peerage, and have rank and precedence accordingly. The next point of union is, that the Crown *really* appoints the bishops; we say *really*, because though the royal choice is conveyed in the shape of a permission granted to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church to elect A. B. to be their bishop, yet if the dean and chapter refuse to elect A. B. aforesaid, they involve themselves in all the penalties of a *premunire*. Now, as the primitive bishops were chosen by the apostles, and, after their departure, by the whole body of the clergy, it would seem that it never could fall to the sovereign to elect the chief ministers of religion, any more than to ordain priests, or administer the sacraments.

“It must be borne in mind that this is a very different question from that of investiture, which agitated the Church during the pontificate of Gregory VII. *Then* the dispute was, whether a king could *make* a bishop: *now* it is, whether

a king may nominate a man *to be made* a bishop ; and by the constitution of the Anglican Church, the *right* of election is expressly, by this very legal fiction, acknowledged to reside in the clergy of the province, while the right of nomination is ceded to the Crown. Consecration again is another right, but this is inalienable, and can only be exercised by bishops. Now the case may be said to stand thus—the Church cedes to the State the power of nominating her bishops ; the State grants to the Church that those bishops shall be *ex-officio* legislators : thus each grants somewhat which the other had not before, and this mutual cession makes the chief part of what is called the union of Church and State. Now it must not be forgotten that there have been effects which have followed this union, which have been anything but advantageous to the Church, while they have been the means of unlawfully enriching the State.”

If the National Church as distinguished from the Church Catholic, and exhibiting itself as the expression of the national will on the subject of religion, be at all a judge in controversies of faith, it must have some mode of making its judgments known. Now there are certain limits within which these judgments are restricted. First, it has declared that God’s most holy Word is to be the ultimate resort of appeal. Nothing is to be demanded as an article of belief that cannot be clearly proved thereby ; and next, bearing in mind that a national church must be a comprehensive church, it has been her aim to embrace within her communion, by a large and expansive charity, all who can agree upon the great principles of Protestant truth. Whatever may have been the case of old, certain it is that the ex-Archdeacon Wilberforce has rightly stated her character when he describes her as essentially and distinctively Protestant. He supposes that she has lost her catholicity by this ; we, on the other hand, deduce that she has but the more successfully asserted and maintained it.

But to see within what limits the Church may exercise her judgment, let us see how she has herself set forth what she holds as primary doctrines ; and by primary doctrines we mean such as are of the essence of Christianity, without which orthodoxy would disappear, and latitudinarianism would take its place. She looks on man as fallen ; as the subject of saving grace ; of church privileges ; of divine illumination. She accepts the Scriptures as a revelation from God for that purpose, and she arranges her scheme of necessary doctrine thus :—

A church should ever have a reason for the faith that is in her. Whatever doctrines she proposes for the acceptance of the members, she should satisfy them that those doctrines are scriptural, and that they are *necessary*. In other words, that her scheme of doctrine is a consistent one, and that therefore, if any portion be omitted or rejected, the philosophical connection of the whole is damaged or lost. This is peculiarly the case with the Church of which we are now treating. Recognizing the universal existence of sin, she teaches the doctrine of a fall. Rejoicing in hope, she teaches the advent of a Redeemer. As none but a perfect being, and at the same time bound by no duties of his own, could be the mediator between God and man; and as man required a model as well as a mediator, and both perfect, so we come to the doctrine of CHRIST'S INHERENT DIVINITY.

Again, if Christ be a distinct divine person, and moreover the Holy Ghost be also a divine person distinct from the Father and the Son, then we arrive at THE DOCTRINE OF A TRINITY.

But if likewise a perpetual unity in the divine essence, that doctrine is modified again, and becomes that of a TRINITY IN UNITY.

A divine atonement being necessarily all-sufficient, on account of the essential Godhead of Him who made it, we next have presented to our view the doctrine of THE UNIVERSAL ATTAINABILITY OF SALVATION.

As this salvation is only to be obtained by belief in the Son of God—a belief of the heart, not the mere intellect—and as men must be justified before they can be accepted by God, so we next are brought to the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

But as we must be made holy as well as accounted holy, our Church gives a due prominence to the scriptural doctrine of SANCTIFICATION BY THE HOLY SPIRIT.

She teaches also a federal regeneration in baptism, by which the guilt or imputability of original sin is forensically removed, and which regeneration is not *necessarily* attended by any further spiritual benefits.

She admits, and insists on the efficacy of the sacraments when received in faith, requiring as the mark of a sacrament that it should be—

1. Instituted by Christ himself personally.
2. That it should be of universal obligation.
3. That there should be a specific grace attendant on the faithful reception of the outward sign.

Finding two rites only so characterized, she rejects all other, and teaches the existence in the Church of TWO SACRAMENTS ONLY, viz. Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

These are the *chief* or *essential* doctrines which are taught by the Church of England; and on these logically depend many others which are duly enlarged on in her Articles, Liturgy and Homilies; but these she only commands to be received so far as they shall be found accordant with God's Holy Word. The Scripture is ever her ultimate appeal. All these points, and some others more or less dependant upon them, are treated of by her in her Articles and Formularies.

There are some points of doctrine on which, though in the eyes of those who hold them a certain mode of expression appears to be of vital moment, do not appear to have been so regarded by the framers of our Articles; but rather they left a considerable latitude of interpretation purposely open. Among these must be noticed those which refer to Election and Regeneration; and on these topics there has ever been a wide difference of opinion among members of the Church, each one supporting his own sentiments, not by the Scriptures alone, but also by the authority of the Church's own Formularies and Articles.

It is obviously greatly to the advantage of our common Christianity that such latitude should be given; for thereby many excellent and useful men are retained in communion with the Church, who would otherwise not only deprive her of their support, but would necessarily be ranked among her bitterest adversaries—holding her denial of those doctrines which they maintain to be a denial of essential truth, as the most dangerous of heresies. Hence the best and wisest of those who have treated on her polity have ever looked upon it as a singular advantage, that the Articles did admit so considerable a variety of interpretation, and have rather sought to increase than to decrease the number of those who could consistently enter and remain within her communion.

Christian charity, and the strength which arises from numbers are both thus consulted; and it may admit of a doubt, whether a little occasional controversy does not, and especially among a free and inquiring people, rather tend to freshen the current of religious thought, and give wholesome occupation on the most interesting subjects to the intellectual faculties. Uniformity of opinion never has been, and never will be, attained; and the *too great* stringency of creeds and articles can but produce an outward and unconsidering acquiescence. He who feels that he may think freely, and yet

be neither accused of heresy nor driven into schism, is likely to be an active and useful member of the church to which he belongs. A Protestant Inquisition is not altogether an imaginary thing; and all approach to it should be sedulously avoided among a people whose minds ever have been, and by God's blessing ever will be, free.

All this has clearly to do with the Church solely as a national establishment. If it be what some call "free and unshackled," and others "untrammelled," then it may reject all authority from without, except so far as that its members acknowledge the sovereign authority of the State in their own persons. Then it may say with Mr. Barrett,

"The whole arrangement is made for man as he is a dweller on earth,—for man in his greatest distance from God; in order that he may not perish by the wickedness of his fellow-man, nor be the cause of any one's perishing; and that the earth, with all its tribes and tongues, may be in a position to hear the word of the Lord.

"But church-government is an arrangement of a more spiritual character. It has to do with men as they are regenerate, made new creatures in Christ Jesus, or seeking to become such; with men who have delicate and holy principles within them; who can feel the power of appeals that a mere civil subject could not understand. There is a fearful list of moral evils cherished in the hearts of men, and manifest in their life; such as anger, malice, pride, envy, falsehood, which afflict and damage society, and can never be reached or removed by any civil law whatever; and therefore, in our Saviour Christ's order, another kind of rule comes in, where the constraint is adapted not to man's natural fear of pains and penalties, but rather to those higher and unselfish motives which belong to what St. Paul terms 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.'

Church-order stands in close connexion with the kingdom of heaven: not that the church on earth, however it may be defined, is itself the kingdom of heaven, but that it is subordinate to the purposes of that kingdom, affording a plan for the general and outward embodiment of its members, and a sphere for the discipline which they must pass through. This order makes a nearer approach to the economy of the angels; the supreme Head and Ruler is nearer; the operation of the Holy Spirit is more direct, and more adapted to that new and inward creation which He has produced, than to a mingled state of things in which the confused motives of a secular multitude are overruled to the ends of civil society. Here the statute-book is clear and all authoritative,—at least, in its primary or fundamental enactments. It must be regarded as containing the whole mind of the Lawgiver, inasmuch that nothing may be taken from or added to these decisions; and all minor rules can be nothing more than forms of engagement made by mutual consent, to carry out in various places, various ages, and in various forms of society, the spirit of the higher code.

"In some particulars there is unquestionably a likeness between the two forms of polity; as, for instance, they both acknowledge one original source of power; both are instances of remedial rule fitted to the state of imperfect beings; both acknowledge and accept of their rulers by consent of the community: but as they include a different class of subjects, there will be a broad distinction in such particulars as these."

And in its internal discipline, even when it seeks aid from the State to enforce it, it must admit that

"Civil law, in convicting or acquitting an accused individual, appeals only to outward and palpable evidence, such as is manifest to all men; deeming that so far as such evidence can be furnished, as to any sin or crime having been committed, so far only outward injurious effects can have been felt; and thus here its province ends, however the accused may have within him a world of iniquity which no laws can bind, and which, in a thousand ways of speech or writing or subtle evasions, may distress and injure his fellow-men. Christian law, on the contrary, appeals to conscience in the sight of God; and, where outward evidence is wanting, may require on momentous occasions a plain answer to a serious question. like that which the Apostle Peter put to the wife of Ananias, saying, 'Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much;' or when Joshua exhorted Achan to give glory to the God of Israel by telling all he knew respecting the accursed thing. It was doubtless to provide for some such necessity that the Church of Scotland adopted its oath of purgation."

In fact, the whole question may be said to lie in a nutshell. Is Christianity to be established, or is it not? For if there is to be any establishment at all; if there be any connection between the Church and the State; then there must be a rule on the part of the latter, and a submission on the part of the former, *so far* as it is an establishment. Those who will have a church, and nothing but a church, may say with von Humboldt—

"It will be evident, moreover, on a moment's reflection,—and the consideration is especially important in regard to what we would maintain,—that, owing to the vagueness and ambiguity of all expressions, which enable them to convey so many different ideas by the same general word, the State itself would be obliged to supply some definite interpretation of the term Religiousness, before it could apply it in any way as a clear rule of conduct. So that I would absolutely deny the possibility of any State interference in religious affairs which should not be more or less chargeable with encouraging certain distinct opinions, and did not therefore admit the application of principles and arguments, derivable from the supposition of such a partial tendency. Neither, with any more reason, can I grant the possibility of any such interference, without

the implication of some guiding and controlling influence—some drag and hindrance, as it were, upon the liberty of the individual.

For, however widely certain kinds of influence may naturally differ from coercion,—as exhortation, or the mere procuring of facilities for the acceptance of ideas,—there still exists, even in the last of these (as we have already tried to demonstrate more fully in the case of several similar institutions), a certain preponderance of the State's views which is calculated to repress and diminish freedom."

And this is intelligible enough. Those who take this view are perfectly consistent in refusing their consent to any establishment for religious purposes on the part of the State, on the ground that the attempt is unlawful, unnecessary, and unsuccessful; but we have, at least in this country, come to a contrary conclusion. We have a wealthy corporation, to which is entrusted the task of teaching Christianity; and this cannot be done save by teaching some particular doctrines, and upholding some particular discipline. Von Humboldt himself admits this freely, and admirably exposes the absurdity of those who think otherwise.

"The difference, then, appears to me to be this:—the citizen who is wholly left to himself in matters of religion will, or will not, interweave religious feelings with his inner life, according to his individual character; but, in either case, his system of ideas will be more coherent, and his impressions deeper; there will be more perfect oneness in his being, and so he will be more uniformly disposed to morality and obedience to the laws. On the other hand, he who is fettered by various restrictive institutions will, despite of these, entertain different religious ideas or not, subject to the same modifying influences; but, in either case, he will possess less sequence of ideas, less depth and sincerity of feeling, less harmony and oneness of being, and so will have less regard for morality, and wish more frequently to evade the operation of the laws.

"Hence, then, without adducing any further reasons, I may safely proceed to lay down the principle, by no means a novel one, *that all which concerns religion lies beyond the sphere of the State's activity; and that the choice of ministers, as well as all that relates to religious worship in general, should be left to the free judgment of the communities, without any special supervision on the part of the State.*"

And since we are not likely, even were there any benefits to be derived from the step, to renounce our existing establishment, there can in no quarter be found any practical government for it with which the nation can be satisfied save in the crown. A national church must be the expression of the national religious will; and this doctrine is singularly and powerfully brought out by Mr. Wilberforce,

though his object is to overthrow the very supremacy which we claim for the crown. Most truly does he observe—

“ The opposition to the High-Commission Court, and its destruction by the Long Parliament, were the necessary results, therefore, of that division from the rest of Christendom, which made the attempt to enforce religious agreement unreasonable as well as oppressive. But the Anglican system did not finally fall, till the league between the Clergy and the King was dissolved by James II. The two last Stuart Princes were conscious that a claim was made in their names, which they had no right to advance. Their exile on the Continent must have showed them the untenableness of a territorial religion ; and James refused to live in a system, in which his brother had been afraid to die. And now, therefore, it was discovered that the Supremacy, as interpreted by the Crown lawyers, was wholly different from any authority which the Crown had anciently possessed. Stillingfleet proved the High-Commission Court, when restored by James II. to be illegal, and showed the erroneousness of Lord Coke’s assertion, that the Crown had exercised the power of excommunication before the Reformation. This was virtually to overthrow the whole system of Anglican Church discipline ; for it has never had any real effect upon the nation at large, except when backed by that strong-handed associate. But a more important circumstance still was, that the dynasty which succeeded, possessed only a Parliamentary, not a hereditary title ; and ruled, therefore, through such ministers, as had the confidence of Parliament. Henceforth the Supremacy of the Crown meant the Supremacy of a Parliamentary Sovereign. And Parliament consisted in part of Dissenters, to whom William of Orange and his successors looked as their most trusted supporters.

“ Whereas Elizabeth, then, had been despotic, and the Stuarts Anglo-Catholic, their successors were essentially Protestant. The Tudors had required all persons to agree with themselves ; the Stuarts, with their Bishops ; but William of Orange was indifferent what men believed, provided they differed from the Pope. The oath of Supremacy, under Elizabeth, had affirmed that the Pope neither did, nor ought to possess, any spiritual authority in England ; and, also, that the final authority in spiritual causes belonged exclusively to the Crown. The first of these statements was expunged from the oath 1 William and Mary, viii. because it interfered with the freedom of judgment which was claimed by Dissenters for themselves. So that the Crown gave up that right of judging in spiritual matters which Henry VIII. had won from the Church, and made it over solemnly to his subjects. And Private Judgment has ever since been the real system, which has prevailed in England.”

We hold that Hooker has, according to his custom, JUDICIOUSLY set forth the truth on this subject in the memorable words—

“ There is required an universal power, which reacheth over all, importing supreme authority of government over all courts, all judges, all causes; the operation of which power is as well to strengthen, maintain, and uphold particular jurisdictions, which haply might else be of small effect, as also to remedy that, which they are not able to help, and to redress that wherein they at any time do otherwise than they ought to do. This power being sometime in the Bishop of Rome, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, was for just considerations by public consent annexed unto the King's royal seat and crown.”

Mr. Wilberforce's attempt to establish the supremacy of Peter is a lamentable failure. Had our Lord told his disciples that when he should be removed there would be one whom he would appoint to hold the chief place and rule among them, the plea might be substantiated; though even then it would be difficult to prove, according to the evidence we have, that the choice had fallen upon Peter. But he expressly told them, that there should be no such supremacy among them. It might be fitting among the Gentiles—the lords of the heathen might find satisfaction in it; but with them it should not be so. Whosoever would be chief he should be their servant—not to assume under that title more authority than kings and emperors had ever claimed under theirs; but really to be subservient to, and to be placed beneath them; to be clothed with the garment of humility, instead of the robes of pride.

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

THE WAR AND THE MINISTRY.

WE are now awakened from many delusions. Like the mechanician, who fancied he had discovered the secret of perpetual motion, but forgot to take into his calculations the effect of friction, we have imagined that there lay before us only a perpetual course of victories, forgetting that there were abundance of continental interests which would suffer by the humiliation of Russia, and that these interests would find many high placed advocates in England.

The nation is, however slowly, now becoming aware of the real character of the situation ; and none but English interests will, in the long run, be permitted to prevail. Our troops are now strongly reinforced ; they are, if not sumptuously provided, at least tolerably well-cared for ; and it is hardly likely that they will fail in the immediate object of their operations. Three victories, two of which richly deserve the epithet splendid, have attested the undiminished prowess of British troops ; while our French allies have displayed that chivalrous valour which they exhibited during the most glorious years of the Empire.

A subject on which it is difficult to speak calmly is the Austrian alliance. Late, indeed at the eleventh hour, Austria has, in a half-hearted manner, come over to the allied cause. Few doubt that her real object is to secure her own territories from being diminished ; and, so far as she can, to ward off from Russia the treatment which that barbarous and most treacherous power has deserved. There is naturally an alliance of principle between those states which no alliance of temporary policy can overrule ; and if Prussia should be permitted to join on similar terms, we may rely on a speedy peace ; but a peace without honour and without security—a peace which will leave the power of Russia undiminished, and that of Turkey in the last stage of exhaustion ; and which, in a few years, will be followed by a war whose consequences will be all that the ambition of Nicholas can desire. In speaking thus we are not blaming the Austrian government ; it has acted and will act according to its own instincts. It will temporise, in order to prevent any sympathy with oppressed and down-trodden Italy, Hungary, and Poland, in order to keep up the balance of absolutism on the

Continent ; and it will endeavour to stave off a war with the Western powers, while at the same time it renders them *less assistance* than if it were actually opposed to them. If we had Austria and Prussia joined with her gigantic neighbour against us, we should at once raise Hungary, Italy and Poland. Prussia would throw off a dynasty which has long been unpopular, and which is now suspected of being unfaithful ; and we should have a firm and hearty Prussian alliance. Absolutism would go down with Austria and Russia, and Europe would take one grand colossal step towards her long withholden freedom. As it is we have some little advantage even from the late and too probably insincere alliance of Francis Joseph. He has occupied the Principalities, and thus let loose Omar Pasha, with the flower of the Ottoman army, for service in the Crimea.

If our government be now thoroughly awake we may escape damage from our new allies ; but we must trust to no red tape, no secret diplomacy. Lord Aberdeen must discard his old friends, or, what we confess we should prefer, be discarded himself ; and German interests must in our Cabinet be postponed to British ones.

A most unworthy blunder has been made about a foreign legion. If we thought of such a thing at all, and there is good reason that we should, we should have incorporated all the restless, disaffected spirits which are now exiled in this country from continental misrule ; we should have sent them to fight against Russia, under sharp martinets who would keep them to the strictest military discipline. They should be given to understand that their great object should be to avenge the wrongs of their own lands and of their own persons on the troops of the great absolutist ; and that the best service they could render to the country which had sheltered them, would be to recruit their ranks from those of the enemy. These men, *well officered*, would be invaluable in a war like this, they know the country and the language of the enemy ; they are animated with an undying hatred to Russia and her institutions ; and they might be rewarded in many a way which, while if it made them rich, would not make England poor. But merely to send for a few Poles and Hungarians, to train them here, and then to send them abroad again to be called into active service if needful—this is a mere sham, and ought to be indignantly negatived. We cannot help thinking that there is a little collusion here ; it is very like saying, “ Here is a blunderbuss, it is only charged with powder, but we can charge it with slugs ; keep out of the way for the present,—the lock will soon be out of repair ! ”

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE rule concerning promotion in the civil service, so good in itself and from which so much was expected, viz. that the clerks in the chief offices might hope, if qualified, to succeed to the superior stations, has been, as might have been expected, speedily set aside. The office of Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners becoming vacant, has been conferred on Mr. Hayter, Q.C. This is a breach of faith with the public, and will not fail to be resented as such; but, alas! when could any such rule as that to which we refer be expected to be adhered to. It would be as unlikely as that a poor and hard working curate should succeed to a rich rectory.

CHURCH PREFERMENTS.

WHILE speaking of preferments we cannot help noticing several very good appointments which have been made lately. The Rev. William Stone, rector of Spitalfields, has been presented to the canonry of Canterbury, vacant by the death of the late Dr. Spry. Mr. Stone has been one of the most active and useful of the city clergy. In all sanitary and other benevolent undertakings he has always taken the most lively and the most enlightened interest. We hope he may be succeeded, in the laborious parish which he now resigns, by one as well calculated as himself to secure its welfare.

Another appointment of a similar character is that of the Rev. E. Girdlestone, vicar of Deane, near Bolton-le Moors, to the vacant canonry of Bristol Cathedral. Mr. Girdlestone has for many years been one of the most consistent and energetic advocates of education, and he will prove a valuable coadjutor to the excellent Dean Elliott.

Nor are we less pleased with the bestowal of the recently vacated canonry in Rochester Cathedral on Dr. Robinson, the venerable and learned master of the Temple. The Tractarians made a great outcry about this, and published a long list of Dr. Robinson's preferments, not choosing to add that four of them together amounted to £150 per annum! The Hon. J. T. Pelham, a comparatively young man, has been placed in the important parish of St. Marylebone; but from what we hear of him it seems likely that he will amply justify the appointment.

EPISCOPAL CHARGES.

WE have had several episcopal charges since our last, but two only call for special attention ; one by the Bishop of London, the other by the Bishop of Oxford. The first contains the most recent views of the Right Rev. author on the subject of the Sacraments, especially that of the Lord's Supper, and is directed against the theology of Archdeacon Denison ; and, as many think, against that of Mr. Wilberforce, and his brother the Bishop of Oxford. However this may be, the doctrine of the charge is so far evangelical as to call forth the warmest eulogium of the Record ; which, however, significantly admonishes his lordship that he must now, if he desires to maintain his character as an evangelical prelate, promote evangelical men. This is applying the right sort of test ; but we have, for our part, very little expectation that the Bishop will follow the Record's advice. The charge is a concession to public opinion, it costs but a few words ; but as soon as some valuable preferment falls vacant, we fear we shall be called upon to record the appointment of some new Tractarian. It will take a change of measures as well as a change of words, to recover the confidence of the great evangelical body in the Bishop of London.

We turn to the very different charge of the Bishop of Oxford. Its doctrine is in several points diametrically opposed to that which we have just noticed. Holding the opinions we do, we cannot subscribe to its orthodoxy : nor can we, without deep regret, see a prelate so able and so estimable taking ground which we consider so far from safe. It was natural that Bishop Wilberforce should wish to defend, as far as possible, his erring brother ; but he must not forget the old heathen saying, "*amicus Plato, sed magis amicus veritas*," the warmth of his affection has, perhaps, betrayed him into certain expressions which are scarcely consistent with the duties of his position. The Bishop of Oxford has another temptation to strive against. He is pre-eminently "a Broad Churchman," and is now earnestly striving to keep within the limits of the Establishment many who are just ready to leap over the pale. If we might respectfully tender to him advice, we would say, "let them go:" the Church will have a less loss, even in the best of them, than in the weakness which would follow the relaxation of her doctrines to retain their wavering allegiance.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AND THE FAGGING SYSTEM.

[We have received the following letter from a correspondent who signs himself "*Autoptes*," and as the subject is one of paramount importance in the cause of education, we deem ourselves in candour obliged to insert it.—ED.]

IN the July Number of "The Church of England Quarterly Review," is an article on Public Schools, suggested by certain little unpleasant circumstances which have lately come to light, owing to the misconduct of a Harrow præfector or monitor.

I propose to make a few observations both on the article, and necessarily, therefore, on the system, which it so strenuously labours to uphold. The greater part of the article being taken up in tracing the antiquity of scholastic institutions, I pass over, as being totally foreign to the question in point; and therefore proceed at once to consider, in some of its bearings, the real subject at issue;—viz. whether the system of fagging, as existing in our principal public schools, is one which is so essential and invaluable as its upholders would have us believe.

The reviewer constantly points to Winchester, as being a school where such a system has been found to answer so admirably. Having been myself a student at that school—having risen from one of the lower classes to the dignity and responsibility of a præfect; I trust that I shall not seem presumptuous if I venture to offer a few remarks in questioning somewhat the admirable effects which, we are told, are the fruits of this system.

I should imagine that the reviewer had not been educated at Winchester, as he has certainly fallen into several errors respecting its management. In page 103, I find the following passage:—"Now in the public school, there is a select body of meritorious elder boys (frequently of an age to have been already entered at the University) chosen for talent, character, and good conduct."

We should naturally conclude from this, that only those boys were *selected* (mark the word), to undertake the responsible duties of a præfect, who were distinguished for talent, character, and good conduct. Such, however, is by no means the rule. I grant that there have been cases where boys who have been convicted of glaring impropriety of conduct, have been debarred from undertaking that office; but these are very rare exceptions, and do not, I believe, occur on an average more than once in three years. The

rule is, that as soon as seniors leave, the boys next in rotation assume their vacated præfectships; consequently it by no means necessarily follows, that such boys were either talented, or noted for good character and conduct. In fact, I think it would be a piece of great injustice, if only those were selected who were eminent for their ability. The fact is, the boys, as they rise in the school, succeed to the office as a matter of course, whether clever or stupid, of good or indifferent character. So much for the *selection* of the talented and well-conducted.

I quite agree with the reviewer, that there is no particular hardship in a boy's being compelled to fag out at cricket—to rise perhaps half-an-hour sooner than he would otherwise be compelled to, for the purpose of boiling hot water for his more luxurious master. No doubt such practices as these serve to train up the boy to the endurance of many hardships which may hereafter be his lot to contend against; but I rather doubt the fact of such services being recompensed by additional protection.

I now come to what I consider an insuperable objection to this system of fagging and præfect government. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that ten boys are annually promoted to the rank of præfects, (the number of course depends a great deal on the size of the school); of those ten boys, I believe I may safely say, that on an average, nine out of the number are not sufficiently formed in mind, in character, in restraint of temper, as to be able to discharge their duties with conscientious impartiality, justice and mercy. I use the latter word; for, during the time I was at school, I have no hesitation in saying,—and herein I feel sure many of my contemporaries would corroborate my statement,—that quite one-half of the beatings, (or as we termed them, “tundings”) inflicted by præfects on their juniors were unnecessarily and cruelly harsh and severe. I have seen boys' backs, more than once or twice, literally a jelly.

Supposing a junior had committed some breach of discipline, or, as was often the case, a præfect fancied his dignity had been insulted; what did he do? He went into the reading-hall, and sent for the culprit, and desired him, in “school parlance,” to stand round. Supposing the junior, on hearing what his offence was, felt that such punishment was uncalled for, and were to reply, “I should prefer referring the case to the head master;” would it not seem common justice that he should be permitted to do so? But

the answer invariably was, "I will lick you first, and you may then refer the matter, if you like." If the junior was so foolish as to expect any good from "reporting," he was soon undeceived; for it always ended with a lecture to the junior, enlarging upon the wickedness of insubordination, and the præfect was eulogized for his firmness.

I am well aware that it is a very difficult point to handle; for, had the master allowed that the præfect was in the wrong, such an avowal would naturally weaken the præfects' authority; and I believe this to have been the principle on which Dr. — constantly acted. Arguing thus: "If I allow such a precedent as this, boys who know well they deserve a 'licking,' will be always appealing, which must cause great harm and continual ill-feeling between the præfect and juniors." But with all due respect to the learned Dr. —, I must be allowed to differ from him; and for this reason, the juniors, knowing that he would naturally be biassed in favour of the præfects, would never willingly select him as their judge, unless they had right on their side. Take, for example, the following instance:—

A præfect, on getting into bed one evening, discovered that some one, either from malice, or for a "lark," had given him some very small, but rather unpleasant bed-fellows; in fact, some small crumbs of bread. He was naturally a very good fellow; and though, at first, he thought his sacred dignity a little insulted, he took the matter as a joke. Unfortunately, however, the next morning he related it to a brother præfect, who in his turn told some one else; and so the matter became publicly known. It was determined in solemn conclave, that some steps should be taken to mark the disapproval of such an audacious insult; in fact, a regular Guy Faux conspiracy. It was voted, "that such practical jokes were very derogatory to the præfectorial dignity," and to prevent their recurrence, the senior boy in the room should be decreed to do his best to find out the real culprit.

Some may think that it would have been more politic to treat the matter as a joke; but I confess I think, that joke or not joke, the culprit would have deserved a licking, if the act could be brought home to him.

Expectation was on tip-toe. Every one thought that all the boys who slept in this room would be sent for and cross-questioned. Such, however, was not the case. The awful tribunal sent forth messengers to summon the senior boy alone. He was asked "do you know who put these crumbs into — bed?" "No, I do not."

Their idea of summing up a case was singularly faulty—"You *must* know who did it; and if you don't find out before to-morrow you will be "licked."

I must explain, in order to show that it was highly probable that the boy was ignorant of the culprit's name, that after prayer every evening, the doors leading to all the dormitories were open generally at half-past eight; but the boys were not compelled to be in their rooms till nine o'clock: consequently, as it often happened, and as it occurred on the evening in question, the senior boy having a task to perform, did not reach his bed-room till it was on the point of nine, when the tutor made his nightly circuit to see that all was right. The præfects were not obliged to go to bed till an hour later. I think, then, that it is quite clear, that the boy might very reasonably be expected to be ignorant of what had been done during his absence.

The next morning the unhappy scape-goat was sent for; and, on his replying that he had been unable to discover the author of the abominable plot, he was commanded to "stand round" to receive his "licking." All the boys flocked into the hall; disgust and anger plainly depicted on their faces, it being so palpably unjust that ignorance should be esteemed as bad as participation in the act. The boy remonstrated, and desired to be allowed to refer the case to the master; but the whole body of præfects, who stood round instigating the unwilling actor in the scene, (the præfect himself, who had been sinned against), would not hear of such a thing. So the licking began. It was, I will allow, one of the mildest I ever saw inflicted, the stick having cut his jacket in only a *few* places. But as soon as the "licking" began, storms of hisses of disapprobation, and cries of shame, broke forth from all the boys.

Now, I can solemnly declare, that this did not arise from any particular partiality towards the boy, for he was but little known in the school, being of a very quiet disposition. After the "licking" was over, he went to the master, and laid the whole particulars of the case before him, who said "that it was perhaps rather an error of judgment." However, that day, the whole body of præfects had a conference with the head-master; who, it was said, cordially approved of what they told him they had determined to do that night, a scene so disgusting and horrible, that I shall never forget it to the end of my life.

In the evening, all the præfects appeared in the hall, armed each of them with two, some with three sticks. They

severally selected one boy from amongst the most popular of juniors, and asked them if they had hissed. Some boldly allowed that they had done so, and were immediately "licked." One denied having hissed. "But," said the præfect, "will you take your oath to that?" But the boy—

Atqui sciebat, quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet—

boldly refused to do so; saying, "if you won't believe my word, neither would you believe my oath." He, too, was "licked."

Some of the bigger boys pressed round, that there might be no room for the præfects to execute their horrid plans; but scarcely any one dared to close with them, it being well known that in such a case the aggressor would be immediately expelled.

One boy, much smaller than the præfect who was beating him, seized a stick, and endeavoured to defend himself; but it was of little avail against his more powerful adversary; at length he sank exhausted, and the tyrant, fearing he would faint, desisted from beating him, when a fellow præfect, a son of an honourable baronet exclaimed "Now—go at him, he can't hurt you now." But this was too brutal even for ———.

That night the matron, who had to superintend the dressing of the wounded backs, fainted from horror. No redress was given—the conduct of the præfects was applauded—and they were told that they were perfectly justified in taking any steps they might think necessary for the strengthening and preservation of their authority.

I grant that this was the most wholesale case of butchery I ever witnessed; but I have seen a single instance where equal brutality was shown. Granting that such cases are only of rare occurrence, yet when we know that a master finds it necessary not only to countenance, but to approve of such means as these for strengthening the authority of his sub-governors, I think we shall all agree, that the benefits which will accrue by a public school education must indeed be extraordinarily great, to counterbalance the chance of a son's being exposed to such disgraceful and brutal punishment. Is it not inconsistent for honourable M.P.'s to agitate for the abolition of the lash in the army, while the stick is still plied with such disgraceful force in our schools, which are filled by the sons of our nobility and gentry.

The reviewer gives us a long string of names, showing

what great and illustrious men have been educated in our public schools. Undoubtedly, Eton, Winchester, Westminster, &c., have sent forth into the world men, who by their consummate abilities and noble bearing in life have reflected a lustre on those ancient institutions—the tutors of their boyhood; but I cannot but think that such admirals as Blake, Keppel, Exmouth, Nelson, &c.;—such generals as Marlborough, Cornwallis, Clive, Abercrombie, and Wellington; and, in like manner, all the celebrated personages mentioned in the reviewer's formidable list, would have been equally illustrious, whether they had been educated at a public school or not.

How many, who, as boys, were but little noted for ability,—some perhaps from indolence, others from the fact that their minds were, as yet, but imperfectly developed,—have afterwards shone forth like bright constellations; while others who have been esteemed prodigies of learning, have attained no higher object than a college fellowship, and a taste for Port wine. I confess that I cannot see how the system of fagging has been instrumental in turning out so many great men.

It seems to be almost the universal idea, that if the system of fagging and præfects be done away with, their places must necessarily be filled up by an increased staff of tutors—a plan which the reviewer terms “uncongenial to the British spirit, and redolent of a foreign origin.” To my mind, they would scarcely be a greater evil than the present system of præfect government; and for this reason; the tutors would naturally be impartial; it would be a matter of indifference to them whether they reported Smith, *junior*, or Clive, *senior*, for any breach of discipline. With a præfect, I believe it is often the reverse. A transgression which he would pass over as trivial in the case of an elder or popular boy, would, on a junior's doing the like, be visited with severe punishment. That there are still, and that there have been præfects, noble exceptions to this rule, I gladly allow, but I fear that they were only *rare* exceptions.

I have known a time at school when there were no extra tutors, and yet no præfects to govern. It used formerly to be the custom, that the præfects should be allowed a few days extra holidays, and, as far as my experience went, during their absence; the laws were not so often transgressed as in their presence. We all know how seductive to the young is any forbidden pleasure; and I verily believe many boys only went beyond their bounds, because it was forbidden to do so.

This leads me to observe, that I see no reason why the

experiment should not be tried of doing away with the præfect government altogether, and yet of not increasing the number of tutors. Give the boys greater liberty, greater latitude in forms—encourage their innocent sports—do not punish a boy for going to a boat-house, or for harmless recreation with the same severity as if you detected him in a low pot-house—place more confidence in him—let him feel that he must not do wrong, because it is dishonourable to do so, not because a præfect would lick him for it—let him feel that he is trusted, and that you expect in return that he will not forfeit his word of honour. Do this, and I believe that you may safely abolish the order of præfects; who, to my mind, are just as much overseers as tutors, (only not quite so even-handed), and doubt not but that the event would be, that boys became, not more idle from the want of a stimulus to exertion, but that the mass would become, what indeed is most desirable that it should be, a set of manly, self-dependant, honourable, Christian boys.

ARCHDEACON DENISON.

If the country were not so deeply interested in the war, it is probable that far greater excitement would prevail with regard to the proceedings about to be instituted against the Vicar of East Brent. It is believed, and with justice, that since the celebrated Gorham case, there has been no question opened that is so likely to affect the future homogeneity of the Church of England, as that which is now before the public, touching the soundness of Mr. Denison's teaching. He is himself so hasty and injudicious a man, that his own hand will have forced the rulers and judges of our Church to decide (and we hope for ever), to what extent our clergy may hold and propagate doctrines on the Eucharist, which are at variance with the great principles for which we separated from the Roman communion.

Our readers are aware that the Archdeacon of Taunton has long occupied a prominent position, as a loud asserter, and rather incautious, though sincere, defender, of those tenets usually adopted by the ultra-high Church party. The idea to be attached to the *presence* of Christ in the Lord's Supper has generally been, by almost common consent, permitted to remain somewhat vague: most discreet men feeling that they have no power for defining so mysterious a subject. The two opposite extremes are, 1st, the declaration that the human body of Jesus is actually *in* (say the Roman Catholics), or *on*, (say the Lutherans),

the visible bread and wine, when consecrated ; and, 2ndly, the belief that the elements only represent, or typify, the *absent* body of the Lord. The doctrine of the Romanist, that the bread and wine are really, though insensibly and mysteriously, *changed* into the very body and blood, is called *Transubstantiation*. That of the Lutheran, that the very body and blood are mysteriously and insensibly *added* to the unchanged bread and wine is called *Consubstantiation*. While the belief that the whole transaction is only intended to bring to mind, and vividly recall the absent Lord, is usually denominated Zwinglian, or Sacramentarian. Our Church, as we have said, permits a certain indefiniteness of expression between the Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines ; but it has solemnly denounced, in the twenty-ninth Article, the most offensive part of the Romish doctrine, viz., that the mere act of the officiating minister can effect the change, (whatever it be), in the sacramental elements.

It seems beyond controversy, that the real presence, (however we understand it), is asserted by this twenty-ninth Article, to be dependent upon the fitness of the partaker ; whereas the doctrine of the real presence, if pushed to extremes, must make the act of consecration the sole cause of change ; so that if this act be duly performed, an unfit recipient must share in all its benefits.

To such a teaching has Archdeacon Denison committed himself ; and, not content with satisfying his own conscience upon the point, he has forced the doctrine so prominently forward, that there is no resource for those who might otherwise prefer peace to an ecclesiastical war, but to appeal to the law to restrain a dignified clergyman from setting at defiance the statutes of the Church whose minister he is.

It is now a year ago, that Mr. Ditcher, the rector of South Brent, preferred a charge of heresy against Mr. Denison, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, on this doctrine. The charge came before the Archbishop, and not before the diocesan of Mr. Denison, the Bishop of Bath and Wells ; because the Church Discipline Act especially provides that, where the benefice of the accused is in the patronage of the bishop, (as is the case in the present matter), he cannot be a judge of heresy. The Archbishop might legally, (had he so pleased), have himself decided the question ; but, with a very wise discretion, he preferred that the investigation should be made at a more formal tribunal, where it might be more fully discussed. He therefore determined to send the case to the Court of Arches, as he was empowered to do, by

Sections 13 and 24 of the Church Discipline Act. And, with that end in view, he requested Dr. Bagot, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, to issue a commission that might make preliminary enquiries whether there were sufficient grounds for proceeding. Dr. Bagot thought Mr. Denison was right, and therefore declined issuing the commission. He had, of course, a clear right to refuse participation in the prosecution; but this refusal was a mere individual decision; the act of parliament having fully declared, that he had no power to pass any judgment in such a matter, that should have the force of law.

A few months afterwards, the same complaint having been again brought before the Archbishop, his Grace having had experience of the reluctance of Bishops in Somersetshire to take his side, no longer asked for the co-operation of Mr. Denison's new diocesan, but himself appointed the commission that should make the necessary enquiries previous to trial. The report of these commissioners being adverse to the Archdeacon, institution of the charge in the Court of Arches was immediately impending.

The course now pursued by Mr. Denison was a most extraordinary one. He *published* a protest, which he had formerly placed *privately* in the hands of the Archbishop, and wherein he objected to the jurisdiction of the Primate, because he himself held unsound doctrine. Now, even were the allegation in any way well-founded, it would amount to nothing. The alleged "moral disability" of his judge can no more affect the judgment, as long as that judge holds a certain official rank, than the supposed discovery of some delinquency on the part of the Chief Baron, or the Lord Chief Justice, would avail a man who might be indicted at their tribunals for riot or conspiracy; and the objection comes certainly with an ill grace from one who has always been forward in demanding submission to ecclesiastical authority. It now appears that Mr. Archdeacon Denison does not intend to submit to the authority of any ruler, unless that ruler should be perfect, and without flaw, in Mr. Denison's opinion.

Not content with this flourishing protest, he denounces the Archbishop's proceeding as unjust and injurious to the liberty of the subject, because his late bishop had already acquitted him of the charge; and no Englishman ought to be tried twice for the same offence. But the Archbishop has entirely refuted this objection, by telling the Archdeacon that "no such trial is recognized by the law." And as the

objection is likely to have some weight with those who have not narrowly examined the points at issue, it would be as well to compare the present case with one that actually occurred in our own hearing, on a more vulgar subject. Two men suspected of burglary were examined by a magistrate, who declined sending the case to trial, because the evidence adduced did not satisfy his mind. The culprits, believing their crime to be a "*res adjudicata*," began to boast of it, and from their own mouths to supply additional evidence; upon which, when again examined by a magistrate, they were tried and convicted before Baron Alderson, who astonished the men by the information, that the dismissal of a case by a magistrate was not identical with a legal acquittal by a jury. Substitute now the Archdeacon for the burglars—Dr. Bagot for the first magistrate—the Archbishop for the second—and the Judge of the Court of Arches for Baron Alderson; and where is the difference in principle?

But the most curious part of Mr. Denison's case remains to be told. He who was so indignant, in the Gorham case, that a question of doctrine should be transferred from an ecclesiastical to a lay tribunal, and who paraded his protest upon that occasion in all the newspapers of the country, now does in effect appeal from the very same ecclesiastical court, and from the chief pastor of his church, to the Court of Queen's Bench. Sir Frederick Thesiger applied, on his part, to Lord Campbell, for a rule to inhibit the Archbishop from continuing his proceedings. His lordship, very properly, after a few days' consideration, not only dissented from the opinion of the learned counsel, but declined doing what the champion of High Church principles wanted him to do—substitute the judgment of a single layman for the judgment of a church tribunal. The rule was refused; and, in consequence, the trial will, in due time, come before the Court of Arches.

THE HEAD MASTER OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

DR. JACOB is a zealous and able man; he has had the boldness to do that which imperilled his own position, but which, when successful, was a great public advantage. We are not surprised that a man of such a stamp, when exercising the functions of head master of a school, like Christ's Hospital, should meet with much opposition, not only from his superiors, but from those who served under him. Various stories

have reached our ears, the exact truth of which we have been unable to investigate, relative to his disputes with his subordinates. These stories are only the necessary result of his active efforts to reform old abuses, and may be credited without in the least damaging Dr. Jacob's character. He had, however, given a sample of activity, which is always the most offensive quality in those who serve corporate masters'; and when, therefore, he proceeded from the pulpit to point out, calmly and temperately, that the school over which he presided was not so perfect as it might be; the high and mighty Court of Almoners—the committee for managing the affairs of the school—indignant that their servant, even when fulfilling the sacred office, should venture to intimate the slightest defect in them—forgetful that Dr. Jacob was addressing, not the boys alone, but all interested in the school—clamoured for his dismissal. Why! mightier potentates than even the Court of Almoners, have before now listened with humility and gratitude to the voice of rebuke. We need not cite Philip of Macedon or Augustus; we would only beg these fastidious gentlemen to imitate a monarch, not remarkable for lowliness of mind—the great Louis Quatorze himself—who bowed before far sterner rebukes, addressed to him before his assembled courtiers, by his chaplains.

Even were it true that Dr. Jacob was injudicious, we confess that these worthy Almoners would have looked a little more worthy, if they had not shown so much peevishness, on being told that they were, like other men, liable to error. Fortunately, however, they were obliged to apply for a confirmation of their sentence to the Governors, who bear about the same relation to the Almoners as the Parliament does to the Ministry; and who are sufficiently numerous to be influenced by public opinion. The very fury of the committee destroyed their object. Had they been content with some milder counsels, such as were recommended by Dr. M'Neile, they might have overborne the public voice by their official weight. But the Governors could not dismiss and ruin a clergyman who had only said what it was his duty to say, and what most people believed to be rather under than above the truth; and so they thanked Dr. Jacob for his sermon; thereby not only endorsing their head master's opinion of the bad government of the school, but affording a valuable instance of the superiority of courageous zeal over time-serving indifference.

CHURCH-RATES.

WE have been told, both by Lord John Russell and by Mr. Gladstone, that Government will attempt a settlement of the difficult question of church-rates during the ensuing session of parliament. We call it a difficult question, because it involves the whole subject of Church and State, and may not, therefore, be dismissed with any off-hand arguments. But it seems to us as though a very great principle were included, that is not often clearly enunciated. It is sometimes affirmed, that there is a glaring injustice in compelling Dissenters to support an Establishment which they do not approve. But, indeed, there is here an enormous fallacy. The Establishment is supported partly by funds raised by the power of the law, because the nation wishes to have such an establishment. But if the principle be once admitted, that those who dislike the thing need not pay for it, after it has received legal sanction; then we should like to know why, in any other case, a law should oblige the minority, who opposed the introduction of that law. Are those alone required to pay income-tax who assented to its imposition? Is Mr. Bright to be freed from contributing his share of the war taxes, because he condemns the war? If not, why should the man who condemns the Church be freed from sharing the burden of its support, after that the nation (that is to say, the majority of the nation) have decreed that they will have a national church?

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LITURGY.

WE adverted in our last number to a movement that is even now going on with regard to Liturgical Reform. We fully expected that the subject would soon assume such a practical shape, that we could give our own opinion of it. The public mind has, however, been so occupied with more stirring events that, beyond what we have already presented to our readers, nothing has occurred that can induce us to abandon our intention of withholding all we have to say upon this topic, until we know more certainly than at present the aim and object of those who are crying out for a revision of the Prayer Book.

THE FRIEND OF THE CLERGY—HISTORY OF THE CHARITY.

We have had placed in our hands the following sketch, which, as a proof of what may be done in a good cause by

zeal and perseverance, we have great pleasure in presenting to our readers.

The Society was instituted on December 26th, 1849, by Mr. Stephen J. Aldrich, for the purpose of allowing permanent pensions to the widows and orphan unmarried daughters of clergymen of the Established Church, such pensions to be given according to the ages of the recipients. From the age of forty-five to fifty-five, £30 per annum; from fifty-five to sixty-five, £35 per annum; and above that age, £40 per annum for the remainder of life; and for affording temporary assistance to necessitous clergymen and their families.

The progress of the Institution was not at first encouraged by remarkable success. For many months but few names were entered amongst its supporters, and amongst the earliest of them were the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Dean of Bangor, and the Rev. W. Weldon Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel; but in the latter part of the year 1850, a vigorous effort having been made, it soon became evident that the existence of the "Friend of the Clergy" was acknowledged, and likely to take a prominent place amongst the charitable institutions of this country.

Various meetings were held, at which the rules of the Society were settled, and on the 12th of February, 1851, the first donation of £5 was granted to Mrs. E. James, the applicant being recommended by the Rev. Dr. Ashhurst, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; and on May 27th the first General Meeting took place, at the Society's Offices, 18, Basinghall Street; and on May 29th the first Annual Meeting was held at the Hanover Square Rooms. Lord Teignmouth consented to preside, but was prevented by illness; in consequence of which the chair was taken by the Rev. Joseph Brown, Rector of Christ Church, Blackfriars. At this Meeting, the adoption of the first Report was moved by the Rev. W. Weldon Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel, seconded by C. J. Aldis, Esq., M.D., and carried unanimously. The Vice-Presidents, Committee, and Officers were elected.

On July 17th, the Foundation Festival was holden at the London Tavern. About 100 gentlemen sat down to dinner. Thomas W. Booker, Esq., M.P. for Herefordshire, presided. The honorable gentleman, himself the son of a clergyman, warmly advocated the cause of the Charity, and, during the evening, contributions were announced to the amount of £652 13s. 1d.

The Society continued to advance in prosperity till April

28th, 1852, when the Second Anniversary was holden at the London Tavern. Sir W. Page Wood, M.P. for Oxford, presided. The Chairman, at the conclusion of a most eloquent appeal, presented the munificent donation of £105 to the funds; and the Secretary was enabled to announce subscriptions and donations to the amount of upwards of £5000, one of the largest collections it is believed ever recorded.

On April 20th, 1853, the Third Anniversary Festival was holden at the London Tavern. Lord John Russell, M.P., in the Chair. The distinguished Chairman, at the conclusion of a most eloquent appeal, presented a donation of £21 to the funds; and the Secretary was enabled to announce subscriptions and donations to the amount of upwards of £7000.

On January 26th, 1854, Her Majesty was most graciously pleased to grant this Society a Charter of Incorporation. On April 26th (postponed to May 3rd), the Fourth Anniversary Festival was holden at the Hanover Square Rooms. Thomas W. Booker, Esq., M.P. for Herefordshire (in the absence of the Marquis of Salisbury) presided. The distinguished Chairman, at the conclusion of a most eloquent appeal, presented a donation of £21 to the funds; and the Secretary was enabled to announce subscriptions and donations to the amount of upwards of £5000.

FACTS WORTHY OF NOTICE.

Sixty-five Pensioners have been elected.

Twenty-seven receive	£30 per annum.
Twenty receive	£35 "
Eighteen receive	£40 "

From the foundation of the Charity to the present time, the Society has paid

	£	s.	d.
To Pensioners.....	4143	15	0
And granted temporary assistance to 289 clergymen.....	3546	17	8
To 174 widows	1809	8	0
To 178 daughters	1406	0	0
To 1 son	20	0	0
Also loans to clergymen in temporary difficulty	972	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£11898	0	8
	<hr/>		

PARISH OF ST. LEONARD'S, SHOREDITCH.

MANY of our great London parishes are in a state of inconceivable spiritual destitution, but few more so than that of

St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. A letter from the active and energetic treasurer to the national schools—C. J. Troughton, Esq.—has been circulated among the wealthy and benevolent in the metropolis, and from it we make one or two extracts.

“ Out of 120,000 souls, not more than 10,000 *can* go to Church if they would. What becomes of the 110,000? They are practically ‘without God in the world’—absorbed in all that concerns this life, its sins, its pleasures, its cares and sorrows, they scarce ever think of, or prepare for the next. They are surrounded by pernicious examples, and temptations to sin, on every side; by gin-shops, beer-shops, and, those worst of evils, small theatres,—the bait, the resort, and too often the ruin of the young of both sexes.”

“ The schools of every description in the whole parish will not hold 3000 children at the very utmost, and many of these, owing chiefly to the poverty of the locality, are in debt, and consequently carried on inefficiently.”

“ The numerous cases, not only of juvenile delinquency, but of positive barbarity on the part of those of maturer years, daily brought before the Worship Street Police Court, in this parish, abundantly prove the great necessity of early training the children of the poor in habits of honesty, respectful conduct, cleanliness and piety, for if allowed to remain in ignorance, a permanent injury is inflicted upon the children, the neighbourhood, and society at large.”

If the observer go on to St. Luke's, Old Street, and St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, he will find precisely the same character of inhabitants. Spitalfields and Bethnal Green will carry on the chain of crime and misery on the other side. Bermondsey, St. George's, Southwark, and Lambeth, on the south side, will meet St. John's, Westminster, St. Giles's, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, on the north of the Thames, and thus exhibit a belt of wickedness, such as the world can scarcely parallel, absolutely encompassing the richest of Christian cities.

Most cheering is it to see rising amidst the gloom such stars as Canons Champneys and Bickersteth, Mr. Lingham and Mr. Cadman. Would there were men like-minded in all the belt of parishes thus situated.

POOR CLERGY ASSOCIATION.

THE Rev. D. P. M. Hulbert has now prepared his petitions on behalf of the above-named association, and while the three to the Queen, the Lords, and Commons, all vary,

we notice that they take up consecutively the objects which he wishes to be effected. To Her Majesty he offers a few statistics, and says—

“That the usefulness of the majority of these numerous clergymen, in their intercourse with your Majesty’s people, is grievously checked and thwarted, by the pressure of such pecuniary difficulties, by the feeling that they can make no provision for failing health and loss of ability, by their constant and painful struggles to maintain a respectable appearance in themselves and in their families, and by the impossibility of exercising decent hospitality, or of duly distributing alms to the poor of their flocks, out of their scanty means:

“That it may be most seriously questioned, whether the increase of Religious Dissenters, as exhibited by the late Census Returns, and who are all more or less hostile to your Majesty’s supremacy in spiritual matters within your dominions, would not be checked by a more equitable distribution of the temporalities of the Church amongst these 8,000 and upwards, of her poorer Ministers, great and unceasing complaint and censure having long been made that so little of the aggregate wealth of the Church should be allowed to reach her careworn, yet faithful, Parochial Ministry.”

To the Lords he observes—

“That these men, educated men, gentlemen, voluntarily separated from all secular pursuit of emolument, are weighed down by harrassing anxieties touching a decent livelihood, and disturbed in their last moments by the consideration of their widows and orphans, for whom nothing can have been saved out of their scanty incomes, and too many of whom must be left to the starving charities of public institutions.”

While to the Commons he represents—

“That the Clergy are necessitated to devote to a probationary course of study, a considerable amount of pecuniary means, as well as those youngest and best years of life, during which youths in the army, navy, or other secular employments, usually earn an entire or partial maintenance, but that nevertheless 8,000 of the clergy, obtaining incomes not exceeding £150 per annum, and 10,000 incomes not exceeding £200 per annum, it is estimated that very few realise £10 per cent. on their actual pecuniary outlay, not to mention their numerous harrassing momentous daily toils:

“That, further, so far from long services, and zealous discharge of their duty, leading necessarily to the promotion of the poorer Clergy, so few are the benefices at the disposal of the Bishops, that the latter, however sincerely disposed, are unable to advance every deserving Minister of the Church, after the example of servants in other public or private employ.”

To this last argument many will demur. We find numerous and well-founded complaints of the enormous patronage of the bishops, and of the use to which they put it. We are sorry to find this grain of chaff among the wheat.

The Queen is entreated to see that out of the resources of the Church every clergyman be put into possession of a respectable income. The Lords, for that purpose, to re-adjust *parochial* temporalities, by reason, we suppose, of a presumed unwillingness on their part, to touch those of their episcopal brethren. And, finally, the Commons are prayed to put all Church revenues, of whatever kind, into the hands of laymen to be managed, in order that the £600,000 which Lord Blandford has promised may be forthcoming to the Church. Glad, indeed, should we be to see this instalment of justice to the Church.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THE doctrine of the Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is now an acknowledged dogma of the Roman Church, put forth by the infallible authority of St. Peter's Chair. To doubt it is criminal, to deny it is heresy. A few centuries ago, and the rack, the stake, and the axe, would have been ranked among the most important and effectual arguments in favour of the newly discovered truth—this “Neptune” of the Romish system.

As it is, the Church of Rome stands committed to two things; first, to the doctrine of development—for no one pretends that the Immaculate conception of the Virgin was taught by authority in the Church before,—and, secondly, to some very curious metaphysical consequences.

The old Hebrew doctrine that men derived their souls by transfusion from Adam, but their bodies from their maternal parents, was in accordance with all that men could know about the incarnation of our Blessed Lord. He had no earthly father, and his spirit, being a divine emanation, could have no taint of sin. His body, derived from his virgin mother, was nevertheless subject to all the sinless infirmities brought on man by the fall. Now if we deny that Mary was born in sin, we deny the last of these results; and Christ had therefore, and could have had, none of those infirmities. Besides which, what was necessary for Mary was necessary for her mother also—and so on up to Eve,—all the fathers being left out of the calculation. And when we arrive at the first sinner what is to be done then? The truth is, the doctrine is not intended to be anything more than an excuse for idolatry.

[While this sheet is passing through the press the Foreign Enlistment Bill has been passed by a small majority.—Ed.] Q

Literature of the Quarter Classified and Reviewed.

I. THEOLOGY.

The Codex Montfortianus. A Collation of this celebrated MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, throughout the Gospels and Acts; with the Greek Text of Wetstein, and with certain MSS. in the University of Oxford. By O. T. Dobbin, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1854.

The "Codex Montfortianus" is celebrated, not by any means on account of its intrinsic value, or of its antiquity; but because it is one of the two codices which contain the controverted passage, 1 John v. 7, about the witnesses in heaven: the only other MS. in which this verse occurs being that at Berlin, usually called the "Codex Ravianus;" also a very modern work.

In order to understand the highly important service rendered by Dr. Dobbin to the cause of Biblical criticism, our readers ought to be put into possession of the history of this Codex at Dublin, and of the disputed verse which has made it so notorious.

The passage 1 John v. 7, existed in the Vulgate, and was transferred from it to the Complutensian Polyglott, one of the earliest complete printed Bibles (date 1519). Erasmus, however, omitted it in his first two editions of the New Testament. But in the third edition of 1522 he inserted it, because he said he had discovered it in a "Codex Britannicus." It is placed beyond a doubt that this Codex must have been the MS. now at Dublin; not alone because there is no other MS. in Britain which contains this verse; but, more certainly, because in this third edition, Erasmus has reproduced *verbatim* the very words of our MS., which words are peculiar; being bad Greek, but very evidently literally rendered from a Latin original. In his subsequent editions Erasmus corrected the Greek; so did Robert Stephens, in 1550. From these came all subsequent editions of the Greek Testament; and consequently the verse in question has appeared in almost every modern Bible; while it is highly probable, that if Erasmus had exercised a little more caution in inquiring into the character of his "Codex Britannicus," it would never have formed part of the Protestant Scriptures.

Now the modern date of this Codex is proved beyond dispute, by its being written on *paper*, which was not manufactured in Europe before the 14th century. It was presented to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, by Archbishop

Usher, who had collated it for the London Polyglott. He received it from one Thomas Montfort, from whom it derived its name, *Codex Montfortianus*. Montfort had it from William Chard, a distinguished scholar in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; who had it from Thomas Clement; and he again from Froy, a Franciscan friar, who lived about 1520; which is in all probability nearly the date of the manuscript. It is written in the modern *cursive* hand, apparently by three or four different scribes; it is a small octavo of 455 folios, and contains the whole of the New Testament.

Having made ourselves acquainted with the history of this celebrated MS. we are in a position to appreciate Dr. Dobbin's labours on it. He has confined his attention to the Gospels and Acts, because the Epistles had already been collated by Dr. Barrett, formerly vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin. As Dr. Barrett selected Wetstein's text for comparison, Dr. Dobbin has judiciously taken the same, in order that the two works might form a connected whole. Dr. Dobbin has acquitted himself in this task most admirably. The clearness of his method, greatly assisted by the very beautiful type which Messrs. Bagster have employed, enables even a cursory reader to discover the peculiarities of this notorious MS. Every sentence which differs from Wetstein (edition of Amsterdam, 1751) is written down in full; so that any one who possesses Wetstein may reproduce this MS. at will, and with no more trouble than if he were transcribing any well printed book. In the Gospels the editor has also collated two MSS. in Oxford, of no great value in themselves, but supposed to present a sort of family likeness to the one in Dublin. In the Acts he has used another MS., of Lincoln College, Oxford, which contains the Acts and the Epistles; believed to be of the 12th century.

Dr. Dobbin gives reasons for thinking that this last is the parent of the Montfort MS.; and the peculiarities they have in common are certainly very striking. And as this does not contain the disputed verse, the conclusion seems inevitable, that it was introduced by the transcriber of the Montfort MS. from the well-known Vulgate: a conclusion borne out by the fact that, when introduced, its glaring Latinisms of themselves betray its origin.

Our space prevents our giving in detail the whole of Dr. Dobbin's researches. We trust we have said enough to make our readers aware of the great importance of what he has done; and we must add, that both author and printer have produced one of the most elegant books of the season. The type and paper are of the very first order.

The Probable Key to Baptism. London : Nisbet and Co. 1853.

The apparent design of the nameless author of "The Probable Key to Baptism" is to prove, that the Christian Church has been all along under a great mistake in universally baptizing its converts ; and that the baptism spoken of in the New Testament was only intended for the first generation of Christian Jews. We would shrink from any unkind words of criticism on a book evidently written by a man who is in earnest, and who avoids as much as possible a polemical spirit. We are sorry, however, that the author should have made public his doubts on baptism, before he has really considered what baptism is.

The works of Lightfoot and Joseph Mede would have shown him, 1st, that baptism always symbolized the passage from an unclean to a clean state ; 2ndly, that in this sense it had been constantly used by the Jews, for the purpose of admitting Gentiles to the privileges of Israelites. There is no wonder, therefore, that when Jesus and his apostles were organizing a sacred society, into which all people were to be invited, they should institute baptism as the rite of introduction ; and the supposed infrequent, or casual notice of the practice, is perfectly intelligible, when we know that the writers and first readers of the New Testament were Jews, to whom the custom was quite familiar.

If the author of "The Probable Key," had contemplated baptism in this light, he never would have allowed himself to cast aside the plain scriptural mention of the thing, by what we must call the most childish reasoning.

In the first place, he declares that the baptism of our Lord was the inauguration to his *priestly* office ; and that the baptism practised by his disciples during his own lifetime, was simply a continuation of John's baptism, the sole object of which was *to manifest Jesus* ; but these assertions have no authority for them, and the latter one seems nonsense.

Mark xvi. 16, "He who believes and is baptized shall be saved," does not, in the author's estimation, refer to any baptism future to the time of our Lord ; but, as πιστευσας is a past tense, the allusion is to those who had before this been baptized ; that is, the personal disciples of Jesus. A more puerile criticism we never saw. We thought everybody knew that the past tense of an infinitive or participle, denoted, not something before the time of the speaker, but before the time of the principal verb in the sentence. So that the above sentence means precisely what our translators understood.

"He who has believed (before the time of salvation arrives) shall be saved." And it is very singular, that of all the disciples of Jesus we have no assurance that the apostles were baptized at all.

The commission given by our Lord to his disciples at Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them, &c., I am with you till the close of the dispensation," we always consider decisive on the point. But we are told that *all THE nations* means *the* nations of Palestine. Every one who knows Greek is aware that the article in this place has nothing emphatic in it. It could not be left out. The very same phrase occurs at Matt. xxv. 32: "Then shall be gathered before him all nations" (*παντα τα εθνη*). Are these only the Palestinian people? Or is our author ignorant of the fact that *τα εθνη* is always used to signify especially Gentile and heathen people. It is never applied to Hebrews or Samaritans. The extraordinary averment that "the close of the dispensation" is the end of what he calls the Jewish period, i. e. three and a half years after Christ's death, is unworthy of an answer. We have already (see Church of England Quarterly Review of July, 1854, "The Future Parties in Religion") considered the whole force of this expression.

In going through the history of the Acts, the cases that are mentioned of baptism are put aside by the supposition of the baptized being Jews. But the jailer of Philippi could not be thus disposed of: so we are gravely told that he baptized himself, not in obedience to an apostolic precept, but in reverential imitation of a Jewish custom.

The original and most respectable difficulty is, that the apostles did not seem to understand their Lord to teach the admission of the Gentiles; and nothing but the vision to Peter and the firmness of Paul convinced them of the necessity of doing so. But it is very evident that the hesitation of the apostles was not whether Gentiles were to be Christianized, but whether they must be Judaized first. There is no reason for believing that they misunderstood or forgot the Lord's command to proselytize the nations; but they took it for granted that they ought to be circumcised, before Israelites could converse on an equality with them.

On the whole, the book is so full of mistakes, but seemingly written with an honest purpose, that we shall be glad to hear that the author, for his own sake, has called it in and suppressed it.

The Doctrine of Sacrifice ; deduced from Scripture ; a Series of Sermons by Frederic Denison Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's-Inn, Cambridge : MacMillan and Co. 1854.

In these Sermons Mr. Maurice goes a long way to set himself right with the theological world. It is now pretty generally admitted, that whatever were the defects of his teaching, he was perfectly justified in his controversy with King's College. The governors of that institution displayed a very curious amount of ecclesiastical intolerance, and theological ignorance, in expelling him from his professorship there. Moreover, they voluntarily put themselves in the wrong. They condemned him for what he had a clear right to say, and left unnoticed points which, though they might be lawfully matters of controversy, yet certainly did disqualify any one who held them from holding likewise a Professorship of Divinity in King's College.

But if the College appear in so disadvantageous a light, bound as they were in some way to interfere, what shall be said for Dr. Candlish, who, not called by any necessity to do so, voluntarily comes forward as a sort of amateur professor, and lectures the Young Men's Christian Association on the great danger of any teaching which does not square with that of the Free Church of Scotland.

Dr. Candlish is a hard systematiser ; he is a very fair specimen of that class of theologians whom Mr. Maurice condemns ; and if Mr. Maurice had sought for half a century, he could not have found a better "*piece justificative*" than that which is thus furnished to him. He accordingly takes full advantage of it ; exposes the inconsistency, the want of charity, the narrowness, which deform Dr. Candlish's production, and proceeds to lay his own views before the Association, to which, in a long introductory letter, he dedicates his present work. In noticing its purport and character, we need not say we are no followers of the Maurician school of theology. We find precisely the same fault with this which we found with his "Essays," only he has here cleared up some most important doubts which there he left in suspension. Mr. Maurice is a partial, one-sided writer ; he is constructive and destructive, but not so as to make both operations aid in the same work. When he has levelled to the ground a doctrine, or mode of propounding a doctrine to which he objects, he does not proceed to build up another on the ruins, but he straightway runs off in the most disappointing manner. He is like a stream which loses itself in the sands.

Again, many of his objections to the systems of others would be fatal to any which he might construct himself; and this is, perhaps, one of the reasons why he exercises his constructive faculty so seldom; and never when he has battered down the scheme of an antagonist. He objects thus to the word *vicarious*, because he does not find it in Scripture, and yet he is very willing to use the word *Trinity*, which lies under the same disadvantage.

The whole book, valuable though it be, and it is *very* valuable, is incomplete; it takes only *one* view of the subject on which it treats. The other, which Mr. Maurice avoids, would make the work acceptable to all *really* evangelical thinkers. It might be treated quite as philosophically. It needs none of the cold, hard, system-making of such writers as Dr. Candlish; and to treat it thus, would not only add to the value of Mr. Maurice's teaching in general, but would remove also some suspicions which still cling to the minds of many, that he is verging on Socinian views on the nature and mission of our Lord.

Our Friends in Heaven; or, the Mutual Recognition of the Redeemed in Glory demonstrated. By the Rev. J. M. Killen, M.A., Cumber. Edinburgh: Shepherd. 1854.

Several books have been written, and even very lately, upon this most interesting topic; but we may congratulate Mr. Killen on having so treated it as to render it equally interesting to the Christian and metaphysician. Those who entertain doubts on the subject will, we think, find them effectually removed; those who, without doubting the doctrine, feel that there are difficulties which require solution, will find them here solved most eloquently and philosophically. The chapter on the future body is particularly valuable. We are only inclined to object to one portion of this otherwise pleasing book. When the author speaks of those passages which represent the wicked as being tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the redeemed, and of the Lamb, and of the holy angels, we feel that he is treading on mysterious ground; and that it would be safer to leave the reconciling of these passages with our feelings of love and affection, as one of those "secret things which belong unto God."

Baptism. Its Importance and History. By a Layman. London: Bosworth. 1854.

"Baptism," by a Layman, is a pamphlet written by one who has never practised composition, nor properly considered the difficulties attending baptism.

Scripture and Prayer-book in Harmony; England's Church and House-book of Common Prayer; the Scriptural Antidote of Sacerdotalism and Schism. By the Rev. A. R. Fausset, M.A. London: Seeleys. 1854.

This is a small book, but all the more valuable from its smallness. It contains a great amount of information on the history of the Prayer-book and Articles, and will be more likely to be well received by the reading public as it has been already useful in the form of lectures to the Church of England Young Men's Society.

The Doctrines of the Bible developed in the Facts of the Bible. By the Rev. George Lewis. Edinburgh: Constables. 1854.

We have often thought that some simple work, taking up the chief distinctive Christian doctrines, and showing that they were all implied in the facts as well as in the teachings of the Old Testament, would be a great help to those who wished to give a decided Christian tone to the instruction of youth. This idea seems to have struck Mr. Lewis, and he has very skilfully carried it out in the volume before us, to which he has added an appendix containing a catechism on each section.

Pocket Companion for a Pilgrim. By a Lady. With a Preface by the Rev. T. R. Birks. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.

The "Pocket Companion for a Pilgrim" is a series of devout meditations, extracted from our most approved divines, for every day during a course of three months.

Mornings with Jesus. A Series of Devotional Readings in the Closet and the Family. By the late Rev. William Jay, of Bath. London: Shaw. 1854.

Everything that came from the late Mr. Jay was valuable, and we are not surprised that any person who had been so fortunate as to retain notes *in extenso* of his preaching, should desire to publish them. The "Readings" in the present volume are arranged for every morning in the year, and are intended for family use; nor is it too much to say that their merit proves their genuineness. But, first, we doubt the rectitude of the publication; the compiler has not told us who gave him leave to publish, and even if this point were satisfactorily settled, we should take exception to the title. It verges on blasphemy. Mornings with Mr. Jay might not sound so sacred, but, at all events, it would be more in accordance with truth.

The Church and her Destinies. By James Biden. London: Aylott and Co. 1854.

Mr. Biden is already known as a thoughtful but very heterodox writer. His present work, which is no more than a pamphlet, will reward attention even on the part of those who do not agree with his conclusions. He considers that Mahomedanism has yet a thousand years to run. The Holy City he regards as the visible Church, and applies in accordance with this view, all the prophecies of the Apocalypse.

The Certainty of Christianity. A Sketch. By a Layman. Edinburgh: Constables. 1854.

A very brief pamphlet containing a novel view of the Evidences of Christianity. The author, leaving the New Testament out of the question, has taken the prophecies of the Old, having first vindicated their great antiquity, and has exhibited their fulfilment from the writings of the Roman poets and historians. This mode of argument is very satisfactory and is well managed.

The Church and the State. The Claims of the one, and the Obligations of the other. By the Rev. W. F. Taylor, Incumbent of St. John's, Liverpool. London: Seeleys. 1854.

"The Church and the State" is rather pugnacious; but written by one who has studied his subject.

The Pilgrim; or John Bunyan's Apparition in the Bed-room of the Rev. J. M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead. A Waking Dream. London: Nisbet. 1854.

Mr. Neale is a kind of governor of a kind of almshouse at East Grinstead, for old people. He has made himself notorious for some ultra-Tractarian fopperies and follies, and has published an edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress," where Christian is made to be a very Anglican. The present little book represents John Bunyan visiting the reverend gentleman, in order to demand satisfaction for his having so *cruelly* ill-treated *his* Pilgrim.

Holidays at Lynmere; or, our Lord's Miracles explained and illustrated. Edited by the Rev. C. F. Mackenzie, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Hatchards, 1855.

This pretty and well-executed little book "Holidays at Lynmere," is a successful attempt to weave into the form of conversations for young persons some of the beautiful lessons of Mr. Trench's notes on the Miracles. The book will attract

the greater attention from the fact, that the author—or editor as he chooses to be called—has undertaken the arduous duty of Archdeacon of Natal, and accompanies Dr. Colenzo in that capacity to his distant diocese.

II. SERMONS.

The Witness of the Spirit. Sermons preached before the University of Oxford by John Jackson, D. D., Bishop of Lincoln. London: Skeffington. 1854.

The writings of the Bishop of Lincoln are characterized by great power of investigation. Few writers of our day have the art of more deeply penetrating the human mind; of unmasking its passions and unveiling its powers. He treats the heart as deceitful above all things, and is greatly intent on revealing it to all who desire to know practically what is in man: hence the subject of this volume is one in which he finds himself at home. He analyses with a master's hand the state and feelings of men when under the operation of God's most Holy Spirit, and gives admirable rules by which we may test our own progress in divine things. For their philosophical character these sermons are well worthy of the university before which they were preached; while from their practical excellence they are equally adapted to a parochial congregation.

1. Eight Sermons by a deceased Clergyman. London: Nisbets. 1854.
2. The Bible and its Uses. By the Rev. J. F. Osborne. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.
3. Sermons by the Rev. Thomas Leader Hanson. Dublin: Oldham. 1854.
4. England's Hope. Heavenly Sunshine. Two Sermons by the Rev. B. L. Wilts, M. A. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.

We have classed these four publications together as being very small volumes. The first named are in no way remarkable, though sound and practical. The second,—which is an exposition on 2 Tim. iii. 15, 17, was delivered in eight lectures, at St. Stephen's, Norwich, of which parish the author is evening lecturer,—may be classed with the first; and the fourth, though it has reached a second edition, we cannot rank higher. But the sermons of Mr. Leader are of a much more elevated character: they are truly eloquent as well as orthodox.

The Observance of the Sanitary Laws divinely appointed in the Old Testament Scriptures, sufficient to ward off preventable Diseases from Christians as well as Israelites. A Sermon (on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14) preached in the Cathedral of Manchester, Sunday Morning, 30th April, 1854. By the Rev. C. Richson. With copious Notes by J. Sutherland, M.D., of the General Board of Health. London: Charles Knight, 1854.

The "Sermon on the Sanitary Laws of the Old Testament" is valuable, not only for the sanitary information it contains—especially for the notes of Dr. Sutherland—but for the testimony it bears to a principle so often neglected by Christians—that a Divine Law *cannot* be abrogated; and that we are incurring great peril if we slight those rules which the Lord declared that his own people ought to observe.

III. COMMENTARIES.

The Acts of the Apostles; or, the History of the Church in the Apostolic Age. By M. Baumgarten, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Professor in the University of Rostock. Translated from the German by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, and the Rev. Theodore Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. 3 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1854.

One of the most important works which has been published for many years, is the Commentaries on the Acts, by M. Baumgarten. This Commentary is wrought into a continuous history, and is remarkable for the clearness with which it brings out the unity of the object which St. Luke had in view. The attention paid to minute circumstances, the diligent investigation to which the dates have been subjected, and the constant care to point out the light mutually afforded by the Acts of the Apostles, and the other portions of the New Testament Scriptures render this book indispensable to the student who wishes thoroughly to understand the earliest ages of Christianity. At the same time we do not altogether agree with Professor Baumgarten in some of the conclusions at which he arrives. He is anxious to show that the functions of State and Church are not to be mixed up—that they are co-ordinate, but distinct. In all this we concur, but we look forward to a period which Mr. Baumgarten does *not* expect, a period "when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ," in such a manner as that the State and Church shall have no distinction—when the duties and rights of the

one shall *coincide with* those of the other: and while we dare not look for the fulfilment of this till the time of the Millennial glory, still we hold it to be the duty of the Church to strive after and to pray for its attainment. With this exception, we agree with our author thoroughly; and cordially tender our thanks to the Messrs. Clark that they have made so welcome an addition to their series. The translation is well executed, though it appears that the last volume was obliged to be entrusted to another hand, through the illness and afflictions of Mr. Morrison. We are now looking forward with impatience to the promised second volume of Hengstenberg's "*Christology of the Old Testament.*"

An Exposition of the Book of Solomon's Song, commonly called Canticles; wherein the Authority of it is established and vindicated, against Objections both ancient and modern; several Versions compared with the original Text; the different Senses both of Jewish and Christian Interpreters considered; and the whole opened and explained in proper and useful Observations. By John Gill, D.D. London: Collingridge. 1854.

This somewhat lengthy title does no more than justice to a book now comparatively little read, but once deservedly venerated as a storehouse of divine truth. The present edition is an admirable specimen of the typography of the Bon Mahon Press; and those who wish—and we trust they are numerous,—to help that most active and useful clergyman, the Rev. Alfred Doudney, in his meritorious attempt to civilize the rude kernes in his uncultivated neighbourhood, may do so by the purchase of this cheap and handsome volume; while at the same time they will enrich their own shelves with a treasure which, the more they study it, the more they will value.

Thoughts on the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of Man. By a Layman of more than Three Score Years and Ten. Four parts. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.

This pleasing work is highly creditable to the aged and pious layman, whose employment it seems to have been for some considerable time past. He regards Christ as the son of David, the son of Abraham; and accordingly he traces the Messianic history through the patriarchial and royal lines, till he finds its full glory developed in the person of Jesus Christ. When we come to the Gospel History, we find an epitome of the four Gospels well and faithfully commented on.

The early Prophecies of a Redeemer, from the first Promise to the Prophecy of Moses, considered in Six Discourses, preached before the University of Dublin, at the Donnellan Lecture. 1853. By William de Burgh, B.D. Dublin: M'Glashan. 1854.

Mr. De Burgh, in these able and deeply interesting Lectures, confines himself to one part of the argument, which however he treats most satisfactorily. His notices of the Book of Job, of the Prophecy of Enoch, and his Appendices, add much to the value of his work; but we perceive that he shrinks from identifying the Beast in the Apocalypse with Rome, or from touching on any of those interpretations which Protestants most generally approve. If this render the book to some extent an imperfect one, it does not affect the truth of those theories which the writer does put forth.

Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Constables. 1854.

The present volume concludes the Lectures on the Romans, which has ever been considered one of Chalmers' best works. Criticism on it here would be out of place. It has been stamped with the warmest approbation of the Church for many years. It is admirably printed, and its low price brings it within the reach even of the poorest among the ministers of the gospel,—no unimportant matter in these days of curacies with £50 per annum, and incumbencies with less.

Meditationes Hebraicæ; or, a Doctrinal and Practical Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews: in a Series of Lectures. By William Tait, M.A. 2 vols. London: Hamilton and Adams. 1854.

Mr. Tait's exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been so well received, and so highly approved, both in this country and in America, that it may seem almost a work of supererogation to recommend it to the notice of our readers. Yet the new edition is by no means a mere reprint, many important additions and corrections have been made, and that these may be at once perceived they are printed in another type.

If this book should be unknown to any of readers, we shall be doing them a service, by pointing out to them where they can find the cream of German commentaries on this important epistle condensed into two moderate volumes.

Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles; in a Series of Lectures by the Rev. James Thomson, D.D., Minister of the Parish of Eccles, Berwickshire. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1854.

The exposition of Dr. Thomson is strictly what it professes to be. It is a simple and practical commentary, delivered in the form of Lectures; and while avoiding all parade of erudition, yet exhibiting both unobtrusive learning and sound argument. The work concludes with a brief account of the lives of the Apostles, gathered from ecclesiastical writers, and continuing their history where the Acts of the Apostles leaves it. In this portion of his work our author indicates, in many places, the little belief he places in the narratives related. There is an Appendix also, well worthy of perusal, on the Future State, and the Nature of Angels.

IV. HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Studies from History. Vol. I. Richard I. and the Third Crusade. Mohammed II. and the Fall of the Greek Empire. By the Rev. William A. Rule, Author of the "Brand of Dominic," &c. London: Mason, 1854.

Mr. Rule's previous works have given all readers a right to expect, that whatever he lays before them will be well worthy of their attention; and the present volume, the first of a series, will add much to his reputation. His plan is, to take what Emerson calls representative men, and not so much to group around them the illustrious of their own days, as to exhibit in them the working of their own age. To accomplish this purpose he has read extensively and profoundly; he has in all cases had recourse to the original documents; and it is doing him no more than justice to say, that he has faithfully accomplished his task. His picture of Richard I. is the more valuable, inasmuch as there has lately set in a current contrary to the fair fame of that generous and noble-hearted prince. Praed's verses have been accepted as embodying the character, and all the character of the chevalier king, and Mr. Rule will have the satisfaction of redressing an injury. That portion of the volume which relates to the conqueror of Constantinople is equally valuable, and almost new to the European reader. Mr. Rule will pardon us for reminding him that his style does not always keep up the dignity of history.

Discoveries in Chinese; or, the Symbolism of the Primitive Characters of the Chinese System of Writing, as a contribution to Philology and Ethnology, and a Practical Aid in the Acquisition of the Chinese Language. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. New York: Charles B. Norton.

If this were a work only interesting to a profound Chinese scholar we should scarcely find a place for a notice of it among our reviews, but it is a curious contribution to philological science. It shows the progress of picture writing in China, and gives a most delightfully poetical amount of the growth of that extraordinary system. Mr. Andrews displays the *symbolical* as well as the *phonetic* power of the characters, and we entertain no doubt that further researches will justify the conclusions at which he has arrived.

The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart, Esq., F.R.S.S. Edited by Sir William Hamilton, Bart.. Vols. 3 and 4. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1854.

This splendid edition has now proceeded so far as to conclude the Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, with the Outlines of Moral Philosophy, and many new and important additions. If this were merely a reprint it would be a boon to the philosophical world; for the works of Dugald Stewart are difficult to obtain, and far from decreasing in actual value. But Sir William Hamilton, the first of British metaphysicians, has enriched the work with most important notes, and has evidently entered upon his work as a labour of love. In these volumes the philosophy of Stewart is carried on in advance of his time, and we have reflected on the productions of his mind the hues of another equally rich and more searching. There is a peculiar charm in the lucid and graceful style of Dugald Stewart, which if it does not exactly open a royal way to philosophy, does at least strew with flowers the path that leads to her august temple.

We shall, when this edition is complete, devote an article to the late and present state of metaphysical science in the Northern Metropolis, and endeavour to trace the effect which it has produced on Scottish theology.

The Philosophy of Sectarianism; a Classified View of the Christian Sects in the United States: with Notices of their Progress and Tendencies. By the Rev. Alexander Blackie, Minister of the Associate Reformed Church, Boston. London: Low. 1854.

Such a book as this has been long wanted in *this* country; and if the idea be well carried out, it will be of great value,

and meet with great success. In the meantime the experiment has been made in America, and we have the result before us. That the volume contains much useful, much interesting, and much amusing information, we shall not deny; nor, in fact, could any one *here* obtain from any other quarter half so much: but while we thank Mr. Blackie for what he tells us, we cannot very much like either him or his book. It is one of the most curiously perverse, narrowminded, and bigotted productions we ever remember to have seen; and his objections are frequently based upon no better ground than that when he was a child he was taught to condemn such and such things. He is equally energetic in his approbation of capital punishment, and in his reprobation of organs in churches; and altogether seems to have more ability than good temper, and more prejudice than either one or the other.

Political Sketches. Twelve chapters on the Struggles of the Age. By Carl Ratslag, D. P. of Berlin, and late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rostock. London: Theobald. 1854.

These lectures are sound and philosophical; a liberal of the first water, the writer nevertheless knows how to do justice to Napoleon III: rightly understands the constitution of this country; and speaks with great practical wisdom of the French Revolution of 1848, and those in other lands which followed it. Public speakers on political topics should make themselves masters of these able sketches.

Sudden Death. By A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: Churchill. 1854.

The alarming increase in the number of deaths from apoplexy and paralysis, besides those technically called sudden, has induced Dr. Granville to give the public a very important work on the subject. It is a statistical book for the most part, and we are yet to have the conclusion in which the subject will be medically treated. Dr. Granville begins by an account of his own case, which for a considerable time he expected to end suddenly and fatally; and he therefore wisely employed much of his time in investigating the nature of those diseases which lead to sudden death. He does rather disappoint us by not after all telling us what was the matter with him, so that we can only in the dark congratulate him on his present existence, and wish him many years yet. The volume is mournfully interesting, and should be read by all who wish, independently of medical information, to have a correct view of the uncertainty of human life. We shall treat on this subject at greater length when the work is complete.

V. BIOGRAPHY.

1. A Memoir of Anna Maria Clarke, wife of the Rev. Thomas Clarke, B.A., Vicar of Mitchel Dever, Hants. By her son, the Rev. Thomas Gray Clarke, M.A., Incumbent of Woodmancote and Popham, Hants. London: Wooldridge. 1854.
2. Edward Irving: an Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography. By Washington Wilks, author of a "History of the Half Century." London: Freeman. 1854.
3. The Life of P. T. Barnum. Written by himself. Author's Edition. London: Low and Son. 1854.

It would be difficult to choose books more widely differing one from another than these three. One, the memoir of a humble, quiet servant of Christ walking calmly and unobtrusively before God. Another, that of a mighty giant, stirring the spiritual world to its depths with his wondrous eloquence; and displaying the glory of God, and alas! the weakness of man, as few have been permitted to display either the one or the other. And the third, an account of a person who has a right to much consideration, in so far as he is the greatest "showman" that ever lived.

The "Memoir of Mrs. Clarke" is one of those which make no claim to the world's admiration. The world will no more read it, than they ever heard of its subject; but it will cheer the hearts of many unambitious Christian woman, by its display of genuine and blessed experience.

Mr. Wilks has treated the great and good, however mistaken, "Edward Irving" with an affectionate eloquence which will win regard for himself as well as a hearing for his statements.

With regard to the "Life of Mr. Barnum," we consider it the most amusing book that has appeared since the personal sketches of Sir Jonah Barrington. Much may be learned from it concerning life in America; and it is to the credit of Mr. Barnum that he not only speaks respectfully at all times of religion, but even, in the midst of his somewhat wild life, to have been always to a considerable extent under its influence. He will gain much in general estimation by his book; and all who read it will be well entertained. We would here put in a word both for him and Mr. Low. The edition published by the latter is one in which the author has an interest; in fact it is an *honest* and not a *pirated* edition, and we earnestly hope that all buyers will remember this. There are publishers in London as decided pirates as any in New York or Philadelphia; and it is not to the credit of English feeling that they are allowed by the public to make money in so disreputable a way.

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A Third Gallery of Portraits. By George Gilfillan. Edinburgh: Hogg. 1854.

It is impossible to read a work of Mr. Gilfillan's without rising from its perusal with a better knowledge of its subject than we could probably have obtained in any other way. We rate him as the first of living critics; and in doing this, we do not forget that Hallam and Macaulay are living, (to the latter of whom, by the way, Mr. Gilfillan does but scanty justice), nor do we everlook the faults and errors of Mr. Gilfillan himself. He is always "*densus et instans sibi.*" He pours forth a torrent of eloquence; his praise is warm, generous, and discriminating; he has a large heart as well as a capacious mind, and persuades while he convinces. On the other hand, the blows of his censure are dealt with a sledge hammer; and when he does not overshoot his own mark (which we think he has done with that poor creature, J. M. Neale) he is wonderfully effective. In this case, he loses his dignity and his temper together, and must beware of such temptations in future. He is occasionally too hasty, and says what he must be sorry for afterwards, as where, for instances, he denies profundity to Pope. Yet such works as his, spite of faults, and even if they had ten times as many, must be wholesome and useful. He is a man of rare genius and true religion: would they were always so joined.

VI. FICTION.

1. Ethel; or, the Double Error. By Marian James. Edinburgh: James Hogg. 1854.
2. Life's Lesson. A Tale. London: Low. 1854.
3. Alone. London: Low. 1854.
4. The Manse of Sunny Side; or, Trials of a Minister's Family. Edinburgh: Shepherd. 1854.
5. The Perils and Adventures of Priscilla Eaton. London: Shaw. 1854.
6. The Old Chelsea Bun House. A Tale of the Last Century. By the author of "Mary Powell." London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

If we were to choose books for the elegance of their exterior and the beauty of their type, we should certainly take the first and the last on this list, whatever became of the others; nor should we have any reason for disappointment, when we came to look to the internal merits. "Ethel" is a beautifully told story of pathos and passion, with a good sound moral, not forced obtrusively forward, but ever quietly and artisti-

cally kept in view. That it has appeared before in "Hogg's Instructor," is rather an advantage than otherwise; for those who knew it before will be glad to welcome it under its present form.

The two next are American stories, with much of the merit of minute painting which characterises the whole class. The great fault in them all is a want of keeping; instead of a picture we have a collection of miniatures. Everything is of the greatest consequence in turn, and there is no proper relation between the parts. Hence it is that many readers fling these books down impatiently. "Queechy," "The Wide Wide World," "The Lamplighter," are all marked by this fault, as well as "Life's Lesson" and "Alone;" only "Uncle Tom" and "Ida May" are free from it. Yet these two books, "Life's Lesson" and "Alone," have the merits as well as the defects which belong to such a style; if they give us miniatures, they give good ones—real daguerrotypes of American character.

"The Manse of Sunny Side" is very like "The Shady Side"; and what we have said of that volume in our last, we may now say of "Sunny Side" in this—there is much sweetness and much melancholy in it. The two should be bound up together.

"Priscilla Eaton" has no merits whatever, and we shall hold ourselves excused from pointing out its defects.

We turn with pleasure to the "Old Chelsea Bun House;" the last, but to our thinking, the most delightful of a delightful series. Its homeliness, the truth of its pictures, the perfection of Englishness, if we may coin such a word, make it a wonderful contrast to the American books we have just noticed. It makes pretensions to no intricate plot, nor to any "fine writing," but its simplicity gives strength to the heart. The characters are all good, little weaknesses peep out here and there; but we rise with a kinder feeling towards human nature when we close the volume.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Hymns for the Sundays and Holidays in the Year; suggested by some Portions of the Service for the Day. By Joseph Fearn, author of *Belief and Unbelief*. London: Hughes. 1854.

Mr. Fearn will not be under much apprehension for the success of this little work, inasmuch as every poem it contains has received the critical approval of the editors of the

Church of England Magazine, and has appeared in the columns of that widely read periodical. We cannot help thinking that he has found a set task sometimes a restraint; but we will give two specimens which please us much. One is the conclusion of the hymn for the Second Sunday after Trinity—

“ And He cometh yet again,
 Evermore to make us blest—
 Lo ! His saints, in solemn train,
 Wait for their predicted rest.
 O my anxious soul, look forth :
 Light across the darkness steals :
 Thro’ the lattice lift the cry,
 “ Why delay His chariot wheels ? ”

and one, the commencement of that for the fifth Sunday after Trinity.

“ Sweet is the breath of summer morn,
 And sweet the soft blue summer sea,
 And mild the southern breeze that blows
 Thro’ every green and leafy tree.
 But sweeter is the calm of soul,
 On sabbath morn, ’mid scenes so fair ;
 And lovelier is the summer sea,
 If faith can view her Saviour there.”

Miscellanies by Thomas de Quincy. Edinburgh : Hogg. 1854.

Another volume of these strange but most interesting Miscellanies. It contains the most peculiar, if not the most able, of all the works of the author—the Essay on Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts. We do not agree with those who see in this extraordinary production a covert satire on the too great leniency of the public mind. To us it appears a mere *jeu d’esprit*. The author broke through all bounds, and let his imagination carry him wherever it would. And what a daring flight it is ! How grim is the fun ! how exquisite the painting ! how wild and rollicking the enthusiasm ! How like, and yet how unlike, to Charles Lamb ! No one but de Quincy could or would have penned such a sentence as this :—“ For if once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbery ; and from robbery he comes next to drinking and sabbath-breaking ; and from that to incivility and procrastination ! ”

This volume contains also the wild romance of the “ Revolt of the Tartars,” for it has little historical foundation ; and those thrilling papers on “ Sudden Death,” and the “ Dream Fugue : ” the latter, one of the most glorious burst of poetry in our language.

School Experiences of a Fag at a Private and a Public School.

By George Melly. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1854.

In the Quarterly Report for this number, our readers will find a letter which we felt bound to give them, on the broad principle "*audi alteram partem*." An article on Public Schools called it forth, and we are able to vouch that the statements of the writer are deserving of all credit. At the same time, since experiences as well as tastes differ, we commend to the reader's notice the very interesting work of Mr. Melly. He gives the results of his own experience at a private as well as at a public school; and we are able to conclude, that if the latter be in some respects open to grave objection,—and our correspondent's letter, printed elsewhere, will prove beyond doubt that it is so—the former may be, and in many cases will be, found to be far worse. The book is written in a pleasing manner, and the author has evidently thrown his heart into it.

Jerusalem Revisted. By W. H. Bartlett. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1854.

It is with deep regret that we name a work by *the late* Mr. Bartlett, too early cut off he was yet permitted to make known to his countrymen more than any other writer on the Holy Land. He owed this proud distinction to his power over the pencil as well as over the pen; indeed in the first place he rarely did more than illustrate the works of others. Growing afterwards more aware of his own literary abilities, he described as well as depicted those deeply interesting localities among which he loved to roam. This last is, in some respects, the best also of his productions; and as we wander with him through the streets of the earthly Jerusalem, we think of him now as gazing on greater glories, and enjoying the summer of a brighter climate than earth can furnish. The melancholy duty of preparing for the press this last work of his deceased brother fell to the Rev. F. Bartlett, and he has written a very affecting notice to this effect.

VII. PAMPHLETS.

AMONG pamphlets we have only left ourselves room to notice a few. "The Work and the Reward" is a sermon preached at St. Mary's, by the Rev. R. A. Willmott, on behalf of the General Hospital, near Nottingham. It is published by Bosworth; and is another contribution to a volume of such

sermons which Mr. Willmott must one day collect. Its pure and touching eloquence, the exquisite beauty of its imagery, and the deep piety which runs through the whole, make it to us no wonder that upwards of £225 were the practical response to its appeal.

A sensible pamphlet, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer a National Bond of Peace." (Low and Son), says all that can be said, and says it well, on the side of keeping the Liturgy without revision. We agree with our author as to its excellencies, but we cannot subscribe to his doctrine. We admit that it is scriptural, but we want to make it intelligibly so: there are passages which are misunderstood, and which, because they are so, have made many Romanists and more Dissenters. The Prayer Book and Homily Society have put forth a specimen of an edition of the Common Prayer with copious Scripture proofs and references. This is a most satisfactory work, and we shall rejoice to see its completion.

The American Bible Union have put forth a specimen revision of St. John's Gospel in French, extremely accurate. They translate *Λογος* by the word "*Intelligence*," thereby identifying it with the "wisdom" of the Old Testament. A still more important specimen of revision is given in the first two first chapters of St. Matthew. This is the most accurate version we have yet seen: no deviation from the original text is permitted without the most searching investigation, and forty pages of sound learning are employed in justifying the alterations.

A layman has published some good and practical remarks on the late payment of wages, and its connection with Sunday trading in London, (Rivingtons). Caleb Webb, the author of the "Sensibility of Separate Souls considered" has published a philosophical tract called "Religion; its sources, character, and supports." (Houlston and Stoneman).

VIII. RECENT FOREIGN BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Under this head we only profess to make our readers acquainted with those Theological works recently published in Germany, France, or the United States, which may be interesting to our readers; occasionally pointing out their peculiar features.

I. GERMAN.

1. "On the Heathenism in Christendom." A lecture by Professor Erdmann, of Halle. The object is to show that "Christianity does not exclude Paganism, but includes it;" and that "if we were to destroy all the Paganism, nothing

would remain but a caustic Judaism." We find the same style of argument among ourselves in Mr. Maurice's works, and more offensively in those of Mr. T. Parker. We have already recorded our own repudiation of all such ideas. See our number for July.

2. "The Vision of Zachariah. A voice of prophecy to the present," by Professor Baumgarten of Rostock. The first half only of this work has appeared. It is intended to illustrate this difficult prophecy; and is rather practical than exegetical.

3. "History of Protestant Dogmatics, in reference chiefly to Theology," by Professor Gass. In the first book, the author explains his own system. In the second, he gives the history, especially of the German and Swiss reformers, and of the divines of the seventeenth century.

4. "Handbook, abridged and exegetical, on the Old Testament." Part 5. The prophet Jonah explained, by A. Knobel. Leipzig.

5. "The Poets of the Old Covenant explained," by Ewald. The book of Job, translated and explained. Gottingen.

6. "The Gospels, according to their origin and historical meaning," by A. Hilgenfeld. Leipzig.

7. "The Legislation of Moses in the Land of Moab. A contribution to the Introduction to the Old Testament," by A. Riehm. Gotha.

8. "The History of the Acts of the Apostles. A critical enquiry into their contents and origin," by E. Zeller. Stuttgart.

9. "The Old Testament in the New," by Tholuch. Gotha.

10. "The History of the Apostolic Church: together with an universal Introduction to Church History," by Ph. Schaff. Leipzig.

11. "History of the Reformation in Scotland: with particular reflections on the power of Christian Faith, in its life, struggles, and sufferings," by Rudloff. Berlin.

12. "Lectures on Practical Theology," by Ebrard. Königsberg.

13. "Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John." by Stern. Schaffhausen.

14. "An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Jude," by Dr. M. F. Rampf.

15. "The Life of Christ according to the Apocrypha," by Hofman.

16. "The relation of Christ and His Disciples to the Law of the Old Testament," by J. E. Meyer.

17. "The Doctrine of Gregory of Nyssa on the nature of man, compared with that of Origen," by E. G. Möller.

II. FRENCH.

1. "On the Celebration of Sunday, considered in relation to Public Health, Morals, the Family, the City," by M. Proudhon. A very valuable book, inasmuch as it is the testimony of an infidel to the vital importance of a Sabbath. We believe it is to be translated into English.

2. "Unpublished Letters and Tracts of Leibnitz; preceded by an Introduction by A. Fouchier de Careil. Paris.

3. "Unpublished Refutation of Spinoza by Leibnitz; preceded by a Memoir." Ibid.

These works are the results of a discovery made by M. de Careil; viz. a MS. in Leibnitz's own hand-writing, wherein he successfully rebuts the Pantheism of Spinoza. And the discovery is valuable, inasmuch as it has been sometimes pretended that the great philosopher favoured Spinozism.

4. "The Cradle of Communism in Persia. Historical and Philosophical Studies," by Madame Guillard. London. A kind of historical romance. The object being to show that the vagaries of Socialism are as old at least as the sixth century of the Christian era; when one Mazdak (a veritable person) introduced it into Persia, in the reign of Kobad, the father of Khosru Nushirwan; and was the author of much disturbance.

5. "On Moral Perfection," by M. Degerando. A very striking essay on the growth and culture of the moral faculties. The author served, as a private soldier, in the army of Massena, and afterwards became a peer of France, and a minister of state.

6. "The Schools of Doubt and the School of Faith. An Essay on authority in the subject of Religion," by Gasparin.

7. "Religious Liberty and Church Questions," by Vinet.

8. "Memoirs in aid of the History of the Religious Revival in the Protestant Churches of Switzerland and France; and for understanding the principal Theological and Ecclesiastical questions of the day," by A. Bost. Paris.

9. "The Catholic Nations and the Protestant Nations; compared, under the triple consideration of well-being, of intelligence, and of morality," by Napoleon Roussel.

10. "Asia Minor: Statistical and Archæological description of that country," by P. de Tchihatchef. Paris.

11. "Historical Essay on Civil Society in the Roman World, and on its transformation by Christianity," by Professor Schmidt of Strasbourg. This essay gained the prize awarded by the French Academy.

12. "St. Paul and Seneca: Researches on the connection of the Philosopher with the Apostle; and on the infiltration of rising Christianity across Paganism," by Amadée Fleury.

13. "Alcuin, and his Literary, Political, and Religious Influence on the Franks: with Fragments of an unpublished Commentary of Alcuin on St. Matthew," by Dr. F. Monnier.

III AMERICAN.

1. "Utah and the Mormons. Derived from a personal residence in the Great Salt Lake," by B. G. Ferris.

2. "The Epistle of Paul to the Romans; with a Commentary, and revised Translation, and introductory Essay," by the Rev. Abiel Abbot Livermore (an Unitarian).

3. "Organic Christianity; or, the Church of God, with its officers and government, and its divisions and variations, both in ancient, and mediæval, and modern times. Embracing a thorough exposition and defence of Church Democracy," by Rev. L. A. Sawyer.

4. "The Bible, in the ancient and modern Syriac," by the American Nestorian Missionaries. It consists of two parallel columns; the one containing the ancient Peschito, and the other the modern Syriac translations from the Hebrew and the Greek.

5. "A Parisian Pastor's glance at America," by the Rev. J. H. Grand-Pierre, pastor of the Reformed Church and director of the Missionary Institution at Paris.

OBITUARY OF THE QUARTER.

In September of this year, CARDINAL ANGELO MAI died at Albano in the 72nd year of his age. In early life he was noted as an editor of the classics; and afterwards became still more renowned by the discovery of several valuable palimpsests, and the unrolling of papyri. Latterly he was chief librarian of the Vatican, in which office he is succeeded by Cardinal Lambruschini.

On the 15th September, REV. WILLIAM THOMPSON, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, aged 59. Born 1795, and B.A. 1816; fellow of Queen's College. He succeeded Dr. Grayson at St. Edmund's Hall, being elected by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, in whose gift the principalship resides. He had also the rectory of Gatcombe, Isle of Wight, which is always attached to the headship of St. Edmund's Hall. He is succeeded in both offices by the Rev. John Barron, late Junior Bursar and Librarian of Queen's College.

On the 21st of September, RIGHT REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT, provisional Bishop of New York, aged 61. He was born at Liverpool in 1793, of American parents. Educated first in Wales, then in Massachusetts. Graduated in 1812 at Har-

van, Cambridge, U.S. Was minister of various churches, and was known as a consistent High-Churchman. When the incompetence of Dr. Onderdonk became apparent, he was appointed to hold his place, as *provisional* bishop of New York; in which place he remained till his death.

On the 22nd of September, THOMAS, LORD DENMAN, died of apoplexy at Stoke-Albany, Northampton, in his 76th year. He was born in February, 1779; the only son of Dr. Thomas Denman, a physician of some repute in London. He was educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge. Called to the bar in 1806. Became Solicitor-General to Queen Caroline in 1820, and exerted himself in her defence. Under Lord Grey's government he was Attorney-General, from 1830 to 1832. In the latter year he succeeded Lord Tenterden as Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. He resigned this office in 1850, and has lived since in retirement.

On the 14th of October, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, from the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs, aged 39. He was born in 1815, of Jewish extraction. Educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He it was who generally reviewed books for the "Times" newspaper. At one time he was proprietor and editor of the "John Bull." He wrote occasionally some leading articles for the "Morning Herald;" and was the author of "Caleb Stukely," and "We're all Low People here," which appeared in "Blackwood's Magazine." Latterly his name became known as that of the author of "The General Guide Book of the Crystal Palace."

On the 11th of November, the REV. DR. SPRY, at his residence, Devonshire Place. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford. Was presented by Lord Liverpool, in 1825, to the rectory of Marylebone, which he retained till his death. He was, for many years, the representative in convocation of the archdeaconry of Middlesex.

On the 12th of November, CHARLES KEMBLE, aged 79. He was born in 1775, and was the younger brother of John Kemble, and Mrs. Siddons. Educated at Douay in Flanders. He was known as a great actor from 1792 to 1840, when he retired. He was the last of a celebrated histrionic family, which filled a large space in the public eye, at a time when the stage exerted a marked influence upon society.

On the 17th of November, LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART, at Stockholm, in his 52nd year. Born 1803. The only son of John, first Marquis of Bute, by Frances, daughter of Thomas Coutts, Esq., the banker. Lord Dudley Stuart graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1823. He married in 1824, Christiana, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, the late Emperor's brother. In 1830 he was returned to Parliament for Arundel; and in 1847 for Marylebone. He was known as the persevering advocate for the cause of Poland.

On the 18th of November, PROFESSOR EDWARD FORBES, in his 39th year. Born 1815. Educated at Edinburgh, where he afterwards lectured. He went to Asia Minor on a government exploring expedition. On his return he was made professor of Botany in

King's College, London, and curator to the Geological Society. Latterly he was professor of Natural History at Edinburgh.

On the 24th of November, JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART, at Edinburgh, aged 62. Born 1792, at Glasgow. Educated at the university of his native city, and afterwards at Baliol College, Oxford. Intended for the bar; but abandoned that profession for literature. Married, in 1820, Sophia, daughter of Sir Walter Scott; through whose influence, he succeeded Gifford, as editor of the "Quarterly Review" in 1825: and he directed that periodical during the remaining years of his life. He was eminent in literary circles, chiefly on account of his "Life of Sir Walter Scott, his story of "Adam Blair," and, above all, his "Spanish Ballads." He received from Sir R. Peel the appointment of Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he held up to his death.

On the 25th of November, JOHN KITTO, D.D., at Cannstatt, near Stuttgart. Though publicity was given by himself, in his life, time, to the chief incidents in his career, we shall be pardoned for offering a brief outline. The history of literature can hardly furnish a more striking example of "the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties."

John Kitto was born at Plymouth, on the 4th of December, 1804. His family was of Cornish origin; and in his "Lost Senses—Deafness," he speculates on the probability of his descent from a Phœnician ancestry. His father, who began life as a master builder, had, like Falstaff, a kind of "alacrity in sinking;" he became reduced to the position of a jobbing mason, in which business young Kitto's help was required at a very early age. While the boy was thus occupied, in February, 1817, a fall from the top of a house totally destroyed his sense of hearing. His previous education had been meagre; but the love of reading, which he had already acquired, became the solace of his loneliness and the foundation of his attainments. In 1819, his parents being unable to maintain or to find suitable employment for him, placed him in the workhouse; whence he was removed, in 1821, to become an apprentice to a shoemaker. His master was a coarse tyrant. The poor boy appealed, to the magistrates. His written statement was marked by a striking propriety of sentiment and diction. The indentures were cancelled, and he returned to the workhouse,—to him a welcome refuge. He was not idle there. In 1823, his talents and capabilities being better understood, he was enabled, by the kindness of two gentlemen of the neighbourhood, to publish a small volume of essays and letters, and was placed in a position less unfavourable to self-improvement. The next ten years of Dr. Kitto's life appear to have been spent in travelling or residing abroad. He journeyed over a large part of Europe and Asia, and acquired that familiarity with the scenery and customs of the East which was afterwards of such signal service in the department of literature to which he became devoted. Returning to England in 1833, he gained attention by a series of papers in the "Penny Magazine," under the title "The Deaf Traveller;" and having married, commenced a course

of literary activity which was continued without interruption till within a few months of his decease. His exertions seem to have been prompted, from an early age, by a strong sense of *duty*; the duty of self-improvement, and of doing some service to the world. More palpable motives to laborious diligence were presented in the claims of an aged mother and rapidly increasing family. But his physical infirmity placed him at a disadvantage; and for several years before his death he was exposed to pecuniary difficulties, which his pension of £100 a-year did not wholly remove. It is feared he fell a victim to hard work and overpowering anxiety. A neuralgic affection of two years' standing, was followed, last spring, by a paralytic, or *quasi* paralytic, attack. Through the kindly help of friends, the sufferer was removed in August, with his family, to the Continent; but the deaths, in rapid succession, of his youngest and his eldest child, neutralized the benefit which might otherwise have been looked for from the change, and a third fit extinguished the feeble remains of life. Dr. Kitto's writings are well known. With a few exceptions (relating chiefly to his own disability, and to his reminiscences of travel), they aim, directly or indirectly, at the illustration of the Sacred Scriptures. This was his chosen department of labour; and in it he attained a high degree of eminence.

On the 28th of November, REV. HENRY RAIKES, Chancellor of Chester, in his 73rd year. He was born 1782, and was the nephew of Robert Raikes, the well-known founder of Sunday schools.

On the 23rd of December, REV. DR. MARTIN JOSEPH ROUTH, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in his 100th year; being born at South Elmham, near Beccles, Suffolk, on the 15th of Sept. 1755. His connexion with Magdalene College has been continuous during 83 years: being admitted *demy* in 1771. He has been president ever since 1791. He may be called the Nestor of the present generation, for many men who died years ago, in advanced life, were his juniors. His recollection went back almost to the time of the last Scotch rebellion. In his youth he was acquainted with the first establishment of our empire in India, and the war of American independence; and he was in middle life when the French revolution broke out. He was the intimate friend of Dr. Parr and of Sir Francis Burdett. He did not marry till 1820.

THE
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APRIL, MDCCCLV.

ART. I.—1. *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. Edinburgh. 1817.
2. *The Plurality of Worlds: an Essay.* London. 1854.

IT is remarked by Dr. Chalmers, in introducing the subject which we are about to consider, that the astronomical objection to Christianity does not occupy a prominent place in any of our Infidel treatises; but that it is often met with in conversation, and that he has known it to be the cause of serious perplexity and alarm in minds anxious for the solid establishment of their religious faith. The neglect of which he speaks is, we presume, to be attributed to a certain character of looseness and vagueness, which has generally adhered to it, and has fitted it far better for a place in familiar discussion, than in scientific controversy. But, in spite of this defect, we have good reason to believe that, in many cases, its mischievous effects have been fully as great as he represents. We hope, therefore, that an accurate examination of its grounds, issuing, as we think, in an exposure of its weakness, will be acceptable to many.

Of the works whose titles stand at the head of this article, the first has long been well known as an able collection of arguments for the end just stated. Its eloquent author has, we think, really removed the most obvious form of the objection; but, as we shall endeavour to show, he has not perfectly cleared his subject from difficulty; nor can we conceive this to be done, unless the views of the second work, to some extent at least, be adopted. To complete then the discussion, we regard it as necessary to consider the grounds of

these views. In making this examination as to the bearing of astronomical discoveries on the truths of Christianity, we shall also have occasion to notice the kindred objection to Natural Religion. We shall begin by describing those views as to the extent and nature of the universe, which have given rise to the difficulties in question.

Our own earth, to us so vast, is really a very subordinate member, even in the system to which it immediately belongs ; at least, if precedence is to be given according to size and mass. Starting from the sun, we find it third in a succession of four planets, having many common features. Of these it is certainly somewhat the largest. The next group too are all incomparably less. But beyond these roll globes constructed on a much grander scale. Jupiter alone has a surface more than a hundred times as great as that of our Earth. Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, though less, have still all a superficies many times exceeding that of our globe ; and it should be remembered too that these greater planets have a numerous retinue of satellites. That other bodies of like magnitude revolve about the sun, but are concealed by their remoteness, is of course only a conjecture ; but if, now that we have reached the confines of the explored portion of our system, we return again to its central point, we see there a body, which needs no assistance from imaginary attendants to impress us with the littleness of our planet.

The area of the sun, as he is seen by us, is more than 12,500 times that of the earth ; but we should certainly be going too far, if we concluded that this ratio represented the superiority of his capacity for receiving inhabitants. There is reason to believe that he is surrounded by a triple atmosphere, of which the middle stratum is the source of light and heat, and is the object which we immediately behold. That there is a solid globe beneath, observers think that they can perceive, by scrutinizing what are called his spots. Its dimensions cannot of course be correctly measured ; but the following conjecture will serve our purpose. His whole mass is nearly 390,000 times that of our planet. Assuming then that the mean density of his solid sphere is nearly the same as that of the earth, an assumption sanctioned by the analogy of all the four nearest planets, we may conclude that its area is more than 5000 times that of our globe. This estimate has no pretension to absolute certainty or accuracy, but it is near enough to both these qualities, to show that the surface of our planet, available for habitation, is truly insignificant compared with what the sun alone may possibly supply.

But if the surface of the globe in which we walk appears only like a little township in an extensive kingdom, when compared with the area which the solar system may afford as a field for the busy scenes of life, it absolutely dwindles down into a mere standing-place for the observer, when we raise and expand our contemplations to take in that crowd of suns, in which ours is but an undistinguished unit. Astronomers have shown that our sun is one in an immense host of stars, congregated into a stratum, of figure too complicated to be here described. The number of this host has been estimated at 18,000,000, and even this is probably far below the truth. Now, if each of this enormous multitude be a globe of like dimensions to our sun, and surrounded by a similar group of planets, then we can express the comparative littleness of our globe only by figures, whose significance the imagination is quite unable to realise.

And yet, he who would stop short here, would have but a very inadequate impression of the greatness of the universe, as delineated in those speculations with which we have to do. Modern science has ascended one step higher, and that ascent has spread out before us views indefinitely more enlarged, even than those which we have just pronounced inconceivable. There are scattered over the sky numerous patches of faint vaporous light, known as *nebulæ*. To an ordinary telescope they show no trace of stars; but by the more powerful instruments of modern times, many of them have been shown to be really crowds of innumerable stars, appearing to us as a continuous mass, because their immeasurable remoteness causes the interval between them to vanish to our senses. Here then we have suggested, in full development, the theory adopted by our opponents as to the construction of the universe.

The stars and their surrounding planets are not distributed uniformly throughout space, but are assembled in gigantic hosts. The interval which separates star from star is many millions of millions of miles; but that which parts two world islands, as they have been called, is indefinitely greater still. How vast is the multitude of suns in our system we have already stated; and there seems no ground for concluding that other systems are generally less populous. What then is the number of these systems? Humboldt, in his well-known work on the Universe, estimates those already known at 4000, and there is no presumption that this is all. On the contrary, every fresh advance in telescopic power has always made known numbers of new *nebulæ*; so that, even when

observation closes her actual revelations, she may be said to do so with intimation that there is much more yet to discover. There are some grounds from analogy for the opinion that the universe is not absolutely infinite ; but, so far, our deepest penetration into space has detected no trace of a limit. And, indeed, enough has been already discovered to make us feel that our own little world, of which we have lost sight in this long ascent, bears absolutely no appreciable ratio to the material creation, as a whole.

We have then reason to believe, that there is in the universe an all but indefinite extent of area, resembling the countries in which we live thus far, at least, that it is the surface of globes similar in shape to our earth. And it has been very hastily concluded, that the analogy must hold, in many cases at least, even to the possession of intelligent and moral inhabitants, and consequently inferred, that our race was but one in an innumerable multitude of similar populations.

This assumption the author of the "Plurality of Worlds" justly remarks, leads to a difficulty both as to Natural and Revealed Religion ; but he has not pointed out the wide difference of the difficulty in the two cases. We think it desirable to do so for the sake of clearness, as a distinct conception of the one objection will, by exclusion and contrast, assist us in giving an exact expression to the other. We begin with that raised against Natural Religion, and shall not confine ourselves to its mere statement, but shall subjoin its refutation. The defence of Christianity is, it is true, our immediate object ; but then the doctrines of Revelation include and rest upon those of natural theology.

We see continually in the world around us innumerable instances, in which the preservation or comfort of man or animals is secured by what we take to be contrivances. Sometimes these are vastly comprehensive ; sometimes they are wonderfully delicate and minute ; often they suggest the idea of great care and benevolence in the Contriver.

These contrivances, Natural Religion teaches us, are the work of a Supreme Being constantly providing for the happiness of his sensitive creatures. Now, the believer in an infinite multitude of worlds, peopled like our own, may say, that this minute supervision over the least concerns of our obscure little planet, is beneath the dignity of so exalted a being as the Ruler of the Universe. Something of the kind was in fact thrown out by Franklin, in some crude speculation upon religion, into which he fell in the earlier portion of

his life. But this objection will not bear examination. What we have called the contrivances are observed facts; and we seem to be compelled, by the constitution of our minds, to explain them by referring them to some active and benevolent intelligence. Indeed, Franklin felt this so much, as to have recourse to the bold hypothesis of a subordinate deity for the control of each particular world. Strange and wild as this may sound, there does not seem to be any way of escaping this conclusion, but by reverting to the orthodox belief in an Infinite Being, whose providence at once rises to the greatest, and descends to the least of his works.

It was not the avowed intention of Dr. Chalmers to combat the astronomical objection to Natural Religion. He professed to deal only with the difficulty which a plurality of worlds was said to bring upon Christianity. But, as is remarked by the author of the other work which we have undertaken to consider, some of the arguments of this great preacher are really the answer to the objection described above. When dealing with those who brought the insignificance of the earth, in the universe at large, as an argument against that high degree of interest, which the Almighty is represented by the New Testament as taking in the affairs of men, Chalmers charges them with losing sight of one striking feature in the complete character of God—the universality of his providence. We do not think that this charge was just. As we shall hereafter explain, the argument of his opponents does not, according to our views, necessarily contradict this attribute of God; and, consequently, we doubt whether, in strict reasoning, its assertion should have been any part of his answer. But he has made that assertion with an eloquence so impressively sublime, and has supported it by a reflection so striking, that we do not doubt that most of his readers will pardon the offence against logic. And as we are at present dealing with the objection to Natural, and not to Revealed Religion, the substance of what he has said will be perfectly appropriate here.

Such men, as he represents them, offer to us a god, whose greatness extends only in one direction. The adequate conception of the Deity is, that while his wisdom and his power are equal to what is infinitely great, these same attributes are to be traced out even in what is infinitely little. His eye takes in the whole range of the universe at a glance; but as it does so, it observes the minutest object in that wide field. Worlds, and systems, and galaxies of systems, are the mighty subjects of his care and forethought; but, at the same time,

his intellect, as little distracted by the multitude, as oppressed by the greatness of his works, provides for the very least creature in all these scenes of its activity, as adequately as if that creature only existed to occupy its attention.

We must all feel at once, that this is the just idea of God's incomprehensible character. Surely this only is a God fit to sit on the throne of the universe; one whom neither greatness can overtask, nor minuteness escape, nor multiplicity perplex. But we need not rest satisfied with an appeal to the testimony of the inward voice. The sceptic might reply, that what we have said is but arbitrary addition to the character of the God of Nature; a filling-up of the picture of his perfections by a devout imagination. We have external scientific proof. At the same time that the telescope had shown that the earth on which we stand, when compared with the universe, was but as a drop of water in the ocean, the microscope had as unexpectedly revealed, that this very drop of water, which we have taken as our illustration, contained millions of living things, all apparently objects of their Creator's careful, and constant, and benevolent regard. This establishes the view given above, upon a basis of observation. The only other explanation that can be given of what we have thus come to see, is the theory of an ascending hierarchy of deities, the sphere of whose subordinate providence increases in material importance as they rise in rank. Such a wild and fanciful speculation may have something in common with the dreams of the Egyptian Gnostics; but we are not aware that it has ever been seriously advocated in modern times. It could derive plausibility, only, from attributing human infirmity to Divine greatness; from fancying that the Maker of the universe, like a feeble man, requires agents to assist him in the management of his own creation. Surely the Being, who could call such a host of gods into existence, stands in no need of their service!

The answer seems to us decisive; and, accordingly, we do not think that the belief in a plurality of worlds is likely to throw any serious difficulty in the way of Natural Religion. It is true that on first hearing this doctrine, a pious man might be sensible of some such difficulty; might be troubled and perplexed, as for the first time he caught a glimpse of these "groups, and hosts, and myriads of worlds." He might have a painful feeling that the Lord of such a creation was too great a Being to be interested in his little concerns. He had been wont to believe his God to be around him, and with him, and within him—to receive every blessing and

every affliction as directly from God's hand, and daily to carry the tale of his little cares, and wants, and sorrows, to his Almighty Friend, in full confidence of a ready sympathy. But now it would seem as though that faithful guardian was being removed further and further from beside him at every fresh disclosure.

But when his first emotions had subsided, and he had had leisure to learn and to reflect on the arguments of an opposite tendency, of which we have given a sketch above, we think that his mind would be reassured. He would not abandon the comforting belief that God's providence is over all his works; but he would expand his idea of that providence to the extent which his new conception of those works might require. Nay, he might feel, after a time, that the views which had begun by disturbing his religious convictions, had ended by indefinitely exalting his idea of the Creator; and so he might become attached to them, because they heightened his feelings of reverence. And this partiality might grow to such strength as to be a serious obstacle in the way of his receiving those other opposite views which we intend to advocate, as really better founded and more friendly to Christianity at least.

The author of the "Plurality of Worlds" agrees with us in this conclusion, so far as the Divine Providence over the inferior animals is concerned. He thinks, however, that there is a difficulty in conceiving it engaged at once in an infinite number of worlds, in directing the course of intelligent, moral, and progressive races, such as that of man. Such direction seems to his mind a thing, of necessity singular, characteristic of the world in which it is found. Nay, he seems to regard the very existence of such beings elsewhere in the universe, as a thing difficult to conceive, independently of all considerations of Divine government. A belief in the existence of mere scientific knowledge in other planets, does not, he thinks, lead us to any embarrassing conclusions; but he maintains that we cannot conceive progress in such knowledge, or in the acts of life, political history, moral condition, existing in infinite variety in the different habitations of the universe, without being drawn into much gratuitous hypothesis, whose visionary character makes us feel how far we have departed from the region of real knowledge. Too many arbitrary details are required to fill up the picture. For example, is it not too bold a flight of imagination, to conceive a conscience in Jupiter?

In these last observations we cannot concur. The mere

want of readiness in the imagination to represent to us a scene to which we are so completely strangers, or a feeling of diffidence whether there be a reality corresponding to the picture which may be called up, is no evidence against the existence of such a reality. These feelings are altogether a matter of habit and familiarity. Doubtless it was hard at first to conceive that the earth went round; but still it was true. The degree of probability which we attribute to the opinion that other worlds are inhabited, should, we think, be regulated strictly by the amount of analogy which can be traced between those worlds and our own, and should in no wise depend on the degree of facility which we experience in conceiving the results of that opinion.

Neither does it seem to us that the particular kind of Divine superintendence required to direct the course of a progressive race like ours is an act of Providence, which, from its very nature, we must suppose confined to the world. We do not think that the difficulty in imagining rational and moral inhabitants for other planets is generally participated in by those who reflect on the subject—rather the difficulty seems to be to abstain from doing so. And what is more, we do not even see, in the idea of a revelation to promote the moral welfare of such a race, anything that of necessity involves singularity,—that confines such an interposition to one peculiar spot. There may be peculiarities in a particular revelation that do this. Such, in fact, we take to be the case of the Christian religion. But we can readily conceive a revelation containing no such peculiarities; as, for example, an inspiring of certain men to reveal a moral law with sanctions of reward and punishment, and an external testimony to their divine commission by miracles. Here we differ wholly from the author of the “Plurality of Worlds,” who seems to regard a Divine revelation still more than a Providence securing intellectual and moral progress, as a thing which, by its very nature, could not admit of being repeated in different quarters of the universe. But he has not indicated where the peculiar repugnance to the natural reason in such repetition lies.

We proceed now to the astronomical objections against Christianity. As we have already intimated, we conceive that this objection has its origin in the peculiar nature of our revelation—in the fact that it represents the Deity as dealing with our world upon a plan which we cannot suppose him to have adopted in dealing with any other. To make this felt, it cannot be necessary to go through the details of our

religion. It will be sufficient to consider only for a moment the great central truth, the history of our Lord. One of the race, miraculously born, is declared to have been taken into intimate union with the Deity—to have suffered for the sins of all men—to have been subsequently exalted to the throne of the universe, and to have received all power in heaven and earth. It would be doing violence to every impression which the wonderful narrative leaves on our minds, to suppose that other moral beings had been similarly united to the Deity, had similarly suffered, and been similarly exalted and endowed. Every feature in the transaction marks it as unique in the moral history of the whole universe.

Now if we suppose that all or many of the infinity of worlds which surround us, have races of intelligent and moral beings for inhabitants, we must conclude, either that these beings have maintained an unfailing obedience to their Maker, or that in some other way they are interested in the atonement provided by his suffering here. To suppose that reconciliation could be obtained by any other means than by this or some similar sacrifice, seems to contradict the first principles of our religion. But each of these alternatives has its difficulty. That so many races should have escaped moral evil, agrees ill with our sad experience of its prevalence here. It seems against all probability that in an infinite number of families ours should have happened to be the only unhappy one, in which the moral pestilence had appeared. But if sin has ravaged any portion of the universe comparable with the whole, numbers, nay, millions of worlds must have been its prey. And if so, do we not meet an equal improbability in the supposition that our world should be selected as the scene of that great act, which was to provide a remedy for all. What is there in its character, as compared with what we know of others, to suggest such a wonderful distinction? In visible grandeur it is inferior far to several even of the few around us. It is not one of the magnates of the sky, but an obscure individual in the common multitude of the heavenly host. Why, then, we repeat, should it have been chosen as "the stage of the great drama of God's mercy and of man's salvation—the sanctuary of the universe—the holy land of the creation—the royal abode, for a time at least, of the eternal king?" Such a selection might be natural enough in us, who happen to be its inhabitants, but what makes it probable in the common Father of all?

Dr. Chalmers has not dealt with the infidel objection in

the form in which we have given it. What is the argument which he has answered he has himself stated thus, "It involves," says he, "first an assumption that Christianity was intended solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of our planet; and, secondly, an inference that God would not lavish so much attention in so insignificant a field."

Against the assertion, he urges the obvious criticism that it is only an assertion, that it has no foundation in real knowledge. Christianity has real evidence, and must not therefore be set aside in deference to conclusions drawn from a mere assumption. The infidel is really building on an arbitrary supposition as if it were an observed fact. Chalmers contrasts such proceedings with the conduct of Newton, the great example of modern philosophers, whose temperance in abstaining from mere fanciful speculations, however dazzling, equalled his boldness and perseverance in following out the indications of real evidence. He points out how this treating of conjecture as if it were knowledge, is a violation of the first principles of that Baconian philosophy to which the sceptic owes the very knowledge which he is abusing.

And next, against the inference he argues in substance thus:—The question is, whether it be not incredible that this world, less than little as it comparatively is, should seem worthy in the eyes of its Maker of all the tenderness and care which Christianity represents him as showing for it, and, above all, of being redeemed by the sacrifice of his Son?

Now the probability of any given exhibition of compassionate feeling depends on two elements; the importance of the object, and the extent to which mercy enters into the character of the subject. The infinity of the latter may compensate for the insignificance of the former. Does not the very littleness of our race cast an air of the moral sublime over the act of their redemption, such as exactly befits the character of God?

Actually to reverse the infidel's conclusion, and to draw from his premises an evidence instead of an objection, is, perhaps, going too far. It is enough that we simply disprove his inference, and by proposing the less ambitious aim, we shall obtain a considerable advantage in argument. It must be remembered that questions as to *a priori* probability of particular conduct on the part of the Deity are those, in which above all others mankind have frequently and seriously been misled. Manichæan, Papist, and Unbeliever,

men far apart in age and country, in circumstances and opinions, have all been here betrayed. It is then a gain to the Christian advocate that he has to call upon us, not to make, but to abstain from making, one of these precarious decisions. He needs not to ask us to affirm the probability of the Christian account from the above considerations, but simply to decline pronouncing it incredible on other grounds. This latter course, arguments of much less force, will bring a prudent mind to adopt. We certainly think that generally the above statement of the question will be sufficient.

Chalmers, however, did not rest satisfied with this representation of his case. He attempts to redeem this world from its alleged insignificance by bringing forward the discoveries of the microscope, to which we have already alluded. He declares that the infidel's argument loses its plausibility if we call to mind that the period of our Lord's humiliation was but as small a point in the eternity of his Divine existence, as the world, which he came to redeem, may be in the universe at large; and he reminds us, that other spiritual beings may have been influenced by this event to an extent, which, if it were known, would at once put an end to all the difficulty under discussion.

These arguments are of unequal value. We will consider them in order.

The inference which we ourselves should draw from the first we have already stated. To discover that God exercises a sufficing care over creatures almost infinitely below us, does certainly reassure us as to his constant providence over our daily lives. The argument is used by our Saviour himself. If not one sparrow falls to the ground without our Heavenly Father, certainly we, who are worth many sparrows, cannot be forgotten.

It seems less clear that the discovery imparts credibility to such an act as the atonement. There is an essential difference between this interposition of God and any ordinary acts of his providence. The latter admit of being indefinitely multiplied and repeated—the former is by its very nature singular, occurring but once in the history of the universe. It is an event quite of a different order to them, absolutely incomparable with the feeding of the raven or the clothing of the lilies of the field; and hence it seems doubtful whether such acts as these can supply analogies to make it probable.

The infidel might say, your argument from the microscope

has left untouched my fact, the insignificance of the world compared with the universe; and my principle, that the consideration which God shews for his creatures is proportionate to their importance. It has only shown that the regard which he bestows on me must be absolutely so great that an infinitely less degree will provide curious organs for an animalcula, and carefully place it in a situation fitted to them. This is not showing that the regard is so peculiar and extreme, that he will give his only Son as a ransom for me and my fellow men, who are still as insignificant compared with his works at large, as are the animalculæ compared with us.

According to the rules of rigorous deduction this criticism would be just; but still, with most minds, the argument of Chalmers would do service to his cause. It would serve a rhetorical, though not a logical purpose. To most men the mere addition of the word infinite does really little towards conveying the idea that the Divine benevolence is without limit, although that word may be the proper expression of that transcendent extent, which our argument logically requires. The sight of care and forethought exercised for creatures so truly insignificant as the animalculæ would do much more. And it is on a right feeling of this great truth, that our decision on the whole questions turns.

The next of the remarks which we have quoted, though striking at first hearing has, we believe, no real weight.

The ratio of the period of our Lord's humiliation to his eternity is no measure of the part which man's redemption is represented by Christianity as forming in the economy of God. The duration of an act is no criterion of its importance; and even if we do estimate events by this standard, we must bear in mind that the act of redemption, though in one respect bounded by our Saviour's life, still did involve a subsequent work of mediation and a permanent effect on the relations of the Almighty to his creation. The Scriptures always speak of the atonement in language befitting only what is most singular and pre-eminent. It is represented as the very master-piece of the divine wisdom and goodness, the most glorious of all the exhibition of God's character—the admiration of men and angels throughout eternity.

Upon the last observation which we have to consider, our judgment will be precisely the reverse of that which we have offered on the second. Here then is an appearance of fallacy and a substance of truth. To bring forward any

real grounds for a belief in such extra-terrestrial results of man's redemption we must quote from our revelation ; that is, assume the truth of the religion which is in dispute. Now, at first sight, this may appear like reasoning in a circle. But the real question is, whether the story of Christianity as a whole be credible or not. If that story represent its events as taking place solely for the benefit of man, then his alleged insignificance, if proved, would afford a fair ground of argument against it. But if it do not so represent the matter, but intimate that man's recovery occupies the sympathies and kindles the devotion of innumerable higher beings, then that insignificance could only supply a much weaker presumption against its truth. Dr. Chalmers has developed this portion of his argument fully and ably. It was a subject suited to his genius. He pursues it through three most eloquent discourses, in which we are charmed by the swell and rhythm of the sentences ; the rising grandeur of the thoughts ; and the deep interest of the moral scenes brought before us.

We think, then, on the whole, that Dr. Chalmers did really produce an answer to the astronomical objection to revealed religion in the form in which he has considered it. But his reasoning will not refute the argument of the unbeliever as we have stated it. To prove the credibility of the Almighty's becoming incarnate to save this single world, is not to show that probably this world only has fallen, or if many others too have sinned, that there is still reason why this should be selected as the scene of atonement. It is the improbability of either of these two alternatives, which we have supposed the sceptic to urge. To make the arguments of Chalmers an answer, it is necessary to assume the first. Then all will be clear, for his reasoning has proved the absolute credibility of the Divine sacrifice, and the fact that this world only is the scene of sin, supplies an obvious reason why it should be offered here.

In stating the objection to be considered differently from that of the eloquent apologist, we are far from intending to charge him with that sophism known to logicians as an *ignoratio elenchi*. The form which he has given to the argument of his adversaries, is certainly that in which it is likely first to present itself ; and, further, that in which it is most likely to produce effect, at least, with the unreflecting many. It was then, undoubtedly, that best suited for the subject of popular addresses.

We have given the other, as being what we take to be our

opponent's argument, in the present state of the controversy, as Dr. Chalmers has left it. And we think also, that at all times this would have been the form which the objection would ultimately have assumed in a philosophic mind; for, though much less striking and forcible than the other, it has, what the other wants, clearness in its premises, and rigor in its deduction. If the plurality of worlds is a conceded thing, we do not see how it can be avoided. We consider then, that the controversy with the enemies of Christianity on astronomical grounds, is reduced to the discussion of this doctrine, and shall accordingly devote the rest of our examination to its consideration.

Let us not be understood to assert here, that a belief in this opinion is fatal to Christianity; much less, that its advocates are unbelievers. The difficulty which we have described as arising from it, is certainly not comparable as a presumption with the Christian evidences; and many of its warm supporters are unquestionably friends to revelation. But still, however they may regard the matter, we think that there is a difficulty, and should therefore be gratified to find this opinion discredited.

This desideratum the author of the "Plurality of Worlds" has supplied. He has deprived the objection of its remaining strength, though not with ostensible design, by showing how precarious is the admission on which it rests. The plan of his work is to collect all the well-established facts and conclusions which give any light in the inquiry whether other planets be inhabited; and its object is to show, that the assumptions commonly made upon this subject rest on no adequate foundation, but rather that the evidence, which really exists, leads to an opposite conclusion.

We shall follow him through a review of what is actually known as to the physical nature of the heavenly bodies, so far as it bears upon this question; but, before doing so, we think it adviseable to point out, to what a great extent resemblance to our earth must be recognized in any other body, before we have reason to suspect that it is inhabited by beings like man. Inadvertency on this point greatly favours the false notions which are abroad. To make it probable that a given region is peopled by races, resembling man and the inferior animals, much more is required than that it should be the surface of an oblate spheroid.

Animal life alone is a highly delicate process, requiring for its continuance the union of many and precise conditions as to surrounding objects: human happiness and progress

require still more. In fact, a world suited to be the scene of the development of civilization is a nicely-adjusted machine; nay, a very masterpiece of mechanism. And, what is further, its adjustment depends not only on properties or laws of matter, which we may readily suppose coextensive with the universe, but likewise on the size of several elements in the planet itself, which we do see varying widely in the similar bodies that we can observe, and which there seems little prospect of ever finding again united in a combination, so happily adapted to the necessities of life as that which we enjoy.

The importance of these peculiarities of our globe is ably exhibited in one of the Bridgewater Treatises, written by the eminent scientific man to whom the "Plurality of Worlds" is commonly attributed. We draw most of the illustrations which we are about to offer on the point in question from this source.

We begin with the light and heat from the sun, of which it has been truly said, that they are the ultimate sources of almost all the activity on the surface of our planet. They set in motion the winds; raise the clouds; call forth vegetation; and minister either directly or indirectly to almost every want of life. Any serious change in their amount would be felt simultaneously in every part of the wide and mutually dependent organization of the animal and vegetable kingdom. And not only would a change in their mean intensity bring everything into danger, but so much as a considerable alteration in their periods of variation, might make the world a desert. The vegetable kingdom seems set, so to speak, to the duration of our present seasons, and is capable of self-adaptation only to very limited changes in that duration. If, for instance, the year were doubled, the whole vegetable world would speedily decay and perish, and the disappearance of a vast majority, at least, of animals must follow. So, too, the length of the day could not be greatly changed, without spreading disorder, distress—perhaps destruction—over a large part of animated nature. The physical character of man and animals, and even plants, is obviously adjusted to something like its present length.

To pass now to a totally different quarter: we find in the force of gravitation, or what is equivalent, the mass of the earth, an element on which the welfare of all living things depends. Were gravitation several-fold increased, all our motions would be slow, brief, and painful—activity would cease—every animal would crawl. The vegetable world

would suffer still more seriously. The power which trees possess of raising moisture from their roots, would be no longer equal to its task. We should see them wither and decay around us, and might ourselves be put in danger by the general blight.

Again, for a globe to be inhabited, its surface must have a fit supply of air and water : both are in fact prime necessities of life. The former especially plays a most manifold and conspicuous part in carrying on the great drama of life. Not only is it immediately and absolutely required in the process both of animal and vegetable organization ; but it supplies too, for our constant accommodation, the mechanism of sound by which we hear ; the scattering of light, by which, mostly, we see ; and, what is not of least importance, that grand circulation of water, by evaporation and precipitation, which makes our rivers to flow and our fields to be fertile. The first of these services alone is enough to prove it an essential. We bring forward the others to show that, since its offices are so many, its character must be exactly retained. Thus, if it were too dense at the surface, from its quantity not being adjusted to the force of gravity, plants would fade ; every wind too would be a hurricane ; every sound a thunder. If it were too dark and cloudy, the destruction would be greater and speedier still. In short, there must not only be an atmosphere, but the very atmosphere which we possess. Other conditions of animal and vegetable life, or at least of human progress, might be found in the quantity and distribution of the ocean, and the nature of the earth's crust. A world to have men must have vegetable mould ; one that had no iron could see no civilization ; one without salt would probably be soon without human inhabitants. Indeed, competent knowledge and reflection might probably extend this enumeration to a surprising length.

Let us now review the heavenly bodies, and examine whether we can find among them a resemblance so close, as to create a presumption of inhabitants. We shall adopt an order, the reverse of that followed by the author whose work we are considering, and begin with our immediate neighbours.

The Moon is certainly not inhabited. It has neither air nor water ; and, further, has been so successfully examined, that a forest or even a city, had it existed, must have been seen.

Mercury, Venus and Mars approach in some degree to what we are in search of. In density, period of revolution

on their axis, succession of seasons, they resemble our earth, and in size they do not very widely differ from it. But Mercury is plainly too near the sun, and shows no signs of atmosphere. Venus has too short a year; too fiery a climate, or probably too cloudy an atmosphere. Mars comes the nearest. Signs of snow at his poles indicate air and water; but even here the seasons must be immoderately long; the power of gravity seriously impaired; the climate chill, and the day dark.

The next group of planets, the Asteroids, are manifestly too small. We pass on to the larger bodies of our system. Jupiter has a mean density about equal to that of water, and is apparently surrounded by a heavily-clouded atmosphere, strongly agitated by trade-winds. It seems most likely that he is really a mighty globe of waters; perhaps, as his temperature is probably very low, he is a mass of ice—a huge iceberg. But, be this as it may, the oppressive power of gravity at his surface, and the continual fog which envelopes it, make him no fit abode for man.

Saturn recedes still further from the habitable type. His mean density, that of cork, suggests the idea that much of his visible bulk is vapour. Here too we have traces of a thick envelope of clouds, while the light and heat from the sun are but 1-90th of what the earth receives.

Uranus and Neptune are, in this last respect, still worse accommodated to the wants of life. Neptune, indeed, receives but 1-900th of the share of solar rays which we enjoy. In other characteristics too, as smallness of density, they resemble Jupiter and Saturn, and may therefore, like those planets, be esteemed fitted for some end very different from the reception of a human population.

In estimating this fitness we have not, so far, taken account of the total want of adaptation to the necessities of animal and vegetable life, seen in the times of revolution of these outer planets, either on their axes or round the sun. And yet, here at least, the argument from this want seems cogent. Some may, perhaps, suppose that organic nature could adapt herself to the slight variations from the terrestrial standard seen in our neighbours; but here the departure is too wide for such a hope. How could the world go on with days ten hours long, or seasons that were a lifetime in coming round? Jupiter indeed has no changes corresponding to the seasons, his axis being nearly perpendicular to his ecliptic; while Uranus, there is reason to believe, offers the opposite peculiarity, his axis being in that plane; so that every point upon

his surface must, in each revolution, pass through the extremes of polar and of equatorial climate. This last argument, as well as some of those above, applies to the satellites as well as to the primaries, and would apply with still greater force to any planet which might be discovered still more remote.

In completing our review of the solar system, it is not necessary to consider the comets, the aerolites, or the zodiacal light. One body only remains—the sun himself. The author of the “Plurality of Worlds” has not discussed the case of his solid surface; and, indeed, when we call to mind the prodigious elevation of temperature, which we must attribute to its neighbourhood, it seems at first sight quite superfluous to do so. But, as we have said, astronomers believe that the light and heat are given out from his middle atmosphere; and Sir J. Herschel is of opinion, that if the atmosphere below were highly reflective and of rapidly increasing density, the solid globe might be effectually protected from the scorching and the glare of the firmament of fire which vaults it in. Both these conditions, we have reason to conclude, are actually fulfilled; and, accordingly it does seem worth while to inquire, whether there is any obvious circumstance which compels us to believe that his vast surface is a desert. Such is, we think, at once to be met with in the extreme force of gravity, on the supposition, which we proposed as to the sun’s internal constitution, that force would be seventy times as great at his solid surface as on that of our planet.*

Leaving now the boundaries of our system, let us inquire what traces there are of other similar systems elsewhere in the universe, and, accordingly, what chance there may be, that planets more resembling our earth than its immediate companions, may exist in regions more remote. Here we shall no longer be able fully to concur in the remarks of the author, whose work has suggested this part of our inquiry. His views as to the solar system seems to us just and well founded, as well as, to a certain extent, novel. But, when he comes to speak of the other bodies of the universe, he seems at times to be influenced rather by the spirit of a special pleader than of an impartial philosopher. His object was to discredit the notion of a plurality of habitable planets; and, with this end in view, he rates too low the presumption for a plurality of solar systems. We will state what we consider to be the real condition of the argument upon this point.

* If there were oceans on this surface they might be inhabited.

The astral system, in which our sun is placed, is made up of a multitude of stars, which to us present the same appearance which our sun would to them. The analogy is found to hold throughout the few particulars, which their enormous distance has suffered us to learn concerning them. Like him, they must be self-luminous; and the rude observations which have been made seem to show that, bright though he be, he is but one of the less brilliant amongst them. But the difference is not great; and, further, what is perhaps worth noticing, their light and his has a similar velocity, which is not true for all terrestrial kinds of light. They too, like him, have proper motions. In two cases we have obtained an estimate of their mass: in one it is less than a half; in the other, about a sixth of his—a considerable disparity. To this last fact we attach much importance.

Such are the analogies which suggest the idea, that each fixed star is the centre of a planetary system. They are not strong, and our author has reason, when he cautions us how we build much on such a foundation. But, in his attempts to show actual grounds for concluding that they differ from our sun, we think that he has failed. We will enumerate and review the considerations which he has brought forward with this object.

First, then, there are variations in the brightness of some stars. Even if such variations proved an essential difference, the argument would apply to very few of the stars. Indeed, if we had nothing else to reason upon but what is observed in these stars, we should be led to regard it as an exceptional peculiarity. But the fact is, that we have reason to suspect something of the kind in our sun. There are in history accounts of his being strangely darkened. Humboldt has selected seventeen such. Even if we put aside all these as unhistorical, or capable of being explained without supposing changes in the sun himself, still, that the solar photosphere has, in distant times at least, passed through such changes, is a theory strongly recommended by the facility with which it accounts for the variations in climate which geology shows that the world has undergone. This is by no means the only explanation of which such variations admit, but probably it is the simplest. Considering this, the most likely conclusion from the whole matter seems to be, that the photosphere of a solar body is generally, but not absolutely, uniform; that it has its changes, though enormous intervals of time may pass without such revolutions; and that the long duration of these intervals, compared with the period

of our observation, is the reason why few instances have been observed.

Next, if each fixed star have a retinue of planets, how complex and insecure must be the systems which arise in the case of double stars! The example of the secondaries of our system seems to show, that this argument only holds to a limited extent. At best it applies only to a minority of the heavenly host.

Again, there is in the stellar clusters no trace of the rapid motion, which would be essential to prevent their accumulating into one huge mass, if every star were a body like our sun. But have they been observed so long and closely as to justify us in asserting this? Their apparent nearness to each other may be due to their distance from us; and, if so, the same cause would allow of much motion being long undiscovered.

On the whole then we think that, of what is known of the fixed stars, much makes decidedly for the opinion that they are bodies like our sun, and nothing is incompatible with that notion. It is then the theory which we ought at present to adopt.

It is a further concession of hypothesis to give to each an attendance of planets. But a very different degree of analogy will suffice to make a star the presumptive centre of a solar system, from that which is required to make a planet a presumptive seat of life.

And now, having considered whether the stars be suns, we have next to examine the evidence that the nebulæ are stars. The author of the "Plurality of Worlds" opposes this view, and endeavours to bring his readers to the conclusion, that some at least of these strange objects are masses of vapour, enormously diffused and rarefied, but still highly luminous from heat or some other cause. This opinion was at one time popular; but of late it has been very generally abandoned. We shall state briefly the reasons which have led to this change, and have established astronomers generally in the belief that the nebulæ are crowds of stars; and then the arguments which our author brings against them.

Great numbers of nebulæ have been resolved, that is, have been made to appear as crowds of distinct, though minute stars. And, further, each access of telescopic power has greatly increased the number so resolved. Above all, the last great advance made by Lord Rosse has resolved multitudes of every kind, and has brought many more to that condition, in which we know that a further improvement in the

instrument would resolve them. The natural inference seems to be, that, with a sufficiently perfect telescope, any of them might be resolved; and that, accordingly, they are all systems of stars whose light is blended together to our eyes, partly from their remoteness, partly from their actual nearness to each other.

Against this conclusion, and in support of his own view, the author of the "Plurality of Worlds" brings arguments which are, we think, substantially included in the following statement:—First, nebulous vapour is not a mere creature of the imagination, devised to explain the appearance of the nebulæ; it is a form of matter, of whose existence elsewhere we have certain proof—a *vera causa*, as Newton would have called it; and, consequently, one which that great physicist would have allowed as an admissible agent in a physical theory. Unquestionably we have instances of it in the comets—probably in the zodiacal light.

Next, does the resolution of the nebulæ really prove that they are composed of stars, using that word for the order of cosmical bodies, of which our sun is one? Suppose a nebulous medium to be discrete, not continuous—not uniformly diffused over space, but condensed on innumerable points, would it not present just the appearance actually observed? And, further, have we not been too hasty in concluding that all nebulæ are resolvable? The following remarkable case seems, at least, to show that their resolvability does not depend simply on their distance.

In the southern hemisphere, not far from the pole, are two remarkable patches of light, known to the early navigators as the Magellanic Clouds; to modern astronomers, as the Nubecula Major and Nubecula Minor. Their shape is circular, slightly oval. We must suppose them to be spherical spaces; for the only other supposition which would at all explain their appearance, viz., that they are enormous columns of space, with their ends turned towards us, is highly unlikely to be true for both. Calculating from the angle which they subtend at the eye, it is easily inferred in the case of the Nubecula Major, that the distances of its furthest and nearest parts bear to one another a ratio not exceeding that of 21 to 19. Now, within this space there are crowded nebulæ of all degrees of resolvability, clusters of stars in various degrees of condensation, and stars themselves in numbers of the 7th, 8th, and lower magnitudes. Here then is irresolvable nebulous matter at the same distance as small stars; while the theory that it is composed of stars requires that distance to be

such, that the interval between stars vanishes compared with it.

In addition to these considerations, the author of the "Plurality of Worlds" has sought an argument to support his views, in the changes which the appearances of some of the nebulæ have undergone, when successively examined by telescopes of greater and greater power. Thus, for example, several, when examined by Lord Rosse's telescope, showed faint branches never seen before, but which apparently struck out from parts already known. "Can we," says he, "suppose that these branches have been hitherto unknown, because they are enormously more remote than the main body from which they seem to issue?" He maintains that their appearance irresistibly suggests the idea of denser and rarer streaks and rolls of vapour. And, further, he points out how some of the most remarkable forms of the Spiral Nebulæ are exactly what would be produced by the retarded motion of such a vapour in a medium but little rarer than itself.

We cannot say that these arguments are to us convincing. Their author has very justly remarked, that in a question like the present, as to the right interpretation of certain appearances, where that interpretation can only be conjectured, we should attach especial value to the opinion of those "who have examined the phenomena with the most complete knowledge, the greatest care, and the best advantages, and have speculated upon the phenomena in a way both profound and unprejudiced." Now, such authorities have, we believe, ceased to favour the opinion which he advocates; and we do not see that his arguments are of a character to outweigh or to reverse their verdict.

The fact that we have known nebulous matter in the comets, does not at once free the hypothesis that the nebulæ are such vapours, from the imputation of assuming a new form of matter. The comets may be self-luminous in a slight degree; but is there any reason to think that matter resembling them could be visible at such enormous distances as those of the nebulæ?*

To suppose that the resolved nebulæ consist of stars, generally like those which make up our own galaxy, seems the natural and obvious conclusion from their resolution. Among the stars of this same galaxy our sun is certainly one; though

* The nebulæ subtending a finite angle at the eye, it may be said that they would appear as bright to us, as if close at hand. This remark would be true if there were no absorption of light—an assumption which does not, however, seem to be safe.

how far he may be peculiar cannot with any accuracy be told. We grant that it would be great temerity confidently to assert, that every luminous point into which a six-feet reflector disintegrates a nebulous patch of light, is really the centre of a system like our own; but still, as a speculation, it has a measure of probability from analogy.

The faintness of some parts of a nebula, compared with others, seems only to require for its explanation an inequality in the condensation or intrinsic brightness of the component stars. No irregularity in their shape can prejudice us against the belief that they are really crowds of stars, if we duly consider the complexities of our own Milky Way. Neither can we attach great value to the easy explanation of the peculiarities of the Spiral Nebulæ. A mechanical theory framed only to explain one appearance, is but an unsafe basis for further conclusions; for this obvious reason, that there is still no slight chance that further knowledge of the thing to be explained, or even further consideration of what is already known, may substitute a fresh hypothesis in its place. It is the coincidence of inductions from various quarters that gives confirmation. In this case, too, there are in the history of the appearance itself, circumstances which seem to warn us that it may be treacherous. It has, in most cases, been brought to light by the great telescope of Lord Rosse, and is a perfect metamorphosis of the nebulæ as known before. Thus the remarkable nebula, 51 Messier, which the author in question especially brings forward, formerly appeared to be a spherical body, surrounded by a distant ring. Its shape was particularly observed, because it offered a likeness to our own galaxy. The nebula was accounted a brother system; and this has been transformed into a spiral! Is it safe to argue much from the aspect which such a Protean body may assume under a particular magnifying and defining power? Ought a reason so derived to outweigh the obvious inferences of unquestionable observation?

The argument from the apparent juxtaposition of nebulæ and stars in the magellanic clouds, is certainly of much greater force. It should however be borne in mind, that on the hypothesis that all nebulæ consists of stars, their continuous appearance may arise from excessive condensation, as well as from remoteness. An exceedingly crowded cluster of very small stars might appear as an irresolvable nebula, where a large bright star appeared of the seventh magnitude. There is here a difficulty, we admit; but not one beyond all possible explanation. It seems to us a more just conclusion from the

whole evidence, to regard the fact in question as a difficulty in the hypothesis of stellar composition, than as a sufficient foundation for the rival theory.

In order to estimate the bearing of what has preceded upon our subject, the following question still remains to be considered:—Supposing that multitudes of suns, of whose existence we have thus a presumption, are really surrounded by systems of planets like that in which we are placed, what probability is there that, amongst the still greater crowds of planets, there should be some adapted, like our earth, to be the residence of man and animals?

It will be remembered, that we enumerated several very precise conditions in the character of such a globe, and, further expressed the opinion that the number might be increased. All these conditions it was never necessary to refer to in considering the solar system. In every case which then occurred, observation at once showed some one or more to be wanting, and that was decisive. But now, when probability is to be our guide, it is necessary to assemble them all before us. We are asked, what is the chance that, in a possibly enormous number of cases, they may all be simultaneously fulfilled. Every fresh condition adds a new improbability. The event can happen only by all this series of improbabilities coming to pass, and is therefore the further removed from likelihood the longer the series be. It is thus that the presumption from the multitude of cases is neutralized.

It is desirable that we should state expressly the grounds on which we regard the question thus. To some we may seem to ignore the existence of a controlling mind; to reason as though we held that strange opinion, which Democritus is said to have taught, that the universe is a fortuitous concourse of atoms. But such an impression as to our argument would be a mistake. We are proceeding on no Atheistic hypothesis as to the indifference of things, but on the analogy of Nature. Granting, as we are most willing to grant, that every object in the universe is the result of a Divine design, still, so long as we are utterly ignorant of that design, our bare conviction of its existence gives no information as to the nature of the object. That we are thus practically ignorant of the Creator's design in forming the stellar systems, we shall hereafter endeavour to show at length. Assuming it at present, we see at once that analogy must be our only guide in speculations as to those systems. It is the analogy of our own system which alone has suggested their existence; it is the same analogy, and that alone, which

we should follow in conjecturing their character. If a given characteristic, as size for example, should be found to vary freely and widely in the members of our system, we must assume that it does so in theirs. But in the planets around us, all the elements, on a certain state or value of which we have shown life to depend, viz., supply of light and heat, period of revolution round the sun; or on their axis, atmosphere and ocean; composition and magnitude of their solid mass;—all these do vary widely and freely. There is not only change and great change in each, but there is no apparent connection between their changes, which might lead us to think that if a certain number of them, in any case, approached to the terrestrial standard, the rest would do so too. They vary independently.

Analogy, then, strictly followed, would make us look for a like wide and independent diversity among these elements, in the numberless multitudes of worlds, which we suppose may possibly be scattered over space. And this inference is confirmed by the only actual knowledge which we possess of those systems—our observations on their central bodies. The stars seem, it is true, of the same nature as the sun; but it is equally seen that this generic resemblance admits of great individual differences. Following then our teacher faithfully, we should conjecture that these elements would be reproduced in an infinite variety of degree and combination. The chance that they should all simultaneously resume such characters as are adapted to life, seems almost inappreciably small. Great as are the number of cases, they will not give a presumption for this event.

The theory which represents our earth as a spot chosen out of the universe to be the peculiar scene of all God's noblest works will, we know, be ill received by many. There is nothing at first sight to indicate so wonderful a distinction. But a closer examination reveals such multiplied and striking instances of care and contrivance, as make this selection credible. There are writers who speak of this world as a ruin. Surely this language must be understood only as expressing capacity and probable destiny for a much higher state: not as a complaint of what it really is. Small and insignificant it may be in the vast crowd of suns and systems; but still it has been built, furnished, and adorned with a prodigality of power, wisdom and benevolence, such as fit it to be the palace of the Son of the Great King.

The results of the survey of the heavens which we have just completed will be, we think, to leave on the minds of

our readers an impression, that actual observation is far from suggesting a plurality of worlds. To some indeed this may seem superfluously proved. That notion has in fact been generally received on very different grounds. Its supporters have been influenced, not by an analogy between our earth and the other heavenly bodies, accurately traced out so far as our knowledge of the latter will allow, and shown to be closer and still more close at every increase of that knowledge; but, so far as their opinion has had foundation in reflection at all, that foundation has been laid in consideration as to the object of the Deity in making such bodies.

We are accustomed to regard the earth only as the dwelling-place of animals, and especially of man. Our race naturally and deservedly occupy so large a space in our consideration, that we habitually look upon our planet simply as their abode, created merely to minister to their necessities or comforts. Virtually we never conceive any other purpose in the visible creation, than to supply the opportunities for happiness to sensitive material creatures; and of all such with which we are acquainted our race possesses capacity for happiness so pre-eminently, that it is they who naturally occur as being the objects for which other worlds as well as ours have been made. A world without inhabitants would, we think, be a world thrown away; and such a waste, carried on to an indefinite extent, we cannot reconcile with our notions of the Deity.

We have already alluded to the extreme danger of error in all speculations as to what the Almighty has done or will do, when we have nothing to guide us but our conceptions of his character. This truth the existence of evil should alone suffice to impress on the most superficial. Even if our conceptions be just, we have far too little knowledge of the bearings of his acts to enable us to conjecture his conduct. In the given case, what data have we to show what would be an adequate object for the material universe in the eyes of its Maker? or to show that such an object can be found only in the support of human life? Supposing that the infinite multitude of worlds contained no single intelligent inhabitant save those on our planet, still, might it not suffice, that the universe should be simply a spectacle pleasing to its Maker, by its beauty, order and grandeur? or that it should display his glorious attributes to other incorporeal beings? or, even, that it should inculcate ever more and more on man himself, as he widens the range and perfects the accuracy of his knowledge, what is the greatness of his Creator; just as the

mechanism of his own little world and its inhabitants impress him even more and more with the wisdom and beneficence of that Being?

Hitherto a faint nebula, known at best but as a patch of vaporous light, has certainly done little for this purpose; but our knowledge may increase; men may multiply; above all, scientific, reflecting, pious men may multiply prodigiously; and so, this long-hidden wonder of the sky may give an instructive glimpse of the Almighty's character to such multitudes hereafter, that even if it answered no other moral end, its millions of worlds would not have been made in vain.

Even granting that no other credible object can be discerned, what security have we that none would appear, if our narrow views were expanded to the infinite comprehension of the Divine contemplation? We again repeat, that considerations deduced *a priori* as to what the Deity has done, are, as a foundation of opinion, precarious to the last degree. In such speculations, a much safer guide than our conceptions of his character, is the analogy of his known works. Now the conclusions drawn from this source, are opposed to the views which represent the Deity as impelled by his own nature to people every star and planet with intelligent inhabitants. This fact supplies the line of argument adopted by the author of the "Plurality of Worlds" in dealing with this portion of his subject. He states the different forms which the objection to his doctrines, from views as to the Divine design in creation may assume, and then shows that each of these will equally apply to some known proceeding of the Almighty. The only possible way of avoiding the force of this reply seems to be, to assume an unknown object in the one case, and deny it in the other—a proceeding too manifestly arbitrary even for the friend of a theory.

As we regard this part of the discussion as bearing directly on the real source of the opinions which we combat, we will state at some length the opposing analogies to which we have alluded. The author from whom we borrow, first brings forward, in an early part of his work, a very striking argument from geology. He depicts very powerfully the immense antiquity which that science leads us to attribute to our planet. The crust of our globe consists of numerous strata, each to all appearance the slow formation of thousands, nay, myriads of years. The more closely they are examined, the more enormous is the duration which they suggest. There are volcanoes that have burned perhaps for ages, and poured forth stream after stream

of lava; then at last their fires have died out; vegetation has covered over the lava beds; deep deposits have been formed above them by the slow action of more tranquil agencies. Again, there are vegetable formations, seemingly the vast remains of forests, the growth of myriads of years, and yet these are buried deep in the formations of later times. Strata there are, apparently formed slowly at the bottom of the ocean, and then gradually raised, at the rate probably of a few feet a century, to the height of mountains. In other places there are signs of more brief and violent activity. Strata are forced up; broken through; tilted on end; even reversed. But after this season of commotion there seems to have been again a period of long quiet. Such formations embedded the fragments shattered off by those past convulsions and filled up the chasms which they had opened. Then came new disturbance, and then peace again: everything tells of era following era, æon following æon, and all of prodigious length. Each too has its own animal and vegetable world—its peculiar family of living things—whose numerous generations lived and moved unconsciously over the graves of all that had gone before, and in their turn died and were buried deep, there to lie as hidden chronicles of a dead world, till, in a distant time, there at last appeared an intelligent inquirer, who should dig up their remains and speculate upon their history.

As we descend, there is a disappearing of the perfect forms of life—an approaching, on the whole, to the beginnings of organic forms, until at last we seem to reach the records of a time that was before all life. And as we consider the course that brings us to this point, and call to mind the gigantic periods which correspond to every step, we feel a deepening impression that those days of the world's infancy are inconceivably remote—remote in time, as are the nebulæ in space. The comparison has been accurately drawn out by the author whom we are following.

"If for the sake," says he, "of giving definiteness to our notions, we were to assume that the numbers which express the antiquity of these four periods—the present organic condition of the earth; the tertiary period of geologists which precedes that; the secondary period which was anterior to that; and the primary period which preceded the secondary—were on the same scale as the numbers which express the magnitudes of the earth; that of the solar system compared with the earth; the distance of the nearest fixed stars compared with the solar system; and the distance of the re-

motest nebulæ compared with the fixed stars, there, is in the evidence, which geological science offers, nothing to contradict such an assumption."

And yet, this computation of the world's antiquity has not proceeded on the assumption of that theory, which would have magnified its result to the most imposing dimensions. It has been supposed, that the passage from each geological era to its successor was a time of vehement convulsion, such as speedily would work the revolution which closed the one and ushered in the other. But there are philosophers who discredit the notion of such seasons of occasional activity in nature's extraordinary powers. They think that there is no need to suppose that the course of the world has ever been much different from what it is; that it is more philosophical to explain the greatness of the changes of which we have been speaking, by calling to our aid fresh grants of time, more prodigious still; and especially with reference to the introduction of new species, animal or vegetable; they regard creation, not as the business of short and widely-separated seasons, but as a work uniformly proceeding, though by steps so slow, that the whole range of man's observation does not stretch over the interval between two.

This view our author speaks of, merely that by comparison it may give an air of credibility to his own statements. Such an appearance they certainly may want, in the eyes of one wholly unused to these ideas; but inquiry will show, that at least there is no scientific ground for incredulity. Metaphysics represent time as extending backwards without limit; and, as regards natural philosophy, astronomy, the only science whose discoveries bear upon the question, has brought to light no reason why the earth may not have existed for all the countless ages which we suppose. There is in the mechanism of the planetary system nothing but the most infinitesimal element of destruction, whose accumulations seem too small to preclude even this immense duration, although it certainly does seem to prevent absolute eternity.

To see the place which the above description is to occupy in our argument, it is only necessary to call to mind, that until man appeared, the earth had no inhabitants, such as our opponents think essential to give a purpose to creation. A population of mammoths and mastodons, still more one of mollusks and zoophytes, is little nearer to what these men look for, than the shores on which such creatures prowl, or the rocks to which they cling. Man only has looked on creation with a comprehending mind; in man alone could its

spectacle have awakened moral and spiritual emotions. And yet no credible chronology gives his race an antiquity of more than a few thousand years. Not a trace is to be found of his existence in all the ages which have gone before. Here, then, our opponents must admit that we have a fact which, if their principles were sound, could never have taken place—a fact as inconceivable on their hypothesis, as that the universe is now an infinite solitude, with one busily-crowded spot. Our planet may almost claim the name eternal—man is but of yesterday. If he occupy but a point in the elapsed eternity of time, why may he not occupy but a point in the surrounding infinity of space? If the intelligent inhabitants of the universe have been crowded within a few years, why may they not have been crowded within a few miles? Does it not seem that their existence is not the rule, but the unique exception?

In a later chapter of his book, the author of the “Plurality of Worlds” reverts to the argument from the Divine designs, and considers a variety of forms which it may assume in the hands of his adversaries. All these are really either modifications of the one which we have just considered, or else destitute even of the appearance of logical importance with reference to the point at issue. It may be tedious to go through each; but, as it is important thoroughly to clear up this part of our subject, we will do it as briefly as possible.

First, it may be said, that if we suppose even the solar system only to have no inhabitants but those of our planet, then we must regard it as a vast apparatus constructed only for their benefit. But is not the machine out of all proportion to its object? Is not this making the great minister to the little? However incredible this may appear to some minds, it is certain that in many cases such has been the course of Providence. Thus, to take the example of our globe itself; it is the surface only which is inhabited, and but a fraction of that thinly and but very recently. Even if the sun and planets were all peopled up to that limiting excess which Malthus feared, still the mighty intervals between them, and the immeasurable spaces around, are lifeless and unoccupied.

Again, we may be told, that the general resemblance between the earth and planets naturally suggests that Nature has designed them for a common end. This argument we think that we have completely exposed. But it may be urged, that to suppose all these innumerable worlds nothing but huge masses of volcanic rock; or bottomless oceans, perhaps eternally frozen; or vacant volumes of air and vapour, as

unsubstantial as the ghost worlds of the poet's Hades,—is to make Nature work in vain. According to this view she has framed a multitude of worlds after the habitable type, and perfected but one.

This proceeding, even thus represented, has strict and numerous analogies in physiology. It used, says the author of the "Plurality of Worlds," to be repeated as a wonder, that a single female fish was computed to contain 200,000,000 of ovæ—enough to replenish the seas, if all attained to life. But the progress of discovery has made this fact cease to be extraordinary. He mentions another fact, equally striking in another point of view, from the clearness with which it shows a purpose of frustration. There are buried in the strata of the earth millions of seeds quite capable of germinating, but which plainly have the opportunity of doing so only by accidents the rarest and most exceptional. In short, he states that it has become a recognized principle in physiology, that the purposes of Providence, in any special case, are generally secured by a law of far more extended sweep, whose object can by no means be traced out in a vast majority of the cases, in which its operation is seen; which, in short, if it existed only for the end that we assign would, for the most part, be a failure.

Another argument which may be brought against our views is this—life is happiness, and life only; and, consequently, it is consistent with the goodness of the Creator to crowd every available part of his universe with living things. And perhaps the wonderful diffusion of the animalculæ may be brought forward as an *a posteriori* confirmation of this reasoning. But, as we have said already, it is plain that vast solitudes do really make up the universe, even if every world be peopled. The exceptions are truly insignificant. Clearly then, this argument cannot proceed upon a just conception of the Divine economy.

A comprehensive objection to all our arguments may be taken, on the ground that they assume the Almighty to have formed no types of material life, but those with which we are acquainted. This surely, it may be said, is proceeding on a low estimate of the resources of his wisdom and power. The possibility of unknown forms of life adapted to any physical conditions, cannot of course be questioned. But our business is with the actual and not the potential. We are called on, in the absence of all certain information, to conjecture from analogies the presence or the want of the forms of life with which we are familiar. To determine the pro-

bability of other forms is a problem without data; except, indeed, our vague conceptions of the purposes of God, which we cannot admit as valid ground for opinion. With such a licence of hypothesis, we may people the planetary spaces just as readily as the planets. Such speculations may be an amusing exercise of the fancy; but their results can never be admitted into the region even of the probable. One more remark we would add. If to suppose that God has made no types of life but the terrestrial, be lowering our notions of his creative powers, is not assuming that worlds can have no object but to receive inhabitants, lowering far more our conceptions of the diversity of his designs?

Others may complain that this desolating theory, which reduces the universe to an infinite desert, impairs their conceptions alike of the greatness and the goodness of God. Their pious feelings may have found a pleasure in the vision of unnumbered worlds, sharing in the infinite activity of his providence, and rejoicing in its blessings. That was a view of creation worthy of the Creator; a view to fill them with amazement, and call forth an ecstasy of adoration.

It is hardly necessary to say, that these complaints, however true as expressions of inward feeling, prove nothing as to external nature. It is quite right that we should feel pain at parting with any views which exalt our ideas of God and kindle our devotion; but still, these views must be received as truths, not from the effect which they produce on our feelings, but the evidence of truth which they bring with them. A clinging to them, when apparently deprived of all such evidence, does not in our opinion indicate a healthy state of religious feeling. To love truth is one of the first commandments of that God whom they profess to honour. To build a visionary universe of our own imagining, that it may minister to our devotion, surely shows a want of faith in his wisdom or his power, as though we feared that, in the universe which he has actually made, he had not done enough to manifest his glory, and to stimulate the adoration of his servants.

One more objection still remains. It may be said, that there is much of beauty, symmetry, and nice mechanical contrivance in the forces and motions of the planets. Where these things are, there must be a noble purpose. To make this observation afford any support to the doctrine of the plurality of worlds, it is of course requisite to take it for granted, that this purpose can be no other than the accommodation of man. Now, even in this world, we see beauty,

symmetry and contrivance multiplied indefinitely, in cases where man, his wants or his pleasure, can hardly enter into his Creator's purposes: as in the crystals buried out of sight, the sea-flowers of the ocean caves, the vegetable beauty and mechanism of the jungle and forest.

It is now time that we brought our protracted examination to a close. In doing this, we think we may affirm it as our result that, in the present state of science, the presumption is decidedly against the opinion that the other heavenly bodies have inhabitants like ourselves. And this conclusion is certainly the most agreeable to the representations of revelation. Attempts have been made to find in the sacred Scriptures allusions to the existence of other worlds, but with little plausibility. We are far from thinking that Christianity stands or falls with the doctrine of the unity of our race; but we do think that its whole scheme and language harmonizes better with that idea, than with the notion that we are but one among an infinite number of equally or more important families.

The author of the "Plurality of Worlds" has occupied the concluding chapters of his work with various philosophical considerations, tending to reconcile us to this idea of the eminence of our species. He points out how wide is the gulf between man and all that on this planet have gone before him. In time, at least, we know him to be a novelty; something extraordinary and exceptional; not another figure in the procession, but a being of a new order. Intellectually, he alone has been capable of development, of social combination, and progress from generation to generation. With all before, the thousandth generation died just where the first had died before them; but with man no limit can be assigned to the possible extent to which he may accumulate knowledge, and gain control over the material universe. Morally the gulf is wider still; for he alone is capable of spiritual relations to his Maker. It is these things, and not vastness of bulk, which confer real importance. He has entered too into some interesting speculations as to the probable future of our race. But as these have no immediate connexion with our proper subject, we pass them by.

In finally taking leave of the subject we confidently express our hope, that here, as well as elsewhere, the difficulties which have appeared for a time to beset revealed religion, may already be regarded as having arisen from the errors incident to an immature science; as having been in fact the fruit of a half, and not of a perfect knowledge.

- ART. II.—1. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, and Revenues of the University of Cambridge.* London: 1852.
2. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge.* By ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A., F.R.S., Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity College. Parker, London: 1850.
3. *The Cambridge University General Almanack and Register for the Year 1855.* Wallis, Cambridge: 1855.

AMONG all the institutions of a civilized nation, none are more worthy of attention than those which promote and represent the education of its people. The present, too, is happily an age in which the most strenuous efforts are made to improve and extend our national education. This phrase has been applied, of late years, so exclusively to the government system for assisting in the elementary instruction of the poor, that we have almost forgotten its use in a far wider and more significant meaning. It includes within the wide scope of its comprehension, every school and college in which mind is trained, and character formed, and the soul disciplined in citizenship for this life, and for the promised inheritance of a better. The Universities of a land wherein the statesman, the lawgiver, and the divine are taught to strive for the mastery in the struggle of cultivated intellect and chastened thought, must often attract the notice, and demand the attention of the wisest statesman, and the most far-seeing politician. The two ancient Universities of England have contributed their share towards the formation of our national character, by their encouragement of classical learning, scientific research, and sound theology. They have not attempted to "popularise" such pursuits for the edification of the people at large; their function has rather been to teach the teachers, and rule the rulers of mankind. This highest and noblest aim, has been *generare patres*. The very fountains of scientific, literary, moral, and theological truth, have been committed to their guardianship, and they "stand by the well." They ever profess their readiness to distribute to all who come to partake of them, these sparkling waters of intellectual, moral, and spiritual life. Venerable as our two ancient Universities have become, their historic value in blending the present with the past, gives them a powerful and salutary influence in the manners, and tempers, and principles of Englishmen. If the past is to be regarded as a

preparation for the present, and a guide to the future, but in no respect a perfect model for either, then it is no disparagement of anything human to assert, that it decays by age, and requires the renovating touch of judicious revision. The University of Oxford has lately been subjected by Parliament to this agonizing process, and it is fully anticipated that a similar attempt will be made by Government to amend the constitution of her more tractable sister at Cambridge. Induced by the probability of Parliamentary debates on Cambridge Reform, we bring the subject before our readers. We hope to afford such information as may enable them to form their own judgments, and take their own course of action. Shallow and ignorant men, who have no sympathy with the pursuits, aims, and tendencies of our old academic institutions, have done much to poison the public mind by crude and conceited slanders against them: but the Royal Commission of Inquiry has effected some good by stopping the mouth of slander, and by shewing the world, the gradually increasing efficiency of Cambridge studies, examinations, and professorial teaching. It has proclaimed her honour and impartiality in the bestowment of prizes and rewards; and, while it has shewn the unsuitability of her ancient statutes to modern usages and requirements, it has made it comparatively easy to devise and to apply the necessary remedies.

Impressed with the assurance, that what is taught, and allowed, and favoured at our Universities, is transmitted to the whole nation by those various lines of communication which belong to our social condition, we feel that we attach no undue importance to the Report of the Royal Commissioners. They are men who have earned their own nobility, and need no royal license to call for silence when they speak. Graham, and Sedgwick, and Herschel, Romilly, and Peacock, are names familiar as household words, to Cambridge and to Europe. They received their authority to inquire on August 31st, 1850. They continued their labours through 1851, and closed their voluminous Report on August 30th, 1852. Their folio blue-book was not left to moulder amid the ponderous dulness of the Parliamentary Circulating Library, but after allowing due time for digestion, it was followed up by the annexed letter from the Home Secretary to the Prince Chancellor:—

“ Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1853.

“ Sir,— Her Majesty's Government have had before them the letter addressed by my predecessor on the 4th of October, 1852, to the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

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“ Your Royal Highness will, without doubt, remember, that Her Majesty was pleased, in her Speech from the throne, on the 11th of November, 1852, to acquaint Parliament that she had caused to be transmitted to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, copies of the reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry upon those Universities, and had called the attention of those Universities to those reports, with a view to a deliberate examination of the recommendations contained therein.

“ A statement was subsequently made to the House of Commons, that the Government thought it desirable that ample time should be allowed for a full examination of those matters, and that it was not intended that any legislation on the subject of the recommendations of the Commissioners, should be proposed to Parliament during the then current session.

“ At the same time, though it was not deemed expedient to discuss the various details connected with subjects so important and diversified as the matters in question, yet reference was made to some essential points, with respect to which Her Majesty's Government conceived that it would be the desire and expectation of Parliament, with a view to the public welfare, and to the extension of the useful influences of the Universities, that plans of improvement should be entertained.

“ These points were :—

“ 1. An alteration of the constitution of the Universities, with a view to the more general and effective representation of the several main elements which properly enter into their composition.

“ 2. The adoption of measures which might enable the Universities, without weakening the proper securities for discipline, to extend the benefits of training to a greater number of students, whether in connexion or not with Colleges and Halls, and also to diminish the relative disadvantages which now attach within Colleges and Halls to students of comparatively limited pecuniary means.

“ 3. The establishment of such rules with regard to fellowships, and to the enjoyment of other College endowments, as might wholly abolish, or greatly modify the restrictions which now, in many cases, attach to those fellowships and endowments, and might subject the acquisition of such fellowships and endowments generally to the effective influence of competition.

“ 4. The establishment of such regulations with regard to fellowships thus to be acquired by merit, as should prevent them from degenerating into sinecures, and especially the enactment of a provision, that after fellowships should have been held for such a time as might be thought reasonable as rewards for early exertion and distinction, they should either be relinquished, or should only continue to be held on condition of residence, coupled with a discharge of active duty in discipline or tuition, or with the earnest prosecution of private study.

“ 5. And, lastly, the establishment of provisions under which Colleges possessed of means either particularly ample, or now only

partially applied to the purposes of education or learning, might, in conformity with the views which founders have often indicated, render some portion of their property available for the general purposes of the University, beyond, as well as within the College walls, and might thus facilitate the energetic prosecution of some branches of study, the importance of which the University have of late distinctly and specially acknowledged.

"It is obvious, that for the attainment of these ends, provision must be made for the careful adjustment of existing statutes, and for the abolition or modification of certain oaths which are now periodically administered in some of the Colleges.

"There are other changes tending to the increased efficiency and extent of study which would naturally accompany or follow those to which I have adverted, but what I have stated may be enough to explain the general expectations which Her Majesty's Government have been led to form, under the influence of their sincere desire to acknowledge the services, and to respect the dignity and due independence of these noble institutions, and to see their power and influence enlarged to the full measure of the capabilities indicated by their splendid endowments.

"Actuated by these views, Her Majesty's Government did not hesitate to determine that, so far as depended upon them, a considerable interval of time should elapse, after the reports of the Commissioners had appeared, before any specific propositions should be discussed as to the degree and nature of the legislation respecting the Universities which it might be requisite to submit to Parliament.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, feel that the time has now arrived when it will be due, both to the country of which these Universities are such conspicuous ornaments, and to the well-understood interests of the Universities themselves, that these questions should be decided.

"I therefore request that your Royal Highness will, in your capacity of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, have the goodness to take an early opportunity of informing me what measures of improvement that University, or so far as your Royal Highness's knowledge extends, any of its Colleges may be about to undertake, and what aid they may desire from Parliament in the form either of prohibitions, of enabling powers, or of new enactments.

"Her Majesty's Government are anxious to receive this information in such time as may enable them to give to this important subject the careful deliberation it demands, and to be in a condition to advise her Majesty thereupon, if possible, by the month of February.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, have no hesitation in avowing their opinion, that repeated and minute interference by Parliament in the affairs of the Universities and their colleges, would be an evil, and they are desirous to maintain the dignity of

these institutions and to secure for them the advantages of freedom of action. For these reasons, therefore, as well as on other grounds, they earnestly hope to find, on the part of these bodies, such mature views, and such enlarged designs of improvement as may satisfy the reasonable desires of the country; and by obviating the occasion for further interference, may relieve those persons in the Universities who are charged with the weighty functions of discipline and instruction, from the distraction which the prospect of such interposition must necessarily entail.

"I am, Sir, your Royal Highness's dutiful servant,

(Signed)

"PALMERSTON.

"To Field Marshal His Royal Highness Prince Albert, &c.,
Chancellor of the University of Cambridge."

We propose at once to comment upon some of those "essential points with respect to which Her Majesty's Government conceived that it would be the desire and expectation of Parliament that plans of improvement should be entertained." The first of these is expressed in language so vague as to admit of the widest possible construction. What did the Home Secretary mean by suggesting "an alteration in the constitution of the Universities?" What did he understand by "the several main elements which properly enter into their composition?" Her Majesty's speech from the throne on the 12th of August, 1854, may supply us with a correct reply. "The means you have adopted," said Her Majesty, "for the better government of the University of Oxford and the improvement of its constitution, I trust will tend greatly to increase the usefulness, and to extend the renown of this great seminary of learning," Her Majesty here alluded to the act of the 7th of August last, "to make further provision for the good government and extension of the University of Oxford, of the colleges therein, and of the college of St. Mary, Winchester;" and it may consequently be anticipated that Parliament will soon be called upon to pass a similar act, "to enlarge the powers of making and altering statutes and regulations now possessed by the University of Cambridge and the colleges thereof."

With this expectation we shall enter into some details respecting the present position and proceedings of the University, with the hope of affording the information required for forming a correct judgment upon the proposed Parliamentary enactments.

The first idea which presents itself to the mind when we use the term "University," is that of a place of education for the middle and the higher classes. Here the cultivation of those studies is maintained which prepare the statesman,

the lawyer, the philosopher, the scholar, and the divine, for the active duties of the mental struggle of life. However desirable it may be to make provision for the better government and the wider extension of any corporation of instructors, it is far more essential to improve and extend the instruction which they profess to convey. We shall, consequently, treat of the instruction and the instructors first, and then allude to the government and finance, the collegiate system, and the oaths and tests which encumber, while they encircle, these time-worn institutions.

Studies and Examinations.—The University of Cambridge is no child of yesterday. Kings and queens have been her nurses for more than a thousand years. For two centuries the commemoration of benefactors has been enacted at St. Mary's, and the earliest of these was Sigisbert, King of the East Angles, A.D. 630. It is wisely left to the misty uncertainty of conjecture, whether he founded or restored the rising institution, which was extended by Offa, the contemporary of Charlemagne and Alured, his "most illustrious" successor. The Normans, the Plantagenets, and the Tudors still increased these liberties and privileges, till Queen Elizabeth bestowed the statutes of A.D. 1570. "The University is governed by very ancient laws," says Professor Sedgwick, in his "Discourse on the Study of the University of Cambridge," "and customs called *statuta antiqua*, and by a formal code of statutes, enacted in the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth, which has permanent authority, and cannot be changed by any power vested in the senate—our corporate legislative body. It is not likely, it may be said, that a code of academic laws granted in the 12th of Elizabeth, should be well suited to the times in which we live. This is in part true; and some of its enactments have become obsolete, and are now forgotten. Others, that are more important and fundamental, are still in full force; and by this code, as well as by our *statuta antiqua*, our chief privileges and forms of administration, are legally defined; nor have we any internal power of changing them." These are the oracular sayings of one who has resided in the college of Bacon and Newton, Barrow and Bentley, for fifty years, and has earned an undying reputation as the prince of lecturers on a science which he has rocked in its cradle and fondled into giant power. Since the period when our Stuart princes sent their royal injunctions to the heads and seniors "to bring home that long banished pilgrim, discipline"—[*Ex Registro Literarum Col. Jo. fol. 262, ap. Cam Univ. Trans. Vol. ii.*

p. 337]—the studies and examinations have gone through a cycle of revolutions. Nothing can be more opposite than the injunction of the statutes respecting dialectic and scholastic learning, and the present mathematical, classical, scientific, and theological studies and pursuits. The “*laudator temporis acti*” would write, “*O tempora! O mores!*” upon every wall and over every gateway of these cloistered halls. Since the days of Newton and of Bentley, physical science and classical literature have gradually banished the dusty cobwebs of mediæval logomachy. The student is now required to reside three years and a term before obtaining his first degree. He must pass two examinations, in each of which he must show a creditable proficiency in classics and elementary mathematics, in Holy Scripture and the evidences of Christianity. The studies encouraged are easily ascertained by the examinations which *must*, and those which *may* be passed. The former are ordinary, and exacted from all, as the least possible to confer a degree; the latter are honorary, and confer such distinguished honour, as mark the recipient as a worthy aspirant for the substantial advantages of power and place. In so limited an article as the present, we must confine our attention to a portion of these studies and pursuits, and shall select those most appropriate to a Church of England Review. We must omit all notice of law and medicine, modern history, political economy and classical archæology, although a professor lectures on each of these branches of knowledge, and limit our observations to the mathematical and natural sciences, classical literature, and the moral and theological triposes.

The University of Cambridge requires of every student to be entered at one of its colleges, to be matriculated after making a certain profession of obedience to its officers, but without the slightest religious test whatever; and to pass a previous examination in classics, elementary mathematics, the Old Testament, a gospel in Greek, and one of the treatises of Paley, in the second year of residence. The candidate may then choose whether he will take an ordinary degree or prepare for honours. If satisfied with an ordinary degree, he must obey a grace of the senate of October 31, 1848, by attending one university professor’s lectures during one term at least, and obtain a certificate of having passed an examination satisfactory to him. It is usual to enter upon residence in October, to matriculate in November, and in the third January after that “the questionist” may “go in” for his course of questioning, in the Acts of the Apostles, and one of St. Paul’s epistles in Greek; in a Latin and Greek author pre-

viously fixed upon, but varied every year ; in fixed subjects of elementary mathematics and physics, not varied every year ; and in Paley's moral philosophy. The names of successful candidates are arranged in four classes, and in each class alphabetically ; and all who appear in the first class, may join the honour B.A.'s in winning renown on the classical tripos. The B.A. may still acquire, if he pleases, a distinguished place on the three triposes for which special examinations are provided, viz., the moral, the natural sciences, and the theological tripos. The incipient bachelor may also choose, if he pleases, to contend for a Hebrew, a Greek Testament, and a divinity scholarship ; so that without reading for mathematical honours, the earnest student has now ample incentives to diligence by the examinations provided for him in these important studies. It is unnecessary to describe the course for mathematical honours ; to those who understand the subject it is superfluous, to those who do not it would be tedious and scarcely intelligible. Mathematical honours have been conferred and registered since 1747. Classical honours—open to those who have taken mathematicial—were established in 1824 ; the moral and natural science honours in 1851 ; the voluntary theological examination in 1843 ; and the theological tripos will come into operation at Easter, 1856. We need not dwell upon the well-known scholarships and prizes which have been long established ; but we shall occupy the reader's attention by advocating the principles upon which the late improvements have been made, and by presenting such details as may make them easily understood, by all who take interest in the academic advancement of learning, science, and religion.

The greatest ignorance and prejudice has prevailed among literary and scientific men, who are not members of either of our English Universities, respecting their objects, aims and pursuits. It is often supposed that Cambridge affords no scope for excellence and renown, except in the single pathway of pure mathematics. Such an impression has always been erroneous, and is now contradicted by the facts to which we shall directly allude. It was certainly to be expected that the discoveries of Newton, and the severe discipline of mind which enables a student to comprehend them, would prevail in the venerable home of his contemplative spirit. Wise it must ever be pronounced, to enforce attention to those laws by which the Almighty governs the universe, and to encourage those habits of patient abstraction, by which alone those laws can be fully deciphered ; and all honour be

ascribed to those noble efforts of intellectual conflict which have been successfully made in the present generation by Herschel and Babbage, Airey and Adams. Since the time of Newton only two great discoveries in physical astronomy have been made by Englishmen, and both of them are living Cambridge men: the former is Airey's discovery of the long period of perturbation in the earth's orbit by the action of Venus; the latter is Adams's discovery of the planet Neptune. When Queen Anne visited the University about a century and a half ago, she conferred the honour of knight-hood upon Newton; and when Queen Victoria paid her visit in 1847, she offered the same honour to Adams; while a noble intellectual offering was then presented by Herschel to the Prince Chancellor—being the first copy of his "Astronomical Observations at the Cape of Good Hope."

And while the cultivation of physical science by Whewell, Willis, Lubbock, Challis, De Morgan, Kelland, Cayley, and other living names, has conferred renown upon Cambridge among the universities of the world, classical literature has not been neglected. Those authentic records which convey to us an account of the feelings, sentiments and history of famous men in Greece and Rome, and the early empires of the world, afford to many minds exactly the nutriment which their instincts and capacities require. It is found by experience, that the natural tastes of our growing youth are marked by essential differences: one portion of them intuitively prefer scientific, and another, literary studies. The fondness for science is seldom combined with an equal capacity for acquiring languages. Hence the study of the two classical languages, of history, of ancient poetry, and of the earliest records of our race, kindles within some minds the most delightful emotions, and satisfies their natural craving for knowledge and for wisdom. Such pursuits have been encouraged in various ways at Cambridge. Ripe scholars of the last generation, as Porson, Wrangham, Butler, Kaye, E. V. Blomfield, Dobree and Scholefield; and others, still spared to us, as Maltby, Monk, Waddington, Kennedy, Selwyn and Wordsworth, are worthy of comparison with any that may be selected from the annals of classical learning during the last century. An enemy has written of "the slaves that Oxford and Cambridge thus create," but has added that, "apart from their bigotry and prejudice, many of them display the greatest acuteness, the profoundest erudition, the keenest sense of honour, the warmest benevolence." No slight praise from that envious spirit of detrac-

tion which would destroy everything superior to itself. The cultivation of classical learning has, we are persuaded, done much to discipline our statesmen, and to preserve and purify our national institutions. The men who live only in the present, and are conversant only with its momentary interests and its frivolous novelties, are not the men who govern their fellows. A man's thoughts must be moulded by the past to fit him to rule the present and to anticipate the future. The deep thinkers on the history and characters of humanity as it has been, are the high priests of a nation's destiny; they are the creators of opinion; the true masters and moulders of a nation's social and political development. A captious destructive has proclaimed for once an oracle of wisdom: "What gives the Conservative party such great strength in comparison with their numbers is, that they are far better acquainted than their opponents with the past." And if Cambridge has hitherto contributed her share towards this satisfactory result, the late extension of her classical honours will add to her usefulness and her merit.

On the 21st of March, 1854, the senate determined to establish a classical examination, the honours of which *alone* are to confer the degree of B. A. It was also decreed that a Board of Classical Studies should be permanently appointed, under the presidency of the Regius Professor of Greek; that it should meet at least once annually, and confer upon all matters relating to classical studies and examinations, and prepare reports to be laid before the Vice-Chancellor and published to the University. We heartily approve of the principle of the scheme here announced, while we shall shortly suggest an amendment, for the sake of producing uniformity and preventing embarrassment.

The new examinations for the Bachelors of Arts in the moral and natural sciences will approve themselves at once to the readers of the "Church of England Quarterly Review." They only require to be explained in detail. The study of the mental powers, the reasoning faculties, and the moral sentiments of man, is an ennobling and a captivating branch of knowledge: it had been too long overlooked by the University. The great works of English and foreign moralists, metaphysicians and psychologists, had never formed the material of public teaching and examination. That defect is now removed, and the seal of authority is now affixed to the sentiment—"The proper study of mankind is MAN." MAN, in all his relations to his race, socially and politically; MAN, in his lofty aspirings, his moral sense, his innate faculties, his

undying hopes, and his future destinies, is now a recognized subject for intellectual anatomy and dissection. While the professor of anatomy deals with flesh, and sinew, and muscle, the professor of moral anatomy dissects before his audience "Locke as a moralist," "Dr. Clarke as a moralist," "S. T. Coleridge as a moralist." Not only the philosophers of Greece and Rome, but the dialectics of the middle ages, the science of international law, jurisprudence and social economy, are all systematically enrolled among the established subjects of examination. The sensualism of Locke and the utilitarian expediency of Paley are freely condemned; while the moral sense of Butler, and the divine aphorisms of Coleridge, are treasured as pearls of priceless worth. Four days are given to testing the student's proficiency, while five professors, and one elected examiner, preside over the exercises set and the honours bestowed.

In the wide field of scientific knowledge, those branches which have been long reduced within the scope of exact mathematical calculation, have been justly deemed of the utmost importance for training the faculties, and leading to the comprehension of the laws by which the universe is governed. But of late years the mixed and applied sciences have been brought more prominently into the Cambridge course: Bachelors of Arts may now pass examination in this department of knowledge. Four days are devoted to such examinations every year, and are distributed as follows:—

- 1st day. Comparative Anatomy and Geology.
- 2nd day. Physiology and Botany.
- 3rd day. Chemistry and Mineralogy.
- 4th day. Mixed Questions.

Six professors, and one elected examiner, set the papers and award the honours. A permanent Board of Professors is entrusted with the management of this department, who report from time to time the result of their deliberations. Prizes too are assigned to distinguished proficiency; and it is confidently anticipated by the Royal Commissioners, that the study of the natural sciences will occupy the attention of a large number of the students, as soon as the necessary instruments, apparatus, lecture-rooms, and philosophical specimens can be provided and arranged for habitual use.

The improvements which will probably be most satisfactory to the majority of our readers, are those which relate to theology and the textual study of the Word of God. It has long been the reproach of those seats of learning, to which

our students for the Christian ministry were compelled to resort, that they made the scantiest possible provision for preparation for the sacred office. Some thirty years ago, a foreigner on visiting Cambridge might fairly ask the question, "If these be the future teachers of religion in England, where is the Divinity course provided for them? From all I observe, I should guess they were intended as missonaries of Socrates and Newton, rather than of Christ." No valid answer could be given to so biting a sarcasm. Strange as it may seem, the theology which our fathers went there to learn, was almost the only thing which the University abstained from teaching. The annual average number of B. A. degrees conferred between 1830 and 1850 is over 300. About fifty in every year were distinguished for either mathematical or classical learning: the remainder were left to pick up what they most needed, discipline and guidance, and instruction for holy orders, as best they might. These most precious years of life were thus either wasted or misdirected, or spent in those immoral indulgences which enfeeble the mind and endanger the soul. We hail therefore with the utmost satisfaction the proposed graces of the Senate, which we quote at full length. They are their own witness to an earnest desire to promote the study of the original languages of Scripture, and of those divines of all ages who have illustrated its meaning, and enforced its authority as the revealed Word of the Most High.

On the 6th December, 1854, the Senate confirmed the following Report of the Syndicate or Committee appointed to consider "whether any, and what steps should be taken for improving the examination in Theology."

A.

"That they are of opinion that there should be a Board of Theological Studies, consisting of the Regius Professor of Divinity, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, the Norrisian Professor of Divinity, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, and the Christian Advocate, together with the examiners for the theological examinations of the current and two preceding years: and that it should be the duty of the said board to consult together from time to time on all matters relating to the actual state of theological studies and examinations in the University, meeting for that purpose at least once in every year, and to prepare, whenever it appears to them desirable, and lay before the Vice Chancellor, a report, to be by him published to the University.

"The syndicate, being further of opinion that the institution of a system of classification of the students who pass the theological examination, would tend to encourage accurate and attentive study,

and that the regulations now in force might be altered in other respects also with advantage recommend that the examination should be conducted in future according to the following plan :—

B.

“1. That there should be two examinations in every year, one commencing on the Tuesday preceding the commencement of Easter Term, and the other commencing on the first Tuesday after the 10th day of October.

“2. That each of the said examinations shall be open only to those students who have passed the examinations entitling to admission *ad respondendum quæstioni*, or have passed the examinations and performed the exercises necessary for the degree of Bachelor of Laws or Medicine.

“3. That all students presenting themselves for examination shall be required to produce certificates of having attended the lectures delivered during one term at least by two of the three Professors of Divinity.

“4. That at the Easter examination in every year the names of those students who, having been of the proper standing to be candidates for honours in the moral sciences tripos of that year among the commencing bachelors, pass the examination so as to deserve honours, shall be placed according to merit in three classes, the names in each class being arranged alphabetically; the names of those students who, having been of the proper standing to be candidates for honours in the moral sciences tripos of that year among the middle bachelors, pass the examination so as to deserve honours, shall be placed according to merit in three other classes, the names in each class being arranged alphabetically; and the names of all other students who pass the examination to the satisfaction of the examiners shall be placed alphabetically in one class.

“5. That at the October examination in every year the names of all students, who pass the examination to the satisfaction of the examiners, shall be placed alphabetically in one class.

“6. That all students presenting themselves for examination shall be examined in the following subjects, viz., the historical books of the Old Testament, the New Testament in Greek, the Articles of Religion and the Liturgy of the Church of England, ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries, and the history of the reformation in England: and that no one shall be deemed to have passed the examination, whether a candidate for honours or not, who has not shown a competent knowledge of all the said subjects.

“7. That at the Easter examination in every year the candidates for honours shall be further examined in the Greek Testament, in assigned portions of the early fathers, and of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and assigned works or parts of works of standard theological writers; public notice of the portions of the early fathers, and of the Septuagint version and of the works or parts of works of standard theological writers, assigned for the examination in any year, being given by the board of theological studies in the first week of the Lent Term in the preceding year.

"8. That the order of the subjects and times of examination shall be according to the following schedules:—

Easter and October Examinations.

Days.	Hours.	Subjects.
Tuesday	{ 9 to 12 1 to 4	Historical Books of the Old Testament. Greek Testament.
Wednesday ...	{ 9 to 12 1 to 4	Articles of Religion. Liturgy of Church of England.
Thursday	9 to 12	Ecclesiastical History.

Additional Examination at Easter of Candidates for Honours.

Days.	Hours.	Subjects.
Thursday	1 to 4	Early Fathers.
Friday	{ 9 to 12 1 to 4	Greek Testament and Septuagint. Standard Theological writers.

"9. That immediately after each of the Easter and October examinations an assigned portion of the Hebrew Scriptures shall form the subject of a new examination for such of the students already admitted to examination as shall offer themselves to be examined therein; public notice of the portion of the Hebrew Scriptures assigned for such examination in any year being given by the board of Theological Studies in the first week of the Lent Term in the preceding year.

"10. That marks of distinction shall be affixed in the several classes to the names of those students who pass the examination in the Hebrew Scriptures to the satisfaction of the examiners; and that at the Easter examination the places of those students who are deemed worthy of honours shall be determined by estimating the aggregate merits of each student in all the subjects of examination, including the Hebrew Scriptures.

"11. That the Easter and October examinations in every year shall be conducted by six examiners, two of whom may be appointed by the five official members of the Board of Theological Studies out of their own number, such appointments being signified to the Vice Chancellor before the division of the preceding Michaelmas Term, and if one or both of such appointments be not made in any year an examiner or examiners for that year shall be nominated by the Board of Theological Studies and elected by the Senate; such examiner or examiners, however, not being entitled thereby to sit on the Board of Theological Studies; and the remaining four examiners shall be nominated by the Board of Theological Studies and elected by grace, two such examiners being nominated in every year and proposed singly to the Senate before the division of the said Michaelmas Term, who shall, if elected by the Senate, and also re-elected by the Senate in the following year, hold their office for two years.

"12. That each of the examiners elected by the Senate shall receive 20*l.* from the University chest.

"13. That the examinations according to the new regulations shall be first held in the year 1856; and that four examiners shall be nominated and elected to conduct the examinations for that year, two to hold office for one year only."

Besides honorary distinctions, the more substantial rewards of the Hebrew and Crosse scholarships, the Carus Greek Testament Prize, and the prizes for the Norrisian and Hulsean Divinity essays are open to Bachelors of Arts.

It will be evident that the choice of honours is now so great as to be almost embarrassing, and that a still further revision of the whole honour system is desirable. Even while we write, changes are under discussion by the senate; and we venture to propose a very important one, which would in itself rectify many evils now existing, and give these various honour-examinations their full chance of success.

We strongly recommend that the B. A. degree should be taken in the June of the third year; that every student should be required to pass it; and that the appearance of the questionist's name in the list should entitle him to the registry's certificate of being B. A., without any further formality whatever. The following Michaelmas and Lent terms might then be occupied exclusively with the honour-examinations. Residence should only be required during the period in which they are carried on. The examination in the various faculties, as civil and common law, medicine and theology, might then take place to confer the degrees of B.C.L., L.L.B., M.B., and B.D. In this way the course of proceeding would be simplified: every student would pass two compulsory University examinations, and finish his course at the end of the third year. Uniformity of matriculation in November should be enforced. The intervening long vacation between the B.A. and the honour or professional examinations, would afford time for preparation for that special pursuit to which the graduate chose to devote himself. A wide field of choice would be before him, while the first time of his appearance before the Vice-Chancellor would be on his attaining some honour or passing for some "faculty." The ordinary B.A. would have no occasion to appear personally before any officer except the registry, to sign his name and receive his certificate.

Another obvious duty of the University is that of teaching as well as of examining. During the last few years Cambridge has acknowledged the imperative necessity of bringing into action the full force of its professoriate. The corporate body know nothing officially of college tutors, and even "less than

nothing" of that practice of private tuition which is extensively adopted. "The professors are officers of the University," says Professor Sedgwick, "and their lectures are addressed to our whole collective body." Their duties and their efficiency are of the highest possible moment to the welfare and character of the University, and have consequently obtained no slight share of the attention of the Royal Commissioners. They are twenty-five in number, nine of whom are laymen. Omitting those connected with medicine and law, and commenting only on those departments of knowledge which come more directly under the notice of a Church of England review, they may be arranged as follows:—

Languages, three—Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew.

The Exact Sciences, four, viz.:—one, Pure Mathematics; two, Astronomy; and one, Experimental Philosophy.

The Natural Sciences, three:—Botany, Chemistry, and Geology.

The Moral Sciences, three:—Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, and Modern History.

Theology, three:—The Regius, the Margaret, and the Norrisian.

All these professors lecture during one term at least, and some of them every term in each year, according to a programme annually issued by the Vice-Chancellor, stating the time of lecturing, the days and hours, and subjects treated of. They all examine for certificates of proficiency, as well as for various scholarships, prizes, and essays, which come within the range of their special departments. The Royal Society, in the distribution of its medals, recognizes the following division of the sciences over which it presides, viz.: astronomy, physiology, physics, geology, pure mathematics, and chemistry; and it will be seen by the above statement, that Cambridge has now active lecturing professors in each of these divisions. Permanent boards of various studies are now appointed, on which the professors act officially, and are responsible to the University for the reports and recommendations which they make. Thus the uncertainty and oscillation of a variety of fluctuating committees is removed, and assurance is given for the judgment and deliberation with which alterations in the academical course are suggested. Great as the increase of the lecturing duties of the professoriate has been of late years, there are still some deficiencies to be supplied. In languages, for instance, professors of Latin and Anglo-Saxon are needed. Another professorship of divinity is needed, which might well be created by converting the Hulsean "lectureship" into a working professorship. Powers should be conferred by the

new act to make such changes in duties as the wants of the times absolutely require. The report of the Commissioners states that the Norrisian professorship is inadequately endowed, and its efficiency injured by the restrictive conditions of the deed of foundation. The tiresome compulsion to read "Pearson on the Creed," without note or comment, should be abolished. In May last, a petition from the Senate was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Lyndhurst, embodying a recommendation of the Commissioners that two canonries of Ely should be assigned to theological professors. Lord Aberdeen admitted the proposal to be worthy of attention, and promised that it should not be overlooked. The principle is a good one, but there is no necessity for fixing precisely upon Ely; Norwich and Peterborough are now practically near enough to Cambridge to afford a theological canonry without inconvenience. Almost all the professorships have but very small endowments; the fees from students, and in some of them for the higher degrees, with a small parliamentary grant, make it barely possible for a professor to exist. Some of them are, consequently, held with church preferment or college fellowships. They ought all to be better endowed, and should be sufficiently remunerated to command and retain the first order of talent. Their holders would thus be rendered independent of college offices and duties, and be enabled to give their whole energies to the service of the University. This miserably inadequate endowment has been the cause of an equally inadequate discharge of duties; for at Cambridge, as elsewhere, whatever is paid for with a niggard parsimony, is both worthless and useless. It is not for us to decide from what source this endowment is to be derived; we merely suggest that Government might give up the £3000 per annum which they receive in stamps for degrees; which would allow five professors £600 per annum each, and very materially contribute to the advancement of those studies which have lately been brought into such prominent notice by the Graces of the Senate, which we have already quoted. The colleges, too, might resign the appointment to some of their bye-fellowships, and by allowing the property to be transferred to the University, separate small endowments might be combined. Thus two ends would be answered; the colleges would be relieved from trusts which they feel to be rather troublesome than beneficial, and important branches of knowledge would thus be taught by able lecturers, whose remuneration would justify the University in demanding the whole of their time, talents, and efficiency.

We must refer our readers for details to the evidence gathered up by the Commissioners. They applied for information to every professor respecting the nature of his duties and his mode of discharging them. The replies which they received state every particular, and are replete with suggestions and opinions upon every possible subject of interest connected with the University. Classical and mathematical examiners, public and private tutors of acknowledged celebrity, give the results of their matured experience. This evidence touches upon some of the most interesting problems which can be proposed with reference to the education of young men. The classical examiners give their views of the excellencies and defects of the present system with the utmost freedom. The mathematical examiners enter into the necessity for oral as well as printed questions; they compare the relative value of the geometrical and analytical methods, and discuss most ably the advantages and disadvantages of the practice of private tuition. The general bias of opinion is strongly in favour of responsible University teaching, by professors and lecturers, who shall form classes in all the varieties of study which can possibly be needed; and thus communicate the peculiar knowledge in which the student takes a special delight, instead of compelling him to attend upon college lectures which he cannot understand, or causing him to "cram" for the senate house either mathematics or classics, for which he has no natural aptitude whatever. We strongly recommend the evidence of the tutors, examiners, and professors, to the notice of all who are alive to the educational movements of the day. The fulness and the freeness with which every particular is treated by some of the most distinguished scholars, add the greatest zest to what would otherwise be dry and technical conjecture.

While we hail with satisfaction the additional advantages now afforded to university students, we would by no means imply that the former professors, of either languages, the sciences, or theology, were unworthy of the responsible offices which they held. Who can forget the elegant scholarship and the sound theology of a Kaye; or the ingenious mechanism of a Farish; or the genial humour of the senior wrangler *incomparabilis*, the celebrated Milner? And even in these later days, the mellifluous voice of a modern historian might be heard describing the horrors of the French Revolution, and picturing the state of Europe throughout every crisis, with absorbing emotions. The young statesman and the stripling peer were attracted by the historical research and

the winning delivery of William Smyth; and the visitor to the Fitzwilliam Museum who gazes on the memorial which has been raised to his fame, will recognize his features, and do homage to the reputation which he has earned. Nor must another professor be forgotten. Under the fostering care of the president of Queen's, a "Shrewsbury prodigy" had explored the almost untrodden paths of Arabic and oriental learning. His powers of acquiring and retaining the Hebrew and its cognate languages were unrivalled; and he might be seen hurrying to his lecture-room, the hall of Queen's, with some precious Syrian MS., from the public library, under his arm, about to turn it to account in some animated controversy with De Sacy, or Gesenius, or Wiseman. No scholar of his day surpassed him in the knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, or in the familiar simplicity with which he imparted it to every willing hearer. He loved to break a lance with those, in his opinion, fanciful interpreters of the Hebrew prophets, who predicted the future return of the Jew to Jerusalem, or who saw the Roman pontiffs among the horns and kings of Daniel. Although his pursuits, so conducive to the comprehension of the original text of Scripture, were by no means popular; yet he was not altogether overlooked by those who exercise the patronage of the Church. For one day it was whispered on the drive in the park, that a canonry of Bristol was vacant: an applicant, who reckoned on the favour of King William the Fourth, had authority to call on the Lord Chancellor next morning. "It is promised to merit this time," said the Chancellor: "a famous man at Cambridge, PROFESSOR LEE, must have it." "And have I no merits?" said the candidate. "Why, yes," said the Chancellor; "but rather of a different kind. Something else has fallen in this morning: the king's friend may have that, but the famous professor must have the canonry."

While the Shrewsbury carpenter was lecturing in the college once presided over by the weaver's lad from Leeds, an up-grown blue-coat boy was delivering the first course of Greek lectures which had been delivered by a Regius professor within a century and a-half. "We have now," says Professor Sedgwick, "public lectures on the Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek languages. When I was a young man, the professors of these tongues were all silent." This "silence of centuries" was eloquently broken by the bold and forcible energy of the successor of Porson and of Monk. It was a highly intellectual treat to listen to his masterly construals of Æschylus and Thucydides. His choice moments of en-

joyment were those in which he lashed unsparingly, every editor who tampered with the text, and altered the Greek, because he could not render it into English. Construe he would the most intricate passages with a keenness and precision which won the applause of men who are now bishops, and deans, and dignitaries of the Church. His powers of interpreting the classic page he exercised most beneficially on the text of the New Testament; while, as Greek professor, he took every occasion to illustrate St. Paul and St. John, by the language of classical authors, as a Christian pastor, his discourses were filled with the precious ore of scriptural truth. The earnestness with which he advocated the evangelical doctrines of the Gospel, was attested by the number of gownsmen who crowded the seats provided for them in the chancel of his church; till at length "the iron man" gave way, and the voice which spake so powerfully, from both the professor's chair and St. Mary's pulpit, became silent for ever. Few, however, who have heard him expound the deep treasures of the dialogues of Plato, or the more sacred mysteries of the epistles of St. Paul, can ever forget the accurate scholarship, and the clear explanations of the late PROFESSOR SCHOLEFIELD. We linger with fond remembrance upon such departed worthies, because we believe their residence among the rising youth of England to have been of the utmost advantage, morally and religiously. The constant example of men in earnest for the benefit of others, not self-seeking, but soul-seeking; striving to make known the Gospel in all its purity, and combining with it the respect of the learned and the dignified; is a check to all that is grovelling, and an incentive to whatever is ennobling. Profound scholarship, adorned with the purity of true religion, gives a charm to all that is worth having, and adds a grace to all that is worth doing. The life of such men utters the emphatic language, "Behold, I stand here by the well;" for here they communicate those governing principles which shape and guide our activity in after life, and permeate through innumerable channels for the spiritual welfare of myriads of our fellow-creatures.

Although we purposely avoid entering into financial details, we must briefly notice the question of the expenses incurred by a residence at Cambridge. It has long been a matter of regret, that even the necessary expenses are so great. The Commissioners have asked for and obtained the most copious returns from various authorities connected with the tuition. No trouble has been spared to make every item

intelligible to the most ordinary readers ; the utmost explanation is given ; and instances are recorded of both economy and extravagance. The regulations made to check habits and acts of dissipation are referred to ; and the punishments inflicted, both upon students and tradesmen, are fully set forth. Still, it is much to be lamented, that the expenses absolutely necessary are so great. The most valuable suggestions are made for diminishing them, but yet the futility of any university regulations must be apparent to every thoughtful observer. At the close of this article we shall suggest a plan which we cannot expect will be popular among those who most need its influence ; yet, as the evil is generally acknowledged, and many profess a desire to alleviate it, we trust that our suggestions will meet with a fair share of consideration and success. Plans have succeeded at Durham which are worthy of notice at Cambridge ; and although the number of scholarships and exhibitions tends in some degree to lessen the evil, yet it is absolutely necessary that various fees should be reduced, and that the tuitional and domestic payments should now be vigilantly condensed within the narrowest possible limits.

The *religious aspect* of the University will be deemed worthy of some notice by every reader of a Church of England review. As a very large portion of our future clergy here receive their early training for ministerial life, the tone and temper of the "religion of place," becomes of the utmost importance. We are now able to estimate the practical results of the teaching of one earnest man, who influenced more than any other the religious tone of Cambridge and its *alumni*. It was his singular lot to be born in days of the utmost contempt for the decencies and moralities of life among the upper and middle classes, and of the most lamentable ignorance of the first principles of the way of salvation. All that surrounded him, both at school and at college, was adverse to the fear of God and the faith of Christ. He had to witness scenes, and be engaged in licentiousness, over which the Christian moralist must throw the veil of becoming oblivion. Placed by the statutes of his college at an enormous disadvantage during the tender years of educational pliancy, he became seriously impressed with Divine truth within the walls of that chapel of Henry VII. which will crumble to the dust before the name of this Eton stripling is forgotten. His character was marked with one overpowering trait which never forsook him, and its name in any other man would be immoveable obstinacy. When once appointed the perpetual

curate of Holy Trinity, he determined that the word "perpetual" should be no unmeaning expletive; for there he rooted himself for more than fifty summers, and flourished like the spreading beech which adorns the lawn of his much loved college. While other men taught Newton and Thucydides, Butler and La Place, he lectured on Isaiah and Paul, and Moses and John. For more than half a century he devoted himself, without ceasing, to the religious instruction of both town and gown; and hundreds are now preaching the gospel in various parts of the British empire who first learnt its power and its preciousness from his lips. But he did not achieve his triumphs without ceaseless strife for the mastery. His church was in former times a continual scene of riot and disturbance, through the gross behaviour of the undergraduates, who prided themselves on annoying the preacher and distracting the congregation. All the efforts of the proctors were insufficient to protect the worshippers from insult and injury; but nothing could daunt this fearless disciple of his Heavenly Master. Perseverance at length triumphed—the leaven of his principles spread. His very enemies were ashamed of the treatment he met with. The evangelical doctrines which he taught gradually leavened the putrifying mass of University corruption. The heavenly seed which he flung so grotesquely with the broad cast swing of his arm over the University field, has already yielded fruit, some sixty, some a hundredfold. While Porson, and Wood, and Woodhouse, were winning honours for their Alma Mater, by imitating the career of Bentley, and Cotes, and Maskelyne, the energetic and eccentric Fellow of King's was preparing Timothies for the missionary field, who should do battle with the idolatries and cruelties of heathenism. Who has not wept over the early fate of Henry Martyn? Who has not heard of the successful labours of Thomason and Corrie? And if India is at this moment blessed by men of faithful and zealous piety, it is indebted for many who are departed, and for many who are left, to the missionary ardour of CHARLES SIMEON. To those who wish for more copious details, and who were never privileged to enjoy personal intercourse with him, we commend his "Memoirs," compiled by his friend and successor, Mr. Carus. We refer to it here, for the single purpose of showing how religious improvement was gradually advancing, side by side, with moral and intellectual culture. While Airy and Whewell, Herschel and Sedgwick, were extending the domain of the physical sciences, the biographer of the fellow of King's

was exercising a hallowed influence over the religious character of the ardent under-graduate. No sooner had the funeral knell of St. Mary's tolled its last muffled peal over the companion of Venn, and Wilberforce, and Milner, than the great court of Trinity became the centre of those religious meetings which kept alive the sacred flame of truth by the fresh embers which were supplied every Sunday evening. There the aged veteran in the Christian warfare instructed the young soldiers in the use of their spiritual weapons; there the returned missionary recounted his early endurance and his ultimate success; and there the soul of many a wavering youth received the first stimulus to holy exertion, and the first encouragement in the way of righteousness. And although these days are departed, and those who formerly did good service for God are labouring in other spheres, yet there is a goodly remnant left who are zealous husbandmen in this rich vineyard. We would by no means confine religious feeling to the followers of one or two well-known leaders; we by no means advocate the exclusive shibboleths of jarring parties; we would be foremost in denouncing that sectarian vanity, which supposes that the Almighty has nothing to do in a neighbourhood, but watch over the fortunes of some contracted sect. Still we must contend that the Cambridge lives of Simeon, Milner, and Farish, of Scholefield, Carus, and Perry, were bright examples to the youth around them, and noble incentives to Christian heroism. And what we contend for is this, that their effect is now permanently impressed upon the age which has followed them. The young freshmen come up from the religious homes of England, and bring with them that sense of propriety and decorum which is the outward evidence of early religious education. "The venerable Bishop of Calcutta," says Professor Sedgwick, "spent some time amongst us during his last visit to England. He knew our constitution well; but he sought for information as to the present moral condition of the University, and the practical working of our system. He attended our halls and chapels, not as a spy, but as a friend and fellow-worshipper. He knew what academic habits had been in his youthful days, and he saw what they were now. He left us, after expressing again and again, and in far stronger words than I have used in the preceding sentences, his conviction of the great social and moral benefit of our present training." Mr. Hopkins also, the well-known mathematical private tutor, who has had more opportunities than most men of passing a correct opinion,

states as follows:—"When I look back to the long list of those who, under my own immediate guidance, have taken distinguished degrees, and whom I have known intimately, morally as well as intellectually, I remark, with singular satisfaction, how very few there are comparatively who are not young men of unexceptionable moral character; proving, incontestably, that the intellectual powers elicited and cultivated by our studies, and the habits of life superinduced by an earnest attention to them, are co-existent in an immense majority of instances, with high moral feeling. I am satisfied that no direct moral test could answer its purpose equally well, and for this there is at least one obvious reason—*there can be no hypocrisy in mathematics.*" With similar feelings, a master of St. John's once gave his reasons for not inquiring into the religious tenets of candidates for a fellowship, and not preferring the one most congenial with himself. "A man may deceive me," said he, "by his religious profession, but he can't deceive me in his scholarship." On the whole, the religious state of the University is encouraging. Evangelical religion is in a healthy state; gross immorality is decreasing, and controversial acrimony is almost extinct. There are still the various leanings towards extreme views of either superstition or rationalism, according to the persuasion of individual minds; yet the right of private judgment is universally exercised and sacredly upheld, and the study of Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical history and literature, is encouraged and enforced by the public authority and the private example of the students' responsible advisers.

Before passing on to the second division of our subject, viz., the administrative department, there are some details which may here be introduced, as they illustrate what the University really provides for the mental appetites of her members. The Public Library, the Astronomical Observatory, the Museums of Science and Art, and the Botanic Gardens, all tend to the cultivation of the mind by means of literature, the fine arts, experimental philosophy, and natural history. The Public Library contains three times as many books as it did at the commencement of this century, and 6,000 volumes are in constant circulation, out of the 170,000 which it at present contains. "The Observatory," say the Royal Commissioners, "is a place of appeal among the astronomers of Europe and America. The present Astronomer-Royal may be said to have rehearsed on a small scale, as Plumian professor, the perfect system of astronomical obser-

vation and reduction which is now in operation at Greenwich." The Geological, Mineralogical, Anatomical, and Fitzwilliam Museums, are all valuable aids to the study of the works of the Almighty, as exhibited in the outward world; and are essentially important in cultivating a taste for those experimental sciences which deal with organized nature, and display the power, the beneficence, and the sublime perfection of the handiwork of Deity. As we purposely confine our attention to the educational advantages which are prepared for under-graduates, we are glad to find that the Commissioners report, that the younger members have access to these institutions, not merely to gratify an idle curiosity by looking on while others are at work, but by being permitted to handle the instruments and specimens for themselves, and to hear their uses and construction, their nature and value, described by the respective professors who preside over each department of learning.

The number of students who seek education at Cambridge may be gathered from the following statistical returns. During the last year there were 1896 resident members, of whom 1209 lived in the colleges, and 689 in lodgings. The matriculations in 1853 were 408; in 1854, 429. The B.A. degrees conferred in January in each of the following years:—

	Mathem. Honours.	Ordinary.	Total.
1852	137	165	302
1853	149	146	295
1854	143	168	311
1855	140	170	310

The following table compares the numbers in decimal periods:—

Year.	Total B.A.'s.	Honours Mathematic.	Ordinary.	Gulf.
1801	119	43	69	7
1811	129	43	78	8
1821	212	50	152	10
1831	327	85	233	9
1841	309	106	194	9
1851	337	116	198	23

The numbers for classical honours is as follows:—

1824, 17; 1828, 24; 1835, 32; 1851, 38.

The spirit of improvement has not yet ceased with refer-

ence to the ordinary examinations, for while we write we find the following Graces of the Senate passed in February, 1855 :—

“A Grace passed the Senate imposing additional subjects for the ‘Previous Examination’ on all those students who are candidates for honours in mathematics, classics, and law :—

“‘That the said additional subjects should be the ‘Elements of Euclid’ (Books 4 and 6); the following elementary parts of algebra—viz., addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of simple algebraical quantities, and simple algebraical fractions, the elementary rules of ratio and proportion, easy equations of a degree not higher than the second, involving one or two unknown quantities, and questions producing such equations; and elementary mechanics treated so as not to require a knowledge of trigonometry—viz., the composition and resolution of forces acting in one plane on a point, the mechanical powers, and the properties of the centre of gravity.’

“The same Grace also decrees the subjects for those students not candidates for honours as follows :—

“‘That the subjects of the examination shall be one of the four Gospels in the original Greek, ‘Paley’s Evidences of Christianity,’ one of the Greek and one of the Latin Classics, the ‘Elements of Euclid’ (Books 1, 2, and 3), and arithmetic.’

“Another Grace passed the Senate for diminishing the number of subjects of examination now required of those students who are not candidates for honours, and requiring in the diminished list a more accurate and perfect knowledge. This Grace decides—

“‘That the subjects of examination shall be the Acts of the Apostles in the Original Greek, one of the Greek and one of the Latin Classics, the History of the English Reformation, ‘Euclid’ (Books 1, 2, 3, 4, and Prop. 1—6 of Book 6), together with such parts of algebra, mechanics, and hydrostatics, as are prescribed by the schedule now in force.’”

These continual changes show the importance of the recommendations of the Commissioners, that boards of studies, permanently fixed, should preside over every department, and direct the energies of the examiners to those considerations which may materially assist them in the discharge of their onerous duties. It is by no means necessary that either Parliament, or any authority exterior to the University, should interpose in the regulations, studies and examinations; but it is highly desirable that Parliament should enable the University to increase the number of her professors, add to their emoluments, and systematize their various duties.

In approaching the complicated subjects of government and finance, we find it necessary to discuss Lord Palmerston’s

very ominous phrase, "the alteration of the constitution." Nearly fifty years have elapsed since the noble premier became a candidate for the parliamentary representation of the University; and as he attained the honour in 1826, and retained it for five years, he may be supposed to have some knowledge of that constitution which he proposes to alter. The lapse of time, and the changes which successive centuries introduce, have made some alterations imperatively necessary. The Elizabethan code of statutes may be allowed, by even the most conservative, to be unfitted for these railroad days of "the march of intellect." The principles on which alterations may be advocated, are the abolition of obsolete and restrictive statutes; the substitution of a revised code, sanctioned with the authority of legal enactment; a revision of the powers of the Vice-Chancellor, caput and senate, and the simplification and re-arrangement of all existing "graces," decrees and regulations of the senate; and a complete revisal of all that relates to finance and fees, and oaths and trusts. A revision of the statutes has already been commenced by the university authorities; but they are restricted by Acts of Parliament, and ancient usage, within very narrow limits. The Legislature can here do essential service, by repealing all that is obsolete and obstructive; by removing the obligation of oaths which are constantly violated; and by altering the conditions of trusts which cannot now be carried out. The members of the university have not been insensible of the many evils which arise from the impracticable nature of their Elizabethan code, ancient statutes, royal ordinances, and incongruous regulations and bye-laws. A committee, or syndicate, was appointed March 7th, 1849, to revise the statutes and indicate the particulars of required alterations. They were engaged on this task for two years, and have produced a draft of an amended code, which the Royal Commissioners approve, as giving "increased efficiency and utility to the academical system." Still, such a draft can have no validity till sanctioned by Act of Parliament; and this is precisely the duty which Parliament can safely discharge. We ask of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues not to legislate in details, but to allow the senate to legislate for themselves, and to sanction by law the proposals which are made in the spirit of wise and cautious improvement. The Royal Commissioners have proved that this academic body is fully alive to its best interests and to those of the public; but it requires greater freedom of action in the abolishing of what is obsolete; in the building up of what

is rudimentary; in the omission of many oaths and cumbersome declarations and ceremonies, and in the consolidation and re-appropriation of many trusts of which it is the guardian.

For instance, the duties and functions of the Vice-Chancellor, the caput and the senate, all require revision. The office of Vice-Chancellor is too much burdened with formality and needless etiquette. The real business to be done is very considerable, and quite sufficient to occupy the attention. All routine duties should be as much as possible diminished, and every facility given for discharging the essentially important functions of the office. The caput is too small, and is not composed of the right materials. The *reto* allowed to each member should be discontinued. A real council of responsible advisers of the Vice-Chancellor and heads should be established, numerous enough to inspire confidence in its decisions, and to supersede the variety of syndicates or committees, which really do the business which the caput and senate ought to perform themselves. Notwithstanding the fetters with which mankind are bound down, they will find ways and means of honouring their statutes more by the breach than the observance. The whole course of Cambridge legislation of late years has been that of keeping them to the letter, but breaking them to the sense. In many cases the letter has been extensively promulgated, and yet daily set aside by the guardians of the law themselves. The question then recurs, *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Amend the statutes, we reply; sanction the emendations by law; and when the fetters of three centuries are knocked off, this academic corporation will be relieved from the antiquated clogs of former ages.

The senate itself needs new powers. Its elements may remain as they are; but the division into two houses, and its silent voting, should be altered. It requires a *prolocutor*, like the lower house of Convocation, and some liberty of originating a grace, and of moving an amendment. But we forbear entering into particulars; we are only anxious for principles: more experienced men will devise the best remedy for existing evils, as soon as restrictive statutes are set aside and antiquated customs abolished. The vitality of the University would thus be increased; the formalities which impede the action of its officers of discipline would vanish; and all this elasticity of movement might be effected with the most conservative tendency, without occasioning any functional disturbance of the studies and duties of the place.

The whole finance and trusteeship of the University require revision. The fees received and the stipends paid; everything which is paid into, and paid out of the common chest; all the incomes of its several officers,—need careful amendment. Powers should be given to the University to propose such improvements to a fixed body of Parliamentary or Royal Commissioners, whose sanction should be obtained to ratify the senate's decrees; and when that sanction has been given, it should have the full force of law for at least ten years. Vested rights should be religiously guarded; but the Commissioners should have full powers to sanction and amend every proposal involving funded and landed property, fees, trusts, payments and stipends, after every proposed change had passed the ordeal of the vice-chancellor, the caput and the senate. Measures such as these are urgently required by the transition state through which the studies and examinations are passing, and through the partial revival of the professors' office. If the University is to proceed in this course of improvement, the professors must be better remunerated; their numbers increased; residence enforced; suitable lecture-rooms provided; and men of high attainments induced to retain their offices, and devote their energies exclusively to teaching the language, or science, or subject for which they are responsible to the University. Adequate provision should be made by liberal endowments; so that science may become a definite career, and every professor be enabled to forego all other occupations, which may draw off his attention from his responsible duties.

These schemes are not altogether Utopian—the current of public opinion sets in strongly in this direction. There are many indeed who desire to destroy our Universities, and others who are afraid to touch a single specimen of rottenness, lest they should fall to pieces by themselves; but we take our stand as Conservative Reformers. We know from experience, that many changes for the better have taken place during our own recollection, and we would only invoke the aid of the State to help the University to do what she is prevented from doing without it.

The Collegiate System.—We have now to enter upon a very distinct and important branch of an English university system. At Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, every student must be entered at a college under the eye of a public tutor. He cannot reside where he pleases, and attend on what professor's courses he pleases, as in Scotland and in Germany. He belongs to a college before he can be noticed by the

University. Still, the aggregate of colleges does not compose the University. That is a separate lay corporation, the members of which are also members of other smaller collegiate corporations. The college is a visible tangible object; the University is composed of the same persons who either dwell, or have dwelt, within these cloistered walls, and who meet in other buildings for other purposes. This distinction expresses the complicated relations existing between the same persons when acting in different capacities. The first college was established by King Edward I. Before that time the students lived how and where they could, and were not gathered together at common halls and services, within separate domiciles. But since that time the colleges have been gradually absorbing the whole University. The student's career, then, is as follows :—He must first belong to a college; the University knows nothing of him till he matriculates; he must still work for the college under the guidance of his tutor. The University examines him twice, and if he obtains high honours the second time, his college rewards him with a fellowship, or else he goes forth to seek his fortune, amid the clashing interests and the jarring struggles of professional life. If he becomes a fellow of his college, he is again in request for university duties, and may fall in for a share of those offices and emoluments which the University bestows, while he retains his college fellowship. Except the student has been fortunate enough to secure some of those scholarships and prizes which private individuals have placed at the disposal of the University, that chartered body gives him simply *vox, et preterea nihil*. He is made to feel the truth of the couplet of Burns—

“The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for all that.”

This rank, however, he takes with him into the walks of professional life, and find it his *præsidium et dulce decus*. So numerous are the competitors for fellowships, that it is impossible for the colleges to reward them all, and especially so when they are fettered by many restrictions which they have no power to set aside. We must refer to the Royal Commissioner's report for an account of these restrictive fellowships, and for a detailed *exposé* of the evils they perpetuate, and of their unsuitability to the wants of these active times. This important subject is referred to by Lord Palmerston in his letter, paragraphs No. 3 and 4. The colleges have at present no legal powers to carry these recommendations into effect; they look to Parliament to enable them to

do so. Paragraph No. 5 hints at their surrendering some of their restricted trusts to the University, to be consolidated and applied to the endowment of professorships. The object is most laudable; the relief to the colleges would be great, and by the combination of small endowments, sufficient stipends might be provided for the maintenance of two or three professors of superior scientific eminence. "For this purpose," says Lord Palmerston, "provision must be made for the careful adjustment of existing statutes, and for the abolition and modification of certain oaths which are now periodically administered in some of the colleges." He condescendingly asks the Prince Chancellor to inform him what aid is desired "from Parliament in the form of prohibitions, of enabling powers, or of new enactments." This intricate and delicate subject requires the most cautious handling. Some powers are clearly needed to place the University once and for ever at the head of the literary, theological, and scientific improvement of the day. We purposely avoid details; we simply indicate the direction which changes in the election to fellowships must assuredly take, and submit the proposals of the Royal Commissioners to the earnest consideration of every intelligent churchman.

One restriction on fellowships is worthy of immediate notice—the penalty of forfeiture unless holy orders be taken within a limited period. If this were removed, the tenure of a fellowship might be limited to a dozen or twenty years. But a graver innovation than any yet proposed, is that contemplated in Lord Palmerston's second paragraph. The expenses of a university education are too great. The Royal Commissioners have collected a mass of information on this point, most interesting in all its details. They have given lists of the actual sums spent by numerous students of different colleges during their whole undergraduate course. From these lists it appears that at least from £300 to £400 is required for the bare necessities of the undergraduate residence. It is supposed that affiliated halls, under the superintendence of M.A.'s., and the licence of the Vice-Chancellor, might be opened with good effect in many ways. The competition, at least, would bring down expenses to their real level, and the necessity for lodging in the town would be avoided. Affiliated halls, in connection with the present colleges and private halls, set up at the private enterprise of Masters of Arts, seem to afford the means of training a larger number of students, and of diminishing the expenses, which are at present greater than they need be. The new

bill may very properly permit such "startling novelties," and leave their actual existence to the public spirit of individual effort. Such measures are not likely to be popular with resident tutors and college officers; but if judiciously carried out, they would diffuse the advantages of a University education among a larger number of recipients, and decrease the outlay requisite for attaining the B.A. degree. They would afford greater advantages than St. Bees' or St. Aidan's, or any other self-styled college, where nothing but divinity is taught, to men otherwise ignorant and superficial.

Such halls would allow of other adaptations of our modern domestic system to an academical career. For instance, when once power has been obtained to provide shorter and special services for divine worship, suitable forms might be authorized for collegiate purposes. The present chapel services are too monotonous; we want something more domestic and adapted to the religious instruction of young men when joining in common prayer and praise. We look to those in authority to prepare such services, and to the sanction of Parliament to give them permissive force. Without altering one word of the prayers themselves, selections from the prayers, the psalms, and the lessons might be made, and thus a sufficient variety might be produced to attract the attention of the youthful student, and lead him to feel that the attendance at his college chapel was a real worship of his Almighty Creator and Redeemer. The rigid stiffness of the act of uniformity might be relaxed, and liberty, within definite limits, given to the heads of colleges and of private halls, to use the newly-arranged services according to their discretion. We are strongly of opinion that this would be one of the best human means of promoting true religion and devotional feelings; it violates no principle or doctrine of our beloved church; it favours no party, and it encourages no extravagance; but as attendance is exacted from all students *daily*, it affords that needful variety, without which the young find religious services wearisome, and are in after life led to desert them through a painful remembrance of the constrained hypocrisy of their youth.

Two other topics of great interest deserve a passing notice, viz., the educational position of King's College, and the question of a test for the B.A. degree. King's College is the most splendid mausoleum of learning in the world. The design of the illustrious founder, King Henry VI., was most noble, but the practical working of his statutes has been most prejudicial. It is well known that it is closely

connected with Eton College, and that with ample revenues and a beautiful site, its scholars are usually about a dozen. A composition, too, exists between this College and the University, which is injurious to its students, although the college has relaxed its strictness and permits the University to confer degrees upon its inmates. The statutes of this college require complete revision. The spirit of the founder's intention would be preserved by opening it to all pupils of Eton College as pensioners, and letting the scholars and fellows be elected after the manner of its royal neighbour, Trinity. An Act of Parliament is required for this purpose; neither the College nor the University have the slightest power to deviate from their present practice. The present members feel themselves bound by their oaths to resist all change; the sanctity of an oath ought to be respected, but the taking of such oaths by the future members of the college ought to be rendered illegal. We disavow the slightest personal charge against either the present or the past members of the college, but we lament over the injurious results which have arisen for four centuries through the misplaced restrictions which are yet in force. King's College would have done its duty to the State as well as Eton if it had not been restrained. Four out of the last six prime ministers of England have been Eton men; while King's can boast of the mild virtues and the sound scholarship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Bishops of Lichfield and Colombo, as well as of the able diplomacy of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

The Royal Commissioners touch with great delicacy and judgment on the difficult question of the religious test for the B.A. and other degrees. At present, the student signs the following declaration before admission to the first degree in law, arts, medicine and music :—

“ I, A.B., do declare that I am *bond fide* a member of the Church of England, as by law established.”

He also takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before the Vice Chancellor.

We have already expressed our opinion that the B.A. degree should be given by public examination at the end of the third year or ninth term; and we find that a majority of the tutors and professors who have given their evidence agree in this opinion. All students should be compelled to pass this examination; and the appearance of their names in the lists should of itself entitle them to place these two

useful letters of the alphabet after their names. There is no necessity for appearance before the University, no need for any declaration or oath before a magistrate. If the Bachelor chooses to seek honours in any tripos, either classical, mathematical, law, medicine, moral philosophy, theology, let him do so. Let all men obtain every possible honour which the most rigid examination can confer. Scholarships, prizes, fellowships, and university officers should be restricted to members of the Church of England: when the successful candidate obtains these substantial rewards, then let him sign the test of membership. At present, men of all religions have been students at our colleges; some have taken high honours, but have been precluded from the B.A. degree. A Roman Catholic went through all the exercises prescribed by his college for his degree, attended regularly at chapel, but left for Rome where he died a cardinal. A Jew has been second wrangler; and a Quaker carried off one of the most honourable prizes. All this is possible with us now. Many members of Romanist families comply with all that is required of them; many who quietly dissent from our church still obtain university honours, because there is no restriction of any kind till after the honour-examination is over. This is an anomaly of which many avail themselves, who wish to measure their strength intellectually with the giants of their own days, but care nothing about the emoluments from which they are debarred by their conscientious scruples. Connected as our Universities are, and must ever be, with our National Church, there is no fear of any extensive evil if the hints of the Commissioners are discreetly acted upon. And after the singular ease with which the test for B.A. at Oxford was abolished by both Houses of Parliament, it is hopeless to expect that the Cambridge declaration will stand its ground. Let the earnest members of the University prepare to defend the real bulwarks of orthodoxy among their younger members; let them strive to make religious worship more a reality and less a formality; let them teach theology as an essential part of a student's course; let them place the doctrines of the Church before them in an earnest, spiritual, and attractive form, and we have no fear of her retaining her present pre-eminence. The past worldliness of Cambridge churchmen has had for centuries a most injurious effect upon the youthful mind; it has shocked their moral feelings, and led them to look upon their seniors as enjoying honours and emoluments without the slightest sense of the responsibility attaching to them.

On the whole, then, we look forward with hope to a great improvement in the discipline and the government of the University of Cambridge. We are by no means afraid that the anticipated changes will injure her usefulness as a nursing mother to the Church of England. The Church must rely at Cambridge as well as elsewhere upon the earnestness and activity of her devoted members. The days of "shams and shadows" have passed away. No stringent oaths or antiquated statutes will preserve men's respect for any institution when they are constantly called upon to break the very laws upon which their privileges are founded. Knowing as we do from practical experience the evils necessarily connected with a university residence, we are rather surprised that so much improvement has taken place, instead of wondering that more has not been effected. The reminiscences of the late Mr. Gunning have displayed a state of manners and conduct at the close of the last century which it is most lamentable to look back upon. All morality, all decency, was scoffingly outraged, and the very heads, and tutors, and officers themselves set the example of indulgence in all licentiousness and profaneness. Learning seemed to be regarded as one of the means of obtaining worldly distinction, and of qualifying the possessor for scrambling for worldly pelf and sensual indulgence. The highest university offices were coveted for personal gratification and emolument, without the slightest thought of the duties which they involved, and the religious character with which they were invested. Real religion seemed all but forgotten; the doctrines of Scripture and the theology of the Church were never taught, every student picked up for himself, by occasional scraps, that professional knowledge which it was of the utmost importance he should acquire. The perusal of Mr. Gunning's book suggests many valuable lessons. It opens a page in human life which ought never to be closed again: it shows how men, who boasted in orthodoxy and hated enthusiasm, desecrated their offices and threw obstacles in the way of the religious reformers around them. Violating every day of their lives their own statutes,—neglecting duties which they had undertaken to discharge—seeking worldly honour or professional advancement at the expense of every principle of morality and religion—these "pillars of the Church of their day" frowned upon the conscientious student who loved his Bible and wished to discover the teaching of his Church. Yet marvellously and almost miraculously, truth, and religion, and earnest orthodoxy have survived and flourished; and it may be safely asserted that

Cambridge was never in a more healthy and hopeful condition, morally and religiously. Without desiring to encourage party spirit, we rejoice in the improved attention given to religious learning, to Holy Scripture, and to the study of divinity and the practice of personal religion. We feel confident that much that is "lovely and of good report" is spreading in every direction; the spirit of the gospel is there, although it may not be clothed in the garb and phrase of the Simeons and the Farishes, the Milners and the Dealtrys of former days.

The opening of the B.A. degree to those who are not members of our Church may be forced upon us by Parliament. Let us meet the change in no uncharitable spirit. Let us remove all outward shows and unmeaning ceremonies, and cultivate realites. Let us help on the new improvements which have already been glanced at in this article. Let our professors be no longer starved into silence; let endowments be found for them worthy of their high character and commanding position. Let all the works and words of the Almighty be the theme of continued discourse, whether graven on the rocks beneath us, or enamelled in the heavens above us, or uttered by the voices of prophets and apostles, and by the lips of Him who spake as never man spake. Thus and thus only will the prejudices of bigotry and dissent give way; the spirit of fault-finding will die out for want of food to nourish it, and the Church of our martyrs and reformers will perpetuate and extend the blessed truths of salvation through that mental, moral, and spiritual training, which will give increased stability and worth to the UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

- ART. III.—1. *A History of British Butterflies*. By the Rev. F. O. MORRIS, B. A., &c. London: Groombridge and Sons 1853.
2. *The Butterflies of Great Britain, and their Transformations*. By J. O. WESTWOOD, F. L. S., &c. Second Edition. London: Orr and Co. 1854.
3. *The Naturalist's Library. Entomology—British Butterflies*. By JAMES DUNCAN, M. W. S., &c. Edinburgh: Lizars.
4. *Beautiful Butterflies; the British Species described and illustrated: with an Introductory Chapter, containing the History of a Butterfly through all its various Changes and Transformations*. By H. G. ADAMS. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1854.

SURELY a light subject is this, whereon we have chosen to contribute an article to the pages of a "grave and reverend" quarterly. Truly it is so—light, but not trivial. Yonder flutterer in the sunshine, with its silken wings all bespangled with gold, which dazzles our eyes for a moment, and then disappears for ever—what is it but a glorious manifestation of Divine wisdom and superhuman skill? It is a piece of wonderful mechanism, as full of nice adaptations and curious structural contrivances as this complicated frame of ours, and more astonishing because so much more minute. And then the beauty of the outward semblance! Verily, if man were clothed like a butterfly—naturally clothed we mean—we should set but small store by silks and satins and three-piled velvets; little should we care for the fine-spun wool of Cashmere, for Tyrian or any other dye; the plumes of the desert bird we should not covet; nor would gold and glittering gems, for purposes of personal adornment at least, be precious in our sight. We wonder not that the lively and imaginative Greeks should compare this beautiful fly to the human soul; they, as our readers know, employed the same word, *Psyche*, to signify both the insect and the immortal spirit; and when they would depict a frail child of mortality yielding up the vital principle, and turning again to common clay, they made this plain to the senses by the figure of a butterfly just issuing from the parted lips and winging its flight upward—but *whither*? Shall Plato tell us? Shall Stoic or Epicurean, or any philosopher of the Temple, or the Porch, or the Garden declare the truth? Nay. Light had they, but not

the true light ; great in logic, great in rhetoric ; with intellectual powers of the highest, and moral perceptions often of the purest and holiest ; yet, were they like men " walking in a vain shadow, and disquieting themselves in vain." The humblest follower of Jesus, who has sat at the foot of the cross, and listened with believing ears to the wondrous story of the Fall, and the Sacrifice, and the Redemption from sin and death, knows more about life and immortality than " Plato the divine," with that calm, grand mind of his ; than Aristotle, with all his subtlety ; than Epicurus, with his brilliant genius ; than, in short, any one or all of that constellation of wits, poets, and philosophers, in whose sayings and writings we are glad to possess that great intellectual treasury called " the wisdom of the ancients." We know not who among them all originated the beautiful and appropriate piece of symbolism which has given occasion to these remarks, but certain it is, that he seemed to have some glimmering of divine truth. There was the idea of two separate, distinct, and perfectly dissimilar states of existence ; the caterpillar or *larva* state, and the butterfly or *imago* state, with a period between them of darkness and inaction closely resembling death ; this is the chrysalis or *pupa* state, when the insect lies wrapped in the cerements of the grave, awaiting as it were the summons which shall call it forth, renewed and glorified, to sport in the sunshine and breathe ambrosial air. But let Rogers speak for us here, and tell how a Christian poet can improve upon a Pagan symbol.

" Child of the sun ! pursue thy rapturous flight,
Mingling with her thou lov'st in fields of light ;
And where the flowers of paradise unfold,
Quaff fragrant nectar from their cups of gold ;
There shall thy wings, rich as an evening sky,
Expand and shut with silent ecstasy.
Yet wert thou once a worm—a thing that crept
On the base earth, then wrought a tomb and slept !
And such is man ; soon from his cell of clay
To burst a seraph in the blaze of day."

Coleridge, the pre-eminently metaphysical, or, we should rather say, in accordance with our subject, psychological poet, calls our attention more especially to the crawling earthly stage alike of butterfly and human life :—

" The butterfly, the ancient Grecians made
The soul's fair emblem, and its only name ;
But of the soul, escaped the slavish trade

Of mortal life !—For in this earthly frame
Ours is the reptile's lot, much toil, much blame,
Manifold motions making little speed,
And to deform and kill the things whereon we feed."

And what a marvellous thing is this wriggling worm, called a caterpillar ! hairy or smooth, green or brown, or nearly black ; striped, spotted, or finely variegated ; it is altogether a wonderful creature, although few probably think it so : familiarity in this case, indeed, "breeds contempt," if not worse. For ourselves, we delight to look upon it. How it passes over the rough surface of the earth, or up the rugged wall, or bole of a tree, with a beautiful undulating motion, and spins a web of the finest silk for tent or shroud, as the case may be. And how it eats ! Ah, the gardener knows all about that ; and if he be read in the Scriptures, he calls to mind the saying of the prophet Joel, that even that which is left by the palmer-worm, and the locust, and the canker-worm, is eaten by the caterpillar, whose Hebrew name is *consumer*, and whose common name has also reference to its voracious habits, being derived from the two old French words, *acat*, food or provision, and *piller*, to rob or plunder. But what say Messrs. Kirby and Spence upon the subject of its transformations ?

"That butterfly which amuses you with its aërial excursions, one while extracting nectar from the tube of the honeysuckle, and then, the very image of fickleness, flying to a rose, as if to contrast its wings with the hue of a flower on which it reposes—did not come into the world as you now behold it. At its first exclusion from the egg, and for some months of its existence afterwards, it was a worm-like caterpillar, crawling upon sixteen short legs, greedily devouring leaves with two jaws, and seeing by means of twelve eyes, so minute as to be nearly imperceptible without the aid of a microscope. You now see it furnished with wings, capable of rapid and extensive flights ; of its sixteen feet, ten have disappeared, and the remaining six are in most respects wholly unlike those to which they have succeeded ; its jaws have vanished, and are replaced by a curled-up proboscis, suited only for sipping liquid sweets ; the form of its head is entirely changed ; two long horns project from its upper surface ; and, instead of twelve invisible eyes, you behold two, very large, and composed of at least twenty thousand convex lenses, each supposed to be a distinct and effective eye.

"Were you to push your examination further, and by dissection to compare the internal conformations of the caterpillar with that of the butterfly, you would witness changes even more extraordinary. In the former you will find some thousands of muscles, which in the latter are replaced by others of a form and structure entirely different. Nearly the whole body of the caterpillar is occupied by a

capacious stomach ; in the butterfly this has become changed into an almost imperceptible thread-like viscus, and the abdomen is now filled with two large packets of eggs, or other organs not visible in the first state. In the former, two spirally-convoluted tubes (twisted or rolled like the rings of a corkscrew) were filled with a silky quiver ; in the latter, both tubes and silk have almost totally vanished, and changes equally great have taken place in the covering and structure of the nerves and other organs. What a surprising transformation ! Nor was this all. The change from one form to another was not direct : an intermediate state not less singular intervened. After casting its skin, even to the very jaws, several times, and attaining its full growth, the caterpillar attached itself to a leaf by a silken girth ; its body greatly contracted ; its skin once more split asunder, and disclosed an oviform mass, without exterior mouth, eyes or limbs, and exhibiting no other symptoms of life than a slight motion when touched. In this state of death-like torpor, and without tasting food, the insect existed for several months, until at length the tomb burst, and out of a case not more than an inch long, and a quarter of an inch in diameter, proceeded the butterfly before you, which covers a surface of nearly four square inches."

This is indeed a strange story of a life, and that too of a little crawling and fluttering insect ; one of myriads and myriads that spring into existence every year, enjoy their brief span, and perish, and have no doubt done so ever since God first created "cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind."

Countless numbers of these gay flutterers in the sunshine, each of them so curiously fashioned, so finely organized, so beautifully ornamented, and having undergone all the changes of structure and habit here described, pass before our eyes in the course of a single season : we see them hovering about, or settling upon the expanded blossom, or passing with that peculiarly wavering and erratic flight of theirs through the air : we admire their light and graceful motions, their elegant shapes, their delicate markings, and brilliant colours ; but we seldom care to enquire into their history, to examine them attentively, and mark their periodical goings and comings, and the every day economy of their brief, and apparently idle, yet really busy existence. They are objects of momentary pleasure with us, and, generally speaking, nothing more. But a perusal of such books as these before us will surely create an interest in these loveliest of all the insect tribes ; give us more just and expanded ideas of the important place they occupy in the scale of animated nature, and impress us deeply with a sense of the power and beneficence of Him

“ Who made the gilded fly to sport upon the summer breeze,
And piled the mountains high, and scooped the hollows for the
seas.”

Of the Lepidopterous, or scaly winged order, (from λεπίς and πτερόν) the species are very numerous ; it forms the primary division of the insect class, and takes its name from certain characters presented by the wings ; this is in accordance with the Linnæan mode of arrangement ; thus we have Apterous, Dipterous, and so forth. These Lepidoptera, then, have the membrane of which the wing is composed covered more or less thickly with minute imbricated scales, which are usually of an oval or elongated form, and truncated at the tip, and they are also occasionally toothed like a comb. There is, however, a great variety in the shape of these scales, some being linear, some conical, and others triangular : examined through a microscope, they exhibit the greatest symmetry and regularity of form ; they appear to be fixed to the membrane by means of a slender pedicle, and to be arranged usually in transverse rows overlapping each other like the tiles of a house. To the naked eye, these scales appear like mealy powder, or dust which we can rub off with our fingers, yet in them resides the whole of the colouring matter ; and their disposal, as in a kind of natural mosaic, produces those gorgeous patterns which we so much admire in the butterfly's wing. Such is the work of a divine artist ; the more closely it is examined, the more do we see in it to wonder at and admire. The naturalist Leeuwenhoek counted, we are told,

“ Upwards of 400,000 scales on the wings of the silk moth, an insect not above one fourth of the size of some of our native butterflies. But how much inferior must this number be to that necessary to form a covering for some foreign butterflies, the wings of which expand upwards of half a foot ; or certain species of moths, some of which (such as the Atlas Moth of the East, or the great Owl Moth of Brazil) sometimes measures nearly a foot across the wings ! A modern mosaic picture may contain 870 tesserae, or separate pieces, in one square inch of surface ; but the same extent of a butterfly's wing sometimes consists of no fewer than 100,736 ! ”*

Here is indeed food for reflection ! but where, throughout the wide domains of nature, shall we go and not meet with proofs equally plain and convincing of creative skill and wisdom, far above that of angels or archangels, let alone that of frail man, who being imperfect himself, cannot in his works

* Naturalist's Library, p. 57.

reach perfection? Everywhere, if we do but walk with our eyes open, like the poet Cowper,

“ In the vast and the minute we see
The unambiguous footsteps of the God
Who gives its lustre to the insect's wing,
And wheels his throne upon the rolling worlds.”

It is not our purpose here to enter at all fully into a description of the structural wonders of a butterfly; the entomological student will find these well described and depicted in the volume from which we have just quoted, and also in that which occupies the last place on our list of works, and which is more especially adapted for juvenile readers, being written in a simple and easy style, and having all the scientific terms which it is necessary to use, clearly explained by a reference to the roots from which they are derived.

Our attention was called more especially to the wings of the insect, from their connection with the name given to the whole class, in which butterflies—or as our Saxon forefathers called them *butter fleoze*, because they were most plentiful in the butter season—as well as moths are included. With these latter, called, from their night-flying habits, Nocturnal Lepidoptera, we have at present nothing to do; neither have we with the hawk moths, or Crepuscular Lepidoptera—those which principally fly in the twilight. It is the Diurnal Lepidoptera that now especially engage our attention. Of these, between 2000 and 3000 species have been described; very many more no doubt as yet remain undiscovered. Linnæus classed them under the generic name *Papilio*. According to Westwood,

“ They are distinguished from all other insects of the same order, not only in having the antennæ long and slender, and terminated in a larger or smaller club, which in the terminal family is hooked at the tip, but also by the want of a bristle at the base of the anterior margin of the hind wings beneath, which, passing through a loop on the under sides of the fore wings of the moths, retains them in their proper place during flight. The wings also when at rest are mostly carried erect over the back, their upper surfaces being brought into contact. The flight of these insects is diurnal. Their caterpillars are constantly furnished with sixteen feet (six thoracic, eight ventral, and two anal). Their chrysalides are almost always naked, attached by the tail, and often by a girth round the middle of the body; they are often angular in their forms, and are scarcely ever enclosed in a cocoon.”*

Of the Lepidoptera altogether there are little short of 2000 species in this country alone, notwithstanding its vari-

* Butterflies of Great Britain, p. 1.

able and humid climate, little suited, one would imagine, to the welfare of creatures formed above all others for calm and sunshine. But of butterflies properly so called, we have not more than seventy-five species. Mr. Morris, in his very beautiful volume, gives us representations—so life-like that we almost expect to see them rise from the paper and flit away,—of seventy-one. Mr. Westwood tells us that,

“ The British Diurnal Lepidoptera are divisible into the five following families :—1. Papilionidæ (including two sub-families, Papilionides and Parides). 2. Nymphalidæ (including the Heppierchiides, or the Satyrides of Boisduval, or Thysanuomorpha of Horsfield, and some other minor tribes separated by Boisduval.) 3. Erycinidæ. 4. Lycænidæ. 5. Hesperidæ. The last family differs from all others in the habit of the caterpillars rolling up leaves, within which they undergo their transformations.”

Of the last family there is but one British representative, which our author considers as rather “an aberrant species.”

It is much to be regretted, that when the discoveries of modern science rendered it necessary to alter and expand the old systems of classification, there should have been so little agreement among naturalists as to the names and characteristics of the new divisions and sub-divisions which they were called upon to form. The consequence of this want of agreement is a sadly perplexing list of synonyms, which has to be placed under the name of each species, to enable the student to follow it through the mazes of scientific arrangement, sometimes running in parallel lines, or concentric rings, and sometimes diverging “wide as the poles asunder.” Let us, for instance, take up a single species, as it stands in Mr. Morris’s magnificent volume; it shall be the first we come to—the noble Swallow-tail, our largest native fly. Linnæus, Donovan, Harris, Curtis, Westwood, and Duncan, call it *Papilio machaon*: here is something like agreement. But then we find that De Geer terms it *Papilio regina*; Hubner, *Jasonides machaon*; and Dalman, *Amaryssus machaon*. Now these are all recognized authorities; and although there is usually one, or at most two or three names by which an insect is commonly distinguished, yet it is, as we said before, perplexing to the learner to find so many aliases attached thereto; and it puzzles him exceedingly to find out the reason, for he is bound to believe that scientific men do not apply Greek and Latin names to their discoveries without some, to them, sufficiently obvious reason. All this renders butterfly hunting, to the tyro in natural history, as difficult and toilsome as it is sometimes to the schoolboy,

when with flushed face and torn apparel he scrambles through hedge and thicket after some fair "Cynthia of a minute," which has attracted his gaze and desire for possession. We cannot forbear quoting here the picture of the young butterfly hunter, as given by Shakspeare in "Coriolanus," where says Valeria to the boy's fond mother—

"I saw him run after a gilded butterfly; and when he caught it, he let it go again; and after it again, and over and over he comes, and up again; caught it again: or whether his fall enraged him, or how 'twas, he did so set his teeth, and tear it: O! I warrant how he mammoth'd it!"

Mr. Adam's quotes this passage in his graceful little volume, and also those beautiful lines of Byron's, beginning—

"When rising on its purple wing
The insect queen of Eastern spring,
O'er emerald meadows of Cashmere
Invites the young pursuer near,
And leads him on, from flower to flower,
A weary chase and wasted hour;
Then leaves him, as it soars on high
With panting heart and tearful eye."

The concluding lines, wherein the poet makes the moral application of the simile to the full-grown child called man, must be sufficiently familiar to our readers; we, therefore, need not quote them; but the following observations by the above-named author should be taken to heart by all adult butterfly catchers:—

"We have heard of an enthusiastic entomologist who followed a butterfly nine miles in the hope of catching it; and this must be set down to the account of ardour in scientific investigation. Not all grown butterfly hunters, however, would we hold so excused; many, very many, more unfortunate insects are swept down with the net, and pinned out in the collecting case, than are required for the purposes of science; and this wholesale destruction of insect life, we think scarcely compatible with that abhorrence of cruelty, and reverence for the works of the great Creator, which is enjoined by Him:

'Who formed the gilded fly, and on its wing
A picture, decked in rainbow colours, drew,
To sport amid the sunshine of the spring,
And taste of pleasures ever fresh and new.'

This little book would tempt us to further quotation, for it has many charming passages from the poets in reference to butterflies; and a long chapter on the structure of the insects in their various stages of transformation, nicely illustrated

with cuts ; it has also at the end a tabular list of all the British species, with their most common scientific names, times of appearance, and places of resort. Let us further say, that we may not have occasion to allude to it again, that the coloured illustrations, of which there are eight sheets, containing twenty-two species, are most life-like and beautiful, and that it forms a volume, the second, we believe, of a series, called "The Young Naturalist's Library;" designed and written in the reverential spirit indicated by these lines from Cowper, with which the present volume concludes :—

"How sweet to muse upon His skill displayed,
(Infinite skill!) in all that He has made ;
'To trace in Nature's most minute design,
The signature and stamp of Power Divine ;
Contrivance exquisite expressed with ease,
Where unassisted sight no beauty sees ;
The shapely limb and lubricated joint,
Within the small dimensions of a point ;
Muscle and nerve miraculously spun ;
His mighty work who speaks and it is done :
The invisible in things scarce seen revealed,
To whom an atom is an ample field."

We will now enter into a brief account of the various family groups of British butterflies, and speak as fully as our space will permit of their leading members. We take them as they stand arranged in "The Naturalist's Library," that being the most convenient for our purpose. In this volume, too, we would mention, there is an introductory chapter on structure, &c., with illustrative plates ; it is more full and scientific than that written for juvenile students of nature ; but at the same time is quite plain enough to be understood by any reader of common education and intelligence. It is one of a series of forty volumes, edited by various hands, each of which contains a memoir of some eminent naturalist ; and forms a valuable manual of information in the various branches of natural history of which it treats. The portrait and memoir here given are those of Werner, the great mineralogist ; the illustrations are numerous and remarkably true to nature, as far as regards the drawing ; of the colouring we cannot say so much ; it is weak and ineffective ; compared with that of the specimens given in Mr. Morris's volume, it is

"As moonlight unto sunlight,
And as water unto wine."

And, perhaps, on that account may be preferred by some ; we dispute not their taste, but proceed to genus *Papilio*, in

which we have the Swallow-tail before spoken of, and the scarce Swallow-tail (*P. podalirius*), both very large and beautiful flies, found chiefly in marshy and fenny districts; they belong to the section which Linnæus distinguished by the name of *Equites*, of which about 200 species have been described; they are mostly tropical insects, occurring but rarely in temperate climates; among them are some of the largest and most magnificent butterflies known. The above named two are very remarkable, not only on account of their great size, but also for the sharp angular shape of their wings, and the curious projection, shaped like a knife or dagger, which issues from each of the lower pair; hence the generic name *machaon*, from the Latin *machera*, applied to one of them. In the same family group, or genus, we find also the Brimstone butterfly (*Papilio*, or *Gonepteryx rhamni*), so called because its caterpillar feeds on the buckthorn; and the clouded yellow butterflies, three species, called respectively *P. or Colias edusa*, *P. or C. hyale*, and *P. or C. Europome*, the second being distinguished as Pale, and the latter as Scarce: the sulphur colour predominates in all these, and the wings are bordered more or less deeply with black; they are found from May to October, chiefly in clover fields and on chalky downs and cliffs; the caterpillars are green with yellow stripes and markings.

In the genus *Pontea* we have several very common species, such as the Cabbage and Early White Cabbage butterflies (*P. brassicæ* and *P. chariclea*), which, like that early spring flower the daffodil, often "come before the swallow dares," reminding us of Clair's description:—

"The butterflies, by eager hopes undone,
Glad as a child come out to meet the sun;
Beneath the shadow of a sudden shower
Are lost, nor see tomorrow's April flower."

Then there are the Small White, Howard's, Green veined, and Duskyveined whiteflies (*P. rupæ—metra—napi*, and *sabellicæ*; with the black veined (*P. crataegi*), more remarkable for delicacy than richness of tint; they are found much in gardens, fields, and lanes, except the last, which resorts more to heaths and forest lands; and this, too, is placed by some naturalists in another genus called *Mancipium*, in company with the Bath-white, Orange-tip, and Wood-white flies (*M. duplidicæ*, *P. cardamines*, and *Leucophasia sinapis*) all of which are found in woods, fields, and gardens. With these are sometimes associated the noble Apollo butterfly (*Parnassius Apollo*) having its large white wings, which measure three inches across, delicately veined, and marked with red and

purple spots. It is doubtful, however, whether this be really a British species, if so, it is extremely rare. We sometimes find placed in this group, too, the Duke of Burgundy Fritillary (*Nemeobius lucina*), a small brown species, with prettily chequered wings, found chiefly in woods. Brown, with more or less of a coppery cast, or fading off into pale yellow, is the colour of all these prettily chequered flies called Fritillares, of which in Morris we find no less than twelve species figured as natives of the British isles; they vary in size from about an inch and a quarter to nearly three inches across the expanded wings: the most elegant of all is, perhaps, that called the Pearl-bordered (*Melitæa Euphrosyne*), around the outer edge of whose fulvous wings, which, like those of all the Fritillares, are thickly marked with black waved lines, dots, and patches of various sizes, runs what appears to be a string of minute pearls. Of this charming little fly the caterpillar is black, with a pale stripe along each side, and the chrysalis a dull gray. Something like it, but larger, and more decided in its markings, is the Pearl-bordered Likeness (*M. Athalia*), which closely resembles it also in the larva and pupa states. The largest of this family group, and certainly also the handsomest, if we except the Queen of Spain (*Argynnis Lathonia*), which can hardly be called a British fly, one species only having been captured here, is the Silver-washed (*Argynnis Paphia*), the under sides of whose lower pair of wings are of a greenish colour, washed and overlaid at places with silver leaf, as it were, an appearance noticeable in several other species of these flies. And here we may pause a moment to remark on this peculiarity in most of the Diurnal Lepidoptera, one of whose most distinguishing characteristics it is to carry their wings, when in a state of rest, erect over the back, and to show the undersides; these are scarcely ever of the same pattern as the upper sides, often the colours, as well as mode of arrangement, are quite different, and sometimes, too, those of the upper and lower pairs are diverse. And what does all this show, but that the great Creator has at his command such illimitable resources, not only for mere purposes of utility, but even for those of ornament, that he can afford to be thus lavish in their expenditure upon a single small fly. Well might Mrs. Barbauld say—

“Who can follow nature’s pencil here?

Their wings with azure, green, and purple glossed,
Studded with coloured eyes, with gems embossed;
Inlaid with pearl, and marked with various stains
Of lively crimson through their dusky veins.”

All the Fritillares, except that called the Duke of Burgundy, are included by those naturalists who recognise the term, in the two genera *Melitæa* and *Argynnis*; and from these, following Duncan's arrangement, we pass into the genus *Vanessa*,* where are nearly all of the most splendid of the British flies. The Common Butterfly is one of the smallest and plainest of them; it is remarkable for the peculiarly deep indentations in the outlines of its wings, a series of curves resembling the shape of the stop in punctuation of which it bears the name. Naturalists call it *V. C.—album*, because it has the letter C distinctly marked in white on the under-side of each of the lower wings. This is by no means an uncommon species with us, being generally distributed through the country: open fields and waste grounds are its chief places of resort. The small and large tortoiseshell butterflies (*V. urtica* and *V. polychloros*), must be well known to all our readers. In the work by Westwood is a charming group, consisting of these common though beautiful flies, and that rare and truly elegant insect the Camberwell Beauty (*V. antiopa*), with their caterpillars crawling up the plants on which they respectively feed, and chrysalides: in the work by Morris they are also depicted with extraordinary fidelity to nature, each species, in its different stages, having a page to itself. Both these modes of arrangement have their advantages, and we scarcely know which to prefer. A lover of this branch of entomology will do well to purchase both volumes, which together do not cost so much as a single, and very inferior work on the subject, would have done a short time since. But our Camberwell Beauty is waiting for a more full introduction. This lovely fly always reminds us of a fair Quaker lady, in her sober-coloured silken attire; brown and dark blue, with just a bordering, like a riband, of pale straw colour; all so smooth and glossy, without stain or wrinkle; nothing about her out of place or character; nothing showy nor meretricious, but all so good, and chaste, and proper. Such is our beautiful White Border, or, as the Aurelians of the last century called it, on account of its sudden appearance in immense numbers, Grand Surprise; a fly, sometimes measuring three inches and a half across the expanded wings, the outline of which is exceedingly full and bold. The caterpillar of this species is gregarious, black, with red spots; it feeds chiefly on the willow tree, which abounds in

* More properly, as Mr. Westwood gives it, *Phanessa*, being derived from Φάνης, one of the Greek names of Love.

the neighbourhood of Camberwell in Surrey, where the insect has been frequently observed ; hence its English name. A curious circumstance connected with the natural history of this fly is, that it can only be found in this country at intervals of about eight or ten years apart ; to account for this some have supposed that it is an irregular visitor from the other side of the English Channel. Haworth, however, in his "*Lepidoptera Britannica*," thus combats this opinion :—

"To suppose they come from the Continent is an idle conjecture, because the English specimens are easily distinguished from all others by the whiteness of their borders. Perhaps their eggs in this climate, like the seeds of some vegetables, may occasionally be dormant for several seasons, and not hatch until some extraordinary but undiscovered coincidences awake them into active life."

A very splendid, and by no means uncommon species of this genus is the Peacock, or Peacock's-eye butterfly (*V. Io*), which we need not pause to describe, as almost every one has seen it flitting about in the garden at the latter end of summer, and all through the autumnal months. About the same time, too, may be often seen the Red Admiral, or Alderman butterfly (*V. atalanta*), in his rich velvet suit of brownish or bluish black, relieved by some irregular white spots and patches, near the upper extremities of the fore wings, across each of which, in a graceful curve, runs a broad band of bright crimson, of which colour there is also a border round the bottom edges of the hind wings. A strikingly handsome fly this ; its near relative, the White Admiral (*Lemenitis Camilla*), looks mean in comparison : it is considerably smaller, and wants the brilliant red which gives such warmth and character to the dress of the other ; the outer surface of the wings are a dull brownish black, with a curved and interrupted white band running across both pairs ; there are also several small spots and marks of white scattered about. These bands and markings go through to the under side, where, however the general colour is fulvous red. This is a rare species with us, and must be sought for in shady and retired places, such as woodland depths, where the sun only gleams in at intervals. Haworth says—

"The graceful elegance displayed by this charming species when sailing on the wing is greater, perhaps, than can be found in any other we have in Britain. There was an old Aurelian of London so highly delighted at the inimitable flight of the *Camilla*,* that

* The classical reader will be reminded by this name, in connection with grace of motion, of the swift-footed queen of the Volsci, who, as Lemprière has it, "could run, or rather fly, over a field of corn without bending the blades, and make her way over the sea without wetting her feet."

long after he was unable to pursue her, he used to go into the woods, and sit down on a stile, for the sole purpose of feasting his eyes with her fascinating evolutions."

Lementis, we may remember, was one of the names of Venus, and by Leech, Westwood, and some others, it is applied to a genus of butterflies, of which the above is the only British species in the volume before us. We see the last named authority calls it *L. sibilla*, agreeing in this with Fabricius and Stuart, except that they retain, as the generic term, the old Linnæan name *Papilio*, as some writers do for the whole of the Diurnal Lepidoptera. Lest, however, we should quite lose ourselves in this maze of scientific terms, we will return to the aged entomologist whom we left seated on the stile delightedly viewing the graceful motions of his charming Camilla, as, the white bars on her wings gleaming like silver out of their dusky setting, she darts from shade to sunshine, and then into deeper shadow; now hidden in the umbrage, now plainly revealed in the bright ray that threads the leafy boughs like a lightning flash, and falls upon the green sward, and goes sailing adown the avenue like a stream of golden splendour, quivering and changing its shape constantly, as the wind stirs the boughs above, as it were a tricky sprite playing at hide and seek with the sunbeams.

How vividly all this brings to recollection our young days of butterfly hunting in the autumn woods. There it was, if any where, that we might expect to meet with that great entomological prize, the Purple Emperor, (*Apatura Iris*) whose throne is placed amid the tops of the tallest oaks. Whether the elegant Swallow-tail, or the dignified Camberwell Beauty, is the queen of British butterflies, may be open to dispute; but here is the king, there can be no doubt about that! Mark his strong bold flight, high up there above the tree tops, a very "scorner of the ground;" see the regal purple upon his wings; how the sunshine sinks into it as gold into three-piled velvet! What a noble sweep and breadth of outline have those spread organs of flight; stouter are they and stronger than those of any high-flier of them all; how round and full is the body, and uncompromising the very curve of the antennæ! Nay; we have no fly to compare with the Purple Emperor, to whom the Peacock and Red Admiral, although more gaily dressed, seem but as lords in waiting: its wings sometimes extend to the breadth of three inches and a quarter. Although not very rare in *rebus naturæ* it is so in collections, on account of the difficulty of capturing it; its caterpillar is green, with a yellow band

along each side, and black rings round the body, which is thickest in the middle: it feeds on the broad-leaved willow, and is to be found at the end of May. The chrysalis is also pale green.

If the gallant Admiral and proud Peacock may be regarded as lords in waiting on the Emperor, surely in the butterfly court the delicate Painted Lady (*Cynthia cardui*) must be the lady in waiting on one of the rival queens. A truly beautiful fly this, with wings as soft as satin, especially on the under sides, where there is a fair pattern of coloured tracery, rather remarkable for its subdued tone and elegance of design than richness of colour. This fly is our only representative of the genus *Cynthia* of Fabricius, if we except the scarce Painted Lady, or Hunter's *Cynthia*, the *C. Hunterii* of Kirby and Westwood, of which but a single specimen has been obtained in this country. In America it is tolerably plentiful.

"The *C. cardui*, so called because its caterpillar feeds much on the thistle, is remarkable," says Westwood, "for the irregularity of its appearance; in some years occurring plentifully even in the neighbourhood of London, after which it will disappear for several years; indeed instances are on record in which, owing to the vast numbers, emigration has become necessary; and it is in the '*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*' for 1828, that an account is given of an extraordinary swarm which was observed in the preceding May in one of the cantons of Switzerland, the number of which was so prodigious that they occupied several hours in passing over the place where they were observed."

Several instances of such extraordinary butterfly flights in this country are on record, but not composed, we believe, of this particular species, the caterpillar of which is brown, with yellow interrupted lateral lines: it is somewhat spiny and solitary in its habits, drawing up the leaf upon which it is feeding around it like a tent fastened with silken cords: it may be found in July. The chrysalis is brown, with ash-coloured lines and golden spots—a true Aurelian. The fly is abroad in June, also at the end of August and beginning of September, when a second brood appears. "It varies much in size as well as in the amount and depth of the pink colour in the wings."*

We must, however, "push on" if we intend to pass in review all the light winged battalions which compose the army of British butterflies—an army that we should be better pleased to look upon than all the glorious pageantry

* Morris, p. 82.

of glittering files of men drawn up in warlike array, such as the poet of Scotland has sung—"Twere worth ten years of peaceful life" to witness.

"Lo the bright train their radiant wings unfold,
With silver fringed, and freckled o'er with gold."

The great personages of the countless host have already passed by; there went the purpled-robed Emperor with his gorgeously-attired officers of state; there went the stately queens with their beautiful silken-robed attendants; there went the golden-vested, crimson-liveried ones, sweeping on and on, and dazzling the senses with their splendour; some, too, there were amid the countless host clad in simple white and black, like chaplains and officiating priests. We have seen them, in fancy, thus assembled together, and they have been to us like a gorgeous vision. Truly, like the Assyrians described by Byron,

"Their cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold."

Now come the more soberly-clad rank and file. First advance those of the genus *Hipparchia*, light skirmishers chiefly, haunting the woodland glades and grassy meads, and bushy hillocks. Here we have the little Speckled Wood Butterfly (*H. Aegeria*); the Wall Butterfly, or Gate-keeper (*H. Megæra*); and the Grayling, sometimes called the Rock-eyed Underwing (*H. Semele*). Here we have the dusky Ringlets, called respectively the Wood, the Heath, the Small, and the Silver-bordered, (*H. Hyperanthus*, *Davus*, *Cassiope*, *Hero*). Then there is the Marbled White, the chaplain to this division of the army, called by naturalists *H. Galathea*; with the Large, Small, and Least Meadow Brown (*H. Janira*, *Tithonus*, *Pamphilus*), the last being sometimes called the Small Heath butterfly. And here, too, we have those scarce flies, the Scotch and Arran Arguses (*H. Blandina*, *Ligea*). Under the same generic standard, too, although with a peculiar cognomen of their own, come the Brown, Black, Purple, Green, and White Letter H. Hairstreaks, (*H. Betulæ*, *Pruni*, *Quercus*, *Rubi*, and *W-album*), all, except the last, indicating by their specific names the kind of food they preferred before they emerged from the caterpillar state. On the inner side of the black-brown wing of the latter is a white zigzag like a W.; hence its name. These flies are all remarkable for the dagger-like projection from the anterior part of each bottom wing; the fine lines which cross and recross the under sides give occasion for the term Hairstreak, applied to the sub-genus.

Now, under the generic standard *Lycæna*, advance, like warriors clad in burnished mail, the Large, Scarce, Purple-eyed, Dark Under-wing and Common Copper Butterflies, (*L. dispar*, *Virgauræ*, *Chryseis*, *Hyppothoë*, *Phleas*,) varying greatly in size and general outline of form, but all having the peculiarly red metallic lustre, from which the English name of the genus is derived. Mr. Morris, we see, includes but two of these species, the large and small or common, in his volume; the other three are very rare, but are given by Duncan as British flies.

In the genus *Polyommatus* are included all those elegant little blue flies which every one must have observed at certain seasons, chiefly in the autumnal months, fluttering about on the downs, and heaths, and meadow lands; they appear to abound most about chalk pits, and, indeed, wherever the soil is of a calcareous nature; and reminds one of the "beautiful blue damsel flies," mentioned in Moore's "Paradise and the Peri." Let us see how many species we can muster of these little flies, with wings of sapphire. There are the Azure, Bedford, Mazarine, Large Alcon, Chalk-hill, Clifden, Silver-studded, and Common Blue Butterflies (*R. Argiolus*, *Alsus*, *Acis*, *Arion*, *Alcon*, *Corydon*, *Adonis*, *Argus*, *Alexes*), so says Duncan; while Morris gives eight species without the Brown Argus (*P. Agestis*), which he also calls a blue fly, and makes it identical with the Durham Argus, which Duncan calls *P. Salmacis*. The latter authority also places in this many-eyed genus a species which he calls *P. Artaxerxes*, found chiefly about Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, this, too, seems to be identical with *P. Salmacis* of Westwood, &c. And now, like flying horsemen, scouring the edges of the line of march, come a cloud of agile skippers, small brown, tawny, and speckled flies, which seem to occupy a sort of debatable ground between moths and butterflies. Duncan, we see, excludes them from his volume altogether. Morris enumerates the following species:—The Grizzled, Dingy, Large, Silver-spotted, Small, Lulworth, and Spotted Skippers, (*Hesperia Mulæ*, *Tages*, *Sylvanus*, *Comma*, *Linea*, *Actæon*, *Paniscus*).

And thus ends the catalogue of British butterflies, into whose peculiarities of habit and structure we have not entered at all minutely, as such a treatment of the subject consorted not with the character of our present paper. What we have given is merely an outline, to be filled up by an earnest student of nature in the fields and woods, and of such books as those whose titles stand at the head of our paper. The

first of these is a volume on which not only the professed entomologist, but every one who has an eye for the beautiful and the natural, may look with pleasure. Harris and Donovan, and others, have given us books on this subject, and very beautiful books too; but their price will ever be a bar to their extensive usefulness. Here we have a work in which is figured every British species, with, in most instances, the caterpillar, the chrysalis, with commonly the under side of the wings, as well as the upper, represented, and frequently both the male and female flies; and represented, too, in so life-like a manner, as to render any mistake as to the identity of the species, by one who gives them but a slight examination, almost impossible. A handsome well-printed volume, with about 200 pages of letter-press, and about half as many plates, for eighteen shillings. The author is evidently a practical naturalist, and an enthusiastic lover of his subject. He has embodied the result of a great deal of original observation, and whatever recent facts collected by others were worthy of preservation; he has added, too, in the shape of an appendix, under the head of "*Aphorismata Entomologica*," much useful instruction as to the mode of catching, preserving and arranging the delicate organisms whereof his volume treats; all of which, of course, adds to its value and completeness.

Of Westwood's work, being a second edition of one familiar to most entomologists, we need not give so full a description. The present is much less expensive than the former edition, being but twelve shillings. For this small sum we have about 160 pages of letter-press, and about twenty plates, each containing several species, naturally grouped, with the chrysalides and caterpillars, on the particular plants which they respectively prefer as food. A more elegant drawing-room-table volume could not well be imagined, nor a more instructive one to the butterfly collector. In both these volumes the various synonymes of the species are given.

The long introductory chapter on Structure, &c., is one of the most valuable and noticeable features of the third work on our list, which is one of the forty volumes published under the title of "*The Naturalist's Library*;" it is a neat and portable volume, and has done much to popularize the study of the British Diurnal Lepidoptera. The plates are more remarkable for accuracy of drawing than of colouring. The information contained in it we have found remarkably correct; it is a good pocket manual, and its low price—four shillings and sixpence, we believe—places it within the reach of all purchasers.

Of the last work on our list we have, perhaps, said sufficient. It is written in a style intended at once to amuse and instruct the youthful mind, and is, we think, likely to answer both purposes. The nice and careful hand employed in the illustration of Morris's volume has evidently been busy here: there is the same fidelity to nature; the same exquisite finish of outline, and judicious filling in of shade and colour. We quote a few of the opening paragraphs, to show the *spirit* in which it is written.

“ ‘Lo! the bright train their radiant wings unfold,
With silver fringed, and freckled o'er with gold.
On the gay bosom of some fragrant flower
They, idly fluttering, live their little hour;
Their life all pleasure, and their task all play;
All spring their age, and sunshine all their day.’

Mrs. Barbauld.

“ ‘What a pleasant life that must be to lead!’ methinks I hear my young readers exclaim. ‘Who would not join in the song—

“ ‘I’d be a butterfly, born in a bower,
Where roses, and lilies, and violets meet.”

No tiresome books to bother the brains; no fagging at lessons; no cross looks, no angry words; no head-aches, no stomach-aches, no whippings, no brimstone and treacle; no anything but what is delightful and pleasant; flitting about in the sunshine all day long, and rocked to sleep at night in a lily-bell, or some such agreeable resting-place; sipping the sweet juices out of the flowers, and sporting in the air with companions that never get out of temper and quarrel. Oh, that would be delightful! Yes, I’d be a butterfly! Would not you?”

“My dear young master or miss, as the case may be, most assuredly I would *not* be a butterfly. Nay, do not look so incredulous; but listen, and I will tell you why. In the first place, I should not like to be snapped up by a winged monster two or three hundred times bigger than myself, as yon bright winged flutterer has just been by the swallow, that has a little hungry family up in the chimney there, and must find butterflies, or some other equally gay and thoughtless creatures, wherewith to supply their wants. In the next place, I should not like to undergo such a series of changes and transformations as the butterfly does, before he comes out in his beautiful silken dress, to live his little life of a few hours in the sunshine; for all that is said in praise of ‘a short life and a merry one,’ by the thoughtless and careless among mankind, yet would I rather, if it so pleased God, live a long life, that I might have time to cultivate and exercise those high and noble faculties of the mind, which distinguish man from the rest of creation, and to exercise them as at once to glorify my Maker, and benefit my fellow-creatures. Nay, nay, my young friends, do not wish to be a

butterfly, nor any other merely *soulless thing*: you have within you an immortal principle—a ‘vital spark of heavenly flame,’ as the poet has finely termed the soul—which the butterfly has not; which the most sagacious and long-lived of animals has not. For the salvation of this soul of yours a great price has been paid, a tremendous sacrifice offered; and, young as you may be, I would have you think seriously of this. You are not a butterfly: thank God that you are not. Never seek to be one. Do not lead a butterfly-kind of life, as too many do, flitting and fluttering, and sporting away the precious time given you for other purposes. Be diligent, be useful. Head-aches and heart-aches too, you must have, and many hard lessons you must learn, even when your school days are over; for it is ordered by an all-wise Providence that the human soul shall be purified by trouble and affliction, and so prepared for the better land towards which we are all journeying. The end of the butterfly is here; your end is in eternity. Think of that; and think too of the many pleasures which you enjoy, of which the butterfly can know nothing: intellectual pleasures—pleasures of thought and feeling. Warm affections and lively hopes are yours, outgushing from your own heart and bosom, and from the hearts and bosoms of those to whom you are dear, and watching around you, like angels, wherever you move. You can speak, and write, and read, and think; and, above all, you *can pray* and be *prayed for*. Here is a privilege! The poor soulless butterfly has none of these good things.

‘Its little life of sunshine o’er,
It passes from the view,
To breathe the breath of life no more,
It is not so with you;
Your soul shall from the tomb arise
In beautiful array,
To dwell for aye in paradise,
And everlasting day.’”

- ART. IV.—1. *Progress of the Reformation in Ireland. Extracts from a Series of Letters written from the West of Ireland to a Friend in England. September, 1851.* By the EARL OF RODEN. 2nd Edition. London: Nisbet.
2. *The New Reformation in Ireland.* By the REV. LLEWELYN WYNNE JONES, M.A., Curate of Oswestry. Seeleys.
3. *The Irish Reformation Movement: its Religious, Social, and Political Aspect.* By J. G. MACWALTER. Dublin: Herbert.
4. *Poor Paddy's Cabin; or, Slavery in Ireland.* 4th Edition. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.
5. *The Talk of the Road. Showing how Irish People talk about Irish Doings when they get a quiet place at the back of a ditch or under a hedge.* Dublin: Curry and Co.

WE have classed these five volumes together with the intention of giving our readers some of the "talk of the road," and "shewing how Irish people talk about Irish doings." Not only when they "get a quiet place at the back of a hedge," but also in committee rooms, college chambers, country parsonages, and wherever else church interests in Ireland are discussed. We will take Le Sage's liberty of unroofing every house in which information on these matters are discussed. We will be eavesdroppers in every parsonage, scouts in college quadrangles, and act as "our own commissioner" everywhere.

To facilitate our researches, and enable us to arrive at right conclusions, there lie before us a farrago of volumes, pamphlets, and reports. An undigested heap of materials—the Balaclava of books. The volumes whose titles we have quoted, serve rather to recall the "Talk of the Road" to those who have heard it, than to report it *in extenso* to those who have not: like the echoes in these famed Killarney lakes, they give back to the ear something only of what the tongue has uttered, the rest is dispersed in the heights around. So these droppings of the pen of English tourists, and Irish journalists, only stimulate our curiosity but do not satisfy it.

But while enumerating the titles of various little books on the state of religious parties in Ireland, we have no Horace Mann to give us by authority tables of the religious census of Ireland. On no Sunday in March, 1853, were the returns sought for from every church and chapel in Ireland. We remember the interest with which the new branch of statis-

tics was looked for in England—how dissenting chapels were crowded on that day; and ministers, irreproachable for honesty, were suspected of sheep stealing; and the Church of Rome, in particular, showed its regard for the lay element by singing masses for the million that filled its chapels twice over. But in Ireland none of these things were so. At that time of religious taxing in England a decree had gone forth from Dublin Castle that all the live stock and farm produce of Ireland should be enrolled. In March, 1853, a census of souls was being taken in England: and in the same month a census of cattle and poultry was being taken in Ireland. Catholic geese and Protestant pigs, Independent goats and Established sheep, were all impartially entered. No suspicions were breathed of the green-coated lictor who made the returns, of preferring pigs to geese, of dividing the sheep, or multiplying the goats. Her Majesty's lieges in Ireland may know to a hoof, how pigs multiply, and cattle are fruitful. Every market woman can count before they are hatched the chickens of every registered hen in Ireland; by a change of a letter it may be said, every pullet has its billet, and lambs predestinated to mutton "pleased to the last will crop the flowery food," and lick the hand that registers their blood.

But with these returns we must be satisfied. Of the proportion of Catholics to Protestant, Dissenters to Churchmen, the authorities have no information. Whether forbidden to do so by priestly mandate, or repelled by their own indifference, we forbear to inquire; according to either explanation (and probably both together make up the truth), we are without a most valuable body of information towards our present inquiry, and must advance by whatever light we can discover from other and unofficial sources.

The history of the last half century of the Irish church is as marked an example of that primitive, yet withal protective dispensation by which God has always governed his church. When the covenant kingdom was given to David and to his seed for ever, God threatened that if his children should forsake his law and walk not in his judgments, he would visit their transgressions with a rod. And yet he would not break the covenant nor alter the thing that was gone out of his lips. Present defections from covenant faithfulness should meet with present chastisement, but could not forfeit the sure mercies of David; these were secured by a higher and more perfect responsibility and obedience, to the covenant

head of the people of whom David was but the appointed type.

Thus chasteningly yea, to the third and fourth generation of backsliders, yet thus protectingly with an everlasting love, has God dealt with the Church in Ireland particularly during the last fifty years. We have seen withdrawn from her, year by year, State support and encouragement; her bishops are uninvited to the Council Chamber, while the emissaries of an Italian priest intrudes without even the historical show of apostolic succession, and claims precedence over them; her clergy have commuted the tithe, the weak paying the price of a war of aggression waged by the strong; they have renounced church rates, the suppressed bishoprics supplying the revenues once raised by rate in every parish; her clergy, by right of their calling, the relieving officers of their parish, have bent under a burthen of poor rates, not divided as before between landlord and tenant, but imposed on the clergyman as representing both; her schools have been debarred from all State support, the State attaching conditions to the education grants from which their ordination vows debar them. And yet though all these things have come upon the Irish clergy, the third and fourth generation removed from the Hutchinson and Boulton school of the last century, they have borne them so patiently and submissively, that if conciliation with Rome were possible, they would have won over their enemies to be at peace with them.

The last fifty years have witnessed the decline and fall of Orange ascendancy in Ireland; they have also witnessed a revival of missionary and ministerial faithfulness more decided than any that yet before happened. The periods of deepest political depression, and of highest spiritual activity, are found in conjunction in our day. Can this be fortuitous? We think not. The relations of the Church to the State have nowhere undergone such a thorough change as in Ireland. If the Establishment in England were the creature of State influence a century ago, it was tenfold more so in Ireland. The boroughs of Ireland were, without exception, the property of the great families of the neighbourhood. Their nominees sat in the Lower House, and to such representatives little could be refused. A mitre became thus as hereditary to one of the younger members of a noble family, as a coronet to the elder born. The elder sat as a temporal and the younger as a spiritual peer, side by side, in the same House. The race of family bishops is becoming extinct in Ireland as in England; there only remains four on the Irish

bench as representatives of a bye-gone rule of promotion ; and, by a happy anomaly, those four among its best and brightest ornaments. Lord John Beresford, the Primate, Lord Riversdale, of Killaloe, Lord Plunket, of Tuam, and the Hon. Robert Daly, of Cashel, may challenge comparison with any lords spiritual either on the English or Irish bench.

But aristocratic influence was not the only source of corruption in the Irish Church in old times. Ireland was to be governed for England. Irish bishoprics, like Irish peerages, were cheap honours which the English minister kept at his disposal to reward churchmen whose services would have been overpaid with an English mitre. Bad as our home produce of high-born bishops were, the English imports were even worse. The story is told in Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, of a Dr. Rundle, whose theology was so liberal, as at length to have dissolved into a creed to which any man might assent who did not dissent from Deism. Walpole had designated him to the see of Gloucester, but the English clergy, even of the age of the Georges, had too much spirit to allow such an appointment to pass unopposed. But in Ireland public opinion was tamer. A mitre was accordingly found for Rundle in Ireland. We do not read of any resistance to the appointment by the patriots, as the Irish national party then styled themselves. Low, indeed, was the churchmanship of our chief rulers of that day, when Bishop Boulter, writing to a friend in England, says :—"It was purely in obedience to His Majesty's commands that I came hither ; and now I am here the only thing that can make me uneasy is, if I should not be enabled to carry on *His Majesty's service here*, the prospect of doing which is the greatest comfort I have in my present station." The dedications of English divines of last century we all know were Erastian enough. The well-known lines, "*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*," was the staple phrase of episcopal gratitude to the minister who promoted his tutor, and received in return a dedication of Dr. Quarto's learned treatise, "*The Deist Demolished* ;" or "*The Anti-Fanatic* ;" or, "*The Popish and Methodist Pillory*." But such unblushing acknowledgement, "*We have no king but Cæsar*," could only come from a prelate of the then Irish Church. It is without a parallel, and we challenge the historian of Erastianism, Archdeacon Wilberforce himself, to match it in the English Church. We have no precedent for it unless in the Free Kirk of Scotland—*risum teneatis*. Rutherford or Livingstone would write of *carrying on His Majesty's service here*, meaning King Jesus,

much in the same strain that Primate Boulter writes of King George.

So notorious was this scandal, that Swift accounted for the elevation of low-born ignorant Englishmen to Irish bishoprics in his usual mock-serious way. He supposed that the English minister made choice of some pious and learned Englishman to fill some vacant Irish See. The bishop designate, with letters and credentials for Dublin Castle strapped in his saddle-bags, sets out for London, and is encountered beyond Highgate or Finchley Common by some highwayman, who strips him, cuts his throat, and, mounting his horse, makes the best of his way to Ireland. The mock bishop presents his credentials, and goes down to his diocese; and if he drinks, swaggers, and swears more than is decent in a bishop, the minister is not so much to blame as the bad state of the roads, and the difficulty of distinguishing, externals excepted, between a bishop and a highwayman.

From these appointments of Irish aristocrats and English adventurers to the sees in Ireland no good could come. The bishops were overlookers, not overseers (the pun is Episcopal; for bishops even will joke at their own order) of their dioceses. Reformation without was impossible, for reformation within was first called for. What wonder that desolation sat at the threshold of God's Church in Ireland, when the cormorant and the bittern lodged in the upper lintels (Zeph. ii. 14). Peculation and pride, avarice and ambition, must be expelled from the chief seats of the synagogue, before the synagogue could receive proselytes at the gate. That the reformation in Ireland has not been attempted long ago, must be laid at the door of the Irish Church in the first instance; and, lastly, at the selfish corrupt ministers, who made that Church a tool to govern a party, and that party a tool wherewith to govern the country. The ministry corrupted the Church, the Church corrupted the Orange ascendancy, the Orange ascendancy corrupted the country; till, certain it is, that of all those unto whom God hath left to do the work of their own will, and to agree and give their kingdom to the beast, Ireland, more than all the rest, gave a kingdom to the beast by her own imbecility, lay and clerical. Dean Swift, in his day, exults in the prospect of Protestantizing Ireland in a few years by colonization; but Ireland has been colonized over and over again. To such an extent is this the case, that the purest Saxon blood in the British Isles is to be found along the east coast of Ireland. The barony of Forth in Wexford is peopled by as blue-eyed,

fair-haired Saxons, as the most secluded weald in Somersetshire; and yet, MacHale of Tuam has not a more devoted flock of Romanists than the titular Bishop of Ferns. Of the two, we should say, that superstition was less shaken in Wexford than in Tuam. The rebellion in 1798, it is well-known, blazed most fiercely in the county Wexford: the sons of English settlers were the most determined rebels to English rule; the apostates from the Protestant faith were the most bitter enemies to the Protestant ascendancy.

Ireland, for three centuries, was a sink for Protestantism as disastrous as the Crimea, for the last three months, has been for men. Drafts after drafts of settlers have followed each other: the waste of one generation, by lapses into Popery, replaced by another—things kept thus on the old footing at an enormous cost, but no ground gained towards the real evangelization of the country. We hold in our hand a rental of an estate in Munster, every tenant on which, without exception, are Papists—with a sprinkling of Irish names, O'Brien, O'Shaughnessy, &c., who are the Lees, the Collins, the Millers—but descendants of English and Protestant immigrants. There is a settlement near Adare, in the county Limerick, of Palatine settlers, and almost to a man they are Papists. The "Ould Church" in Ireland, if there is any truth in ethnology whatever, is Protestant and Reformed; the Church of the people of Ireland is the Church which the settlers from England brought with them. But, alas for Ireland, their faith soon became of that double and divided kind, like that of the colonists whom the king of Assyria planted in Samaria: "They feared the Lord, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations whom they carried away from thence" (2 Kings xvii. 33). Thus to hibernize has become a proverb among English settlers. In this island alone, the general law of colonization is reversed; that here the coloniser does not give character to the aborigines, but the aborigines to the coloniser. England is Celtic, Saxon, Norman, according as Gaul, Germany or Denmark, land their people on her shores. Her chalk is plastic, and receives impressions. Not so with Ireland; there is an original deposit, Celtic, Milesian, Israelitish even (as some in quest of the lost tribes do vainly aver), we care not whence they came, their character is one and the same whatever their origin.

"Gens ratione ferox et mentem pasta chimæris:"

which may be popularized thus—

"An indomitable race, and somewhat addicted to *bulls*."

This "*gens Hibernica*" hibernize all that come within their influence: there is no resisting this denationalising process. Englishmen come and settle in Ireland; take them wives of the fair daughters of the land, and, like the lotus eaters—

"Then some one said, We will return no more;
And all at once they sang, 'Our island home
Is far beyond the wave; we will no longer roam.'"

Thus in Ireland, the man is endogenous: all influences must come to her from within, not from without. Even Popery itself, that great ultramontane, and to us ultramarine heresy, took out a deed of naturalization before it could fasten itself on the people's affections. When Queen Elizabeth's infatuated policy forbade the use of the Irish language, the Church of Rome wisely made use of the national tongue, to win back to her the national heart; and from that day to our own Popery in Ireland has played her game with the National party. As the cause of Protestantism was committed to the English or Anti-National party, so Popery has claimed for herself to be the old religion of the old race. In this soil-prescription her strength has ever been: Antæus-like she touches Irish earth, and is strong. The league between O'Connell and the priests, was based on this understanding. That league, happily for Ireland, is being sundered every day. The National party imprudently thought they could gain their point without the aid of the priests—their leaders are felons, and the party broken up. Again, the priest party, under Paul Cullen, have lately stood forth as representatives, not of national but of ultramontane politics: nor has it fared better with them. They have been deserted and betrayed by their own representatives: the Pope has been bought and sold by his own brass band in Ireland.

It is important to bear in mind this disposition of everything from without to assimilate it itself to what is within, before it can lay hold of the national heart in Ireland. The Reformation itself must hibernize before it will be acceptable to the people at large. It is not enough that comes from without; this alone, and of itself, so far from recommending it to the people, would rather prejudice them against it. Thus, the mission of our dissenting brethren of 100 preachers, to make a summer tour of itinerating, has only ended, as every one who knew Ireland foresaw, in utter disappointment.

India and China are not more unlike in this respect than are England and Ireland. India is content to take impres-

sions from without. In China, on the contrary, a way is preparing for the entry of the gospel by aid of internal revolutions. And so England introduced the Reformation from Germany. Ireland, on the contrary, she repels from reformation, by attempting to carry it to her from without, instead of silently instilling it from within. The parable of the leaven fermenting outwards from within is nowhere so descriptive of the spread of the gospel as in Ireland.

We have thus arrived at this conclusion, that the means and method of a reformation in Ireland must be self-contained in this country. Neither colonization from England, nor evangelists from England, will ever bring about the desired overthrow of Popery. Ireland must right herself, England give what she can—her sympathies, her contributions in aid of the work—but the agency itself must come from within. Nor is there much to complain of in this: Ireland has a noble Establishment and a parochial system, at least as adequate to the wants of the population as that of England. Now if that Establishment is worth, as we believe, the cost of its endowment, it is only because it is able to cope with Romanism on its own ground. The argument for the Establishment in Ireland, since it is not the church of the majority, must confessedly stand on this ground—that it is a Missionary Establishment, that the clergyman considers that he has a cure of all souls within the legal bounds of his parish, and that his Roman Catholic neighbours are those other sheep whom he *must* bring in.

It is true, this theory of the Establishment has been too seldom put in practice by its ministers. Bishops Brown, Usher, and Bedell; Robert Boyle, Nicholas Brown; Archbishop King; John Richardson, rector of Beltarbet; Dr. Madden and Bishop Berkeley, form the links of a slender chain of evangelists to the native Irish from the time of the Reformation down to the days of the Wesleyan revival. By that time the spirit of slumber had settled down on the Church. The penal laws had only done their work too well;—they first fettered the bodies and then the consciences of men—it became almost as spiritually penal to convert a Papist as it was politically penal to pervert a Protestant. When Ormond petitioned the Queen to enact measures towards promoting the spread of the gospel, the Queen refused, on the ground that “it is not desired by all that the people should be converted: some do not desire church extension, others do not approve the methods, so that between them I am afraid nothing would be done.” The two Wesleys and Whitfield

visited Ireland and preached in every county. The mission of Methodism was to revive dead orthodoxy in the Establishment; not so much to carry the gospel to those sitting in the shadow of Rome's superstitions. Not that Wesleyanism wants the missionary element, far from it; its praise on this head is in all the churches. But its mission is not to cope with Rome. There is no point of contact between the two systems whatever; in Ireland, the controversy with Rome can only be carried on, on the Church's ground of Catholic antiquity. When the Romanist takes his stand on the religion of St. Patrick, the Wesleyan is fairly driven out of the field for want of some antiquity to plead in favour of his sect. The Romanist here triumphantly wields Tertullian's plea of prescription against even hearing a heretic in defence of novel opinions. The controversy between dissent and Romanism in Ireland, resembles the strife between a tiger and an alligator: each was invincible in his own element; but as neither the tiger would trust himself to fight in the water, nor the alligator on shore, it ended, of course, in a drawn battle.

Still the early annals of Methodism in Ireland record the names of some very remarkable evangelists among the Roman Catholics. Thomas Walsh, a convert from Rome, was one of the most successful preachers to his fellow-countrymen. His success may be attributed in a great measure to his command of the Irish language. It was long ago said in Ireland, "If you plead for your life, plead in Irish;" and Walsh both pleaded in Irish and as if for his life. He would sometimes cry out with tears, "Hear me; and if the doctrine I preach be not according to the Word of God, stone me on the spot." Another secret of Walsh's success was, that he was mighty in the Scriptures. Wesley, no mean judge in these matters, said, "Such a master of Biblical knowledge I never saw before, and never expect to see again. He was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament, he would tell, after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place." Bartley, the well known Pilgrim of Lough Derg; but, above all, Gideon Ouseley, who laboured as an itinerant preacher and evangelist for forty-seven years, and died so late as 1839, deserve mention in this place. Gideon Ouseley was the son of a Galway gentleman, and elder brother of Sir Ralph Ouseley. He may not unaptly, in some respects, be termed the Rowland Hill of

Ireland : like Hill, he was converted under the preaching of the Wesleyans, and spent his long life as an itinerant preacher to the Roman Catholics. He not only preached in streets and church-yards, fairs and markets, but was accustomed to attend the wake-houses ; here he would mingle with the people, and while the priest read prayers in Latin, he would translate every part that was good into Irish, and then address the whole assembly in the presence of the priest, and preach salvation through Christ. Mr. Ouseley one day rode up to a house where the priest was celebrating mass ; the large assembly were on their knees ; he knelt with them, and rendering into Irish every word that would bear a scriptural construction, he audibly repeated it, adding " Listen to that ! " Service being ended, Mr. Ouseley and the congregation rose to their feet : he then delivered an exhortation on the necessity of reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ. When he had concluded, they cried out to the priest, " Father, who is that ? " " I don't know," replied the priest ; " he is not a man at all ; he is an angel. No man could do what he has done." Mr. Ouseley mounted his horse and rode away. On one occasion, when preaching in the streets of Tuam, two teeth were knocked out by a piece of hard turf flung at him. He wiped his bleeding mouth, and, holding the broken teeth in his hand, continued his preaching. At another time, a man spit in his face, while preaching in Monaghan ; he quietly wiped it off, and begged the man to hear him patiently to the end. Nor is Gideon Ouseley a barren instance : others too have been partakers of the like labours. The Presbyterian body, in particular, have undertaken a flourishing mission in the West, under the superintendence of Dr. Edgar of Belfast. Still, as the reformation in Ireland must be a national work, the National Church must be the fit instrument with which the work must be accomplished.

And how has God been fitting the National Church for this task ? In the first place, by applying that discipline so necessary in every Laodicean church :—" As many as I love I rebuke and chasten." Her tithes have been reduced by twenty-five per cent ; a National Board has been established, to which nineteen-twentieths of her clergy are in hopeless opposition ; a double poor-rate has been exacted. With the exception of the short vice-royalty of Lord Eglinton, in 1852, it may be said that a Romish bishop had the *entrée* at the Castle before a bishop of the Established Church. The patronage of the Viceroy's lady was often extended to Romanist charities, seldom to Protestant. So accustomed were

the clergy to this studied neglect, that, save by a half-score of expectant deans and chaplains, the clergy held aloof from the Viceroy's petty court. The chaplains bid for deaneries, and the deans for bishoprics. When a mitre fell vacant, the hopes of the deans rose high: when the mitre was disposed of the deans disappeared from the Castle till next bidding time. "The *Danes* are routed again," was a pleasant *mot* of a witty Irish prelate, when a mitre dropped on the head of some unexpected claimant. The road to preferment was neither long nor tortuous. A pamphlet on the National Board—a little persecution for change of opinion from the local clergy—a school or two placed under the National system—were more meritorious claims to promotion than either scholarship, or piety, or even connection. The disqualifications were as few and as simple as the qualifications. A clergyman, since promoted by a private patron, was a candidate for a crown living. All seemed favourable. He was invited to an interview with the private secretary: his replies were satisfactory to every question but one; that question was, his opinion of the National Board. His reply, "When I receive the congregation I shall judge according unto right." The living was given away: it is needless to say, he was not called on to receive the congregation, or to judge according unto right. Thus, by years of political depression, not to say oppression, the Irish Church has been fitted for her work. "As many as I love I rebuke and chasten."

The Home Mission was another preparation for the reformation work in Ireland. In 1829, the Revs. Dennis Brown and John Gregg undertook, at the invitation of Dean Murray, then rector of Askeaton, to visit the south and west and preach to the people wherever and however they could find opportunity. It was at one of these preachings in Dingle, that a little boy came to disturb the meeting by striking a stick against the leg of the table. That little boy is the Rev. Mr. Moriarty, the first missionary and minister at Ventry, preaching the faith he once persecuted.

With this originated the Home Mission. Subscriptions were raised to defray travelling expenses; and a regular body of evangelists, from among the clergy, itinerated, from time to time, and from place to place, through Ireland; preaching, when invited to do so, in pulpits and school-houses, or in barns, or the open air, even when the school-house and church were closed to them. At first, the Home Mission was looked upon as subsidiary to the labours of the Irish and other reformation societies; but in time they carried their

preaching into districts where no reformation work was thought of, and thus came in collision with some of the parochial clergy, who resented their preaching as intrusive. The Primate and several of the bishops denounced the Home Mission as irregular and unauthorised ; and, at last, the rector of Arder, in the county Louth, brought the matter before the courts, and obtained a verdict in his favour. The Home Mission was accordingly broken up ; not, however, before it had served its generation and been a great means of usefulness to many. The present excellent Bishop of Meath has taken steps towards the revival of a Diocesan Home Mission, avoiding, of course, the irregularities which led to the dissolution of the former. Heartily do we wish his lordship well in this and every other good work, in which he is ever foremost.

But neither the reduction of the Church Establishment nor the Home Mission have ever quickened religious inquiry so much as the sad years of famine, sedition, and pestilence, out of which we are now happily emerging. The first seven years of Victoria's reign may be likened, in Ireland, to the seven good years in Egypt, when the land brought forth by handfuls. Population increased, rents rose. In the midst of the seven good years a census was taken, and the population of Ireland was found to exceed eight millions ; a larger proportion of human beings inhabiting the square mile than in any country in the world, saving only England and Belgium. Loud were the boastings of O'Connell and his party. Monster meetings were held ; acres of human beings were addressed ; the Irish demagogue flourished the census returns over the heads of English ministers, as a bully flourishes his cudgel ; the old women of Ireland could beat the English army out with cabbage-stalks. So spake O'Connell ; and, meanwhile, the seven good years run on ; the potatoes fed the millions, the corn paid the rents, and there was no Joseph in the land to predict that " after these seven years there should arise seven other years, empty and blasted ; and that the plenty should not be known in the land by reason of the famine following." In 1846 began these years of dearth by a total failure of the potatoe crop. Twenty millions worth of food rotted away under a blight that defied all cure. In vain masses were said, and holy water sprinkled over fields of rotting food. Confidence in the priests began to be shaken. Could not the same man, it was thought, who invokes a curse on the Jumpers, now avert a curse from us ? The cry of the agitator was heard no more. Taken from

the evil to come, O'Connell died in Genoa during the famine year. They sent his heart to Rome, and brought his body back to Ireland; fit end of the turbulent tribune's attempt to serve two masters—the Pope and the people. But meanwhile the famine was sore in the land; gaunt men were sent out to work in gangs on the roads, and dropped before pay and food came at evening; whole families lay down and died on the cabin floors; there was no strength left to bury them; fever followed in the wake of the famine, and many that escaped the one, sickened and died under the other. One day a lady entered a wretched cabin in the West, and found a poor woman weeping over a dead baby. Poverty and starvation had not deadened the mother's feelings, and she began to tell of its little ways. "Oh, ma'am," she said, "it was just beginning to talk; its little tongue came round three little words, *ma pot on*; and when we had been all day without food, and the children would be crying for their supper, and not a nettle to be found for them, the little one as hungry as the rest, she would rub her little head on my knee and say, *ma pot on*; and to comfort her I would kindle the turf and set on the empty pot, and then the poor hungry thing would go to sleep and forget her sorrow." The Orphan Home at Clifden arose from one of these scenes, horrible and heart-rending, which God grant may never happen again in Ireland. Three clergymen, on a missionary tour through Conemara, observe a little child thrown under a ditch, and a huge pig in the act of putting his tusks into it. They rescue the little child, and at once resolve, God helping them, to found an orphan asylum for such little castaways as the babe they held in their arms.

Nor were famine and fever the only evils of these seven disastrous years. Rebellion began to lift its head. Bread riots, and attacks on provision escorts, had familiarized the people with the notion of resistance; but it wanted organisation, and Young Ireland undertook to provide this. We have seen Smith O'Brien, in the autumn of 1847, sitting, with his arms crossed, on one of the piers of the gate of a poor-house in the South of Ireland, expostulating with the people who were threatening to break into the poor-house and sack the bread-room. The military were drawn up two deep in the court-yard in front, prepared, with fixed bayonets, to resist the attack if made. Smith O'Brien, however, nothing daunted by the threatening demonstrations on both sides, warned the people not to spoil the justice of their cause by a petty outrage on the peace; that the day was

drawing on when it would be Ireland for the Irish. The revolutionary year, 1848, hurried into revolt the leaders of the Young Ireland party. They took the field, and in a few weeks were lodged in gaol, tried, convicted, and transported as felons. The only effect of this short-lived rebellion was, that it led to a few *fracas* between the Dublin mob and the young men of Trinity College; a few processions around the statue of him of "pious memory," who sits "infelix semperque sedebit" astride the middle of Dame Street; and a few nervous ladies, lived, with their band-boxes labelled and a ticket secured, in the Holyhead boat should the emergency arise. The rebellion burnt out as rapidly as it blazed up. It was well, perhaps, for Ireland that the agitation party proceeded from threats to deeds. So long as O'Connell lived, the Irish Filibustero kept up expectations of political independence. The patriot party in Ireland, like the Jewish zealots of old, would not hear of spiritual emancipation only, so long as hopes of political independence could be held out; but when the bubble had been blown and burst, when the O'Connell threats of driving out the English army with cabbage-stalks were appropriately ended in a cabbage garden, political gave way to religious controversy; the *venue* of the trial between English Protestantism and Irish Popery was transferred from Repeal to Reformation platforms; rifle clubs gave way to Bible classes, sedition ballads to Scripture ballads. "Pat," said a gentleman of the county Tyrone; "I am afraid you are making Ribbonmen here?" "Oh, no," was the retort, "I am not making Ribbonmen; but I am making *united Irishmen*; and this," holding up a large Bible, "is the bond of our union."

Another judgment by which the Lord's controversy with Ireland has been brought about, is the extensive emigration which set in with the first years of famine, and has flowed steadily on during the seven years of distress which we have seen followed thereon. The tide of population has ebbed for years from the Irish shores at a rate of little less than a thousand a day. Had this continued for twenty years, the country would have been drained of its population to a man. When Lord Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a toast at the Beef Steak Club, "Our Irish exports," alluding to his expected retirement from office, was given, to his Excellency's deep displeasure. With the same furtive and satirical allusion, our landlords would have wasted our Irish exports when Ireland was over-peopled, and the finest peasantry squatted on the finest soil to the mutual impoverishment of

both. But as the tide set in, and Irishmen gregarious to stay, became now gregarious to go, the landlords took alarm at this Irish exodus. Every emigrant went out with the fixed purpose, not only of paying his own passage out, but of earning the money to bring his family after him. Incredible sums were thus remitted back to Ireland, and returned to America in the shape of sea stores and passage money. Deep bays on the West coast, as unaccustomed to shipping as that harbour in the *Æneid*—

“Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes geminique minantur,
In cœlum scopuli : quorum sub verticè latè
Æquora tuta silent,”

were now visited annually by American liners to receive shiploads of these “Irish exports.” We remember seeing in print some doggerel lines by a tenant farmer, parodying the song of “Susannah, don’t you cry for me,” varied into, “Yer honour, don’t you cry for me.” Paddy with two years’ arrears in his pocket, satirically enjoying his landlord’s vexation at the land being thrown on his hands. But the clearances which began with the low did not stop till they reached the high. Emigration swept the tenant, and the Encumbered Estates Courts soon swept the landlord after him. The last representative of the Martins, owners of an avenue drive (as one of them boasted) thirty miles long, died on board an emigrant ship on her voyage to America. The D’Arcy of that ilk, owner of the Clifden estate, is now the pastor of the parish of which he was once proprietor. But seldom has the fall in one scale led to such real promotion in another. One proprietor, to our knowledge, of estate and family, has gladly taken a meal in the kitchen, and died at last with a pauper’s livery on his back. We met in the county Kildare the other day a peasant baronet, with frieze coat and grey stockings; and have seen letters arrive through the post inviting Sir Henry Ecklen, of Clonrode Castle, to become steward to a batchelor’s ball in London; or a trade circular to the chief gardener of Sir H. Ecklen, from an enterprising ironmonger, who was unaware that this baronet of an ancient house was his own chief gardener, and, like Diocletian, raised his own cabbages. Proprietors have become agents over properties, and agents proprietors, employer and employed changing places underneath the commissioner’s hammer. Popish convents and Protestant colonies have bid against each other to secure the right of the soil in mission settlements; and yet, balancing gain against loss, advantages against drawbacks, we cannot

but think that the recent exodus, both of landlords and tenants, has been subsidiary to the reformation work. The loss of Protestant tenant farmers has not been as great as of Popish; and although, in many cases, the old Protestant landlord has been supplanted by a Papist, on the whole the gain outbalances the loss. Landlords of the old school were often only annuitants on their own estates. No improvements were possible; their influence, 'if disposed even to use it, was small; they could neither build schools nor pay schoolmasters; the people on their estates, both morally and materially, "stood idle all the day;" and to the question of an age of enlightenment, "Why stand ye idle?" made answer, "Because no man hath hired us."

Thus famine and fever, rebellion and emigration, were the four great precursors of the Reformation in Ireland. These were God's vials on the land, poured out in judgment on her past sins—his trumpets sounding an alarm to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. It is time now to pass from what is preparatory to what is perfunctory, from the signs of the times to what is being done in these times. The two great agents in the work (to omit all mention of similar and subsidiary societies) have been, and are, the Irish Society and the Society for Irish Church Missions. The Irish Society, or the "Ould Irish," as it is fondly termed by those who are jealous of her birthright, is the elder of the two by about thirty years—the difference between the years 1818 and 1848 represents the difference between the old society and the new. The names of the two societies are expressive of the sphere of operation of each, and of the state of the age which gave them birth.

The "old Irish" was established in the year 1818, by a number of individuals in Dublin, under the name of the "Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the medium of their own Language." It seems at first to have been an educational rather than an ecclesiastical effort. This was the day of small things in the Church: never was the Establishment at a lower ebb. The days of its political ascendancy were numbered: its day of spiritual life had not yet dawned. Pastorini had predicted the year 1817 as the year of its fall: the next year, with the inauguration of a great Home Mission, it may be said to have taken out a new lease of life. It is interesting during the thirty years' interval between the foundation of the Irish Society and of the Irish Church Missions, to trace the transition from the old educational to the new ecclesiastical mode of con-

ducting missions in Ireland. The difference between the indefinite name of the *Irish Society* and the more definite name of the *Irish Church Missions*, marks the advance made between 1818 and 1848. In 1818 all was transitional and experimental: good men, alive for the spiritual interests of Ireland, had to feel their way; they had no precedent to go by: there had been Methodist preachers acting as missionaries to the Roman Catholics; but the fervour of Methodism had now died out: 1818 was too early and too late for open-air preaching. A generation ago open-air and controversial preaching were out of the question, but at this time the question of educating the masses had begun to be broached. Sydney Smith had written in the "Edinburgh Review," that if a state took upon it to hang a man, it should take upon it also the duty of teaching him. Bell and Lancaster had broached their plans, and education had become the topic of the day. But as yet no system of national education had been established. The Irish Society undertook then to break ground at this point; at the same time they discreetly chose a name so indefinite, that they could always shift their ground without affecting the character of the Society. It was enough in 1818 that there was a Society in existence pledged to promote the religious interests of Ireland. It might be an Irish Bible Society, an Irish Prayer Book and Homily Society, an Irish Education Society, an Irish Scripture Readers' Society, or, lastly, an Irish Church Missions Society. Its history between 1818 and 1848 will show that it has successively passed through all these stages of development. In 1821 they printed two editions of Boyle's Irish Bible in the proper character, the one an octavo the other a small Pocket Bible, accurate reprints of Mr. Boyle's quarto of 1682-5, the original MS. of which is in Marsh's Library, Dublin. It was in the contemplation of the Committee to follow up their editions of the Scriptures in Irish with an edition of the Prayer Book in the same tongue. But God had other work in store for this Society. From a Bible to a Prayer Book and Homily Society the third advance it made in a forward direction was as a Scriptural School Society. In the year 1822 the Committee was invited by the Rev. Mr. Winning, of Kingscourt, in the county of Cavan, to establish some schools in his neighbourhood; to this request they acceded, and forthwith allowed him salaries for nine masters. At first they were employed on the old system, but in the next year an important change was introduced into the Society's school system, which we may refer to as act the first in the drama of

the Irish Reformation. Hitherto all has been prelude and prologue, the curtain may be said now to rise and the action begin.

An inspector was appointed to look out for competent persons, to instruct all they can get access to in the Irish Primer. These teachers were furnished with elementary books, such as Scripture extracts, &c., and encouraged to teach whenever and wherever they might find opportunity—by the light of a turf fire, on a mud floor, in a quiet nook under a hedge. The industrious Chinaman who fastened his book to the cow's horn that he might read and plough at once; or the poor Italian poet who, for want of a candle, begged his cat to lend him the light of her eyes, were the models proposed for imitation of its scholars by the Irish Society. Education, above all the knowledge of that book which maketh wise unto salvation, began to filter through so many channels that the people began to slip out of Popery without the alarm being given for a long time. For once the ever watchful dragon of Popery had been caught asleep. Not only the priests sanctioned this Irish education, but so unsuspecting were the people of the spread of heresy in the Irish tongue, that Michael Reilly, one of the most successful teachers under the Irish Society, was at the same time one of the most bigoted votaries of Rome.

The years 1822-3 were the years of the greatest Carbonari conspiracies in Italy. Awful oaths, pass-words, dark chambers, trap-doors, masks, and all the ingenuity of Italian craft, could not conceal them from the police of Italy; and yet in Ireland, without even the semblance of mystery, the agents of the Irish Society, Carbonari-like, were revolutionising the country without once awaking the suspicions of Rome's police in Ireland. Schools went on multiplying. In one district the number of teachers employed was 31, and of pupils inspected 266. In the year 1825 the schools inspected had increased to 51, producing 927 pupils. Still nothing appeared on the surface to excite suspicion. The traveller might then, as before, go through Kingsconel to Cavan and back, and say all was barren. He might indulge the poet's dream of sermons in stones or books in the running brooks, without ever dreaming that sermons, not of natural religion only, were preached where all seemed still as stones, and that the running brooks were not the only books read by the Kingsconel peasants.

Nothing could be more complete than the supervision exercised over these disembodied schools. At the end of three

or four months an inspection took place; and the teachers were paid a sum, usually one shilling per head, for each pupil passing this inspection. On a certain day, known beforehand only to himself, the inspector would appear, furnished with a roll containing a list of the teachers and pupils in the district. A dozen men are reaping in the field, and while the rest are at their dinner two or three are talking in a corner of the field with a stranger who has strolled in at the gate. The pupils are arranged under five classes, according to proficiency. Here are spellers, readers, translators of Gospels, translators of Bibles, and lastly repetitioners, or those who can repeat passages, as the expressive Irish idiom has it, *by heart*. There is, in the first place, a fixed scale of gratuity to which each teacher is entitled according to the number in each class, and besides this an additional quantity recommended under special circumstances; so that a twofold stimulus is supplied to the teachers. By the first scale they are incited to increase the number of their scholars, by the second their proficiency.

Hitherto the secret system had succeeded to a marvel. From Cavan to Kerry the secret defection from Rome began to spread. Taking Kingscourt as a centre Irish schools had spread through five counties adjoining. Old men, women, and children began to read. Not only Irish Bibles but heretic English Bibles were eagerly bought up and compared with the Irish version. On one occasion, 700 New Testaments in English were openly sold in the place where a few years before one of these heretical volumes had been triumphantly burnt. In 1837 upwards of 4000 found welcome circulation, and more were loudly called for. Thus the progress of the Irish Society, up to the year 1840, may be summed up in the following extract from the Superintendent's report of that year. "Taking Kingscourt as a central point your schools have from it extended over parts of eleven counties eastward and westward reaching to the sea. During these last eighteen years in this district and its branches, you have had in actual operation upwards of fifteen hundred Irish scriptural schools. In these schools during that period, at the smallest computation, at least a hundred thousand Roman Catholics have been brought into contact with the Scriptures. In one branch of this district, from opposition and persecution, more than a hundred of our poor men emigrated to America; these were all virtually Protestants. They took with them a large supply of both Irish and English Scriptures; and some who have gone thither (as I was informed

by their friends) have been employed by Quaker gentlemen, and under their auspices, are at this moment teaching the Scriptures to their fellow countrymen.

The work of the Irish Society has by this time now attracted the attention of some even of the Oxford School. The Rev. W. Sewell visited Kingscourt in the autumn of 1840, and in 1843, at Stachallen Collegiate School, began the first attempt to introduce Anglicanism into Ireland. An Irish speaking people such as the Irish Society are now evangelising for the first time, will soon require an Irish speaking ministry "to receive the converts and preserve them to the Church." Excellent words Mr. Sewell, "*sed timeo Danaos.*" Your Anglican antecedents are, to say the least, suspicious to us Irish Protestants and Reformers; but you have a reputation to retrieve; Ireland shall be your *locus penitentiæ* for your unprotestant sayings and doings in England. We accept and approve of you as a fellow labourer in the same cause. So said, or so seemed to say, the unsuspecting friends of the Irish Society, and so thought the Irish Primate, a man who without guile himself could never suspect others of it. Of the after history of this auxiliary to the Irish Society little need be said. A school was established under high Tractarian patronage, *professedly* to supply the Irish Church with a body of Irish speaking clergy—practically to foster Anglicanism, that *tertium quid* which Irish Popery and Irish Protestantism equally disavow and detest.

The promoters of this college of St. Columba have illustrated the former clause, at least, of their patron saint's motto: "*Prudentes sicut serpentes, innocentes sicut columbæ.*" To the Irish aristocracy and gentry they offered the education of gentlemen to their sons. This promise they have redeemed. They have trained some thirty-five or forty youths of the upper classes to the liberal arts, and at a liberal cost to their parents. To the Anglican party they offered fasts twice in the week, frequent chapels, chanting, oak panelling, paintings, gold communion-plate and candlesticks, and such-like mediævalisms, supposed essentials to church order and decency. This pledge too they have amply redeemed. The sub-wardens' comment on a draught of the Gobat protest, drawn up by Mr. Williams the warden, and submitted to him for revisal, is in itself a comment on the system of this college: "*it is good Greek, but bad theology.*" Their scholarship was better than their divinity; the gentlemanly deportment of the pupils better than their scholarship. An alliance between St. Columba College and the Committee

of the Irish Society could neither be very lasting nor real. The Irish Society has since established in Vintry a training school for Irish-speaking youths, on a humbler, but at the same time a more suitable scale. A row of low, whitewashed cottages by the shores of Vintry Bay, is a less imposing edifice, it is true, than St Columba's College, Rathfarnham; but if there is less pretence, there is infinitely more reality. Popery dreads the one—she despises the other. In the one there is the name of a missionary college, in the other there is the power; the one is ecclesiastically correct, the other is spiritually alive; the one is a dead and antiquated form, the other a living reality; the one is a Tractarian puzzle for overgrown Oxford boys to play at clergymen, the other has already yielded missionary fruit, and has furnished four ordained clergymen to the Church, and eight students to the university, all Irish-speaking. It is significant of the different degree of respect in which the two institutions are now held by the Church in Ireland, that the Lord Primate *was* the patron of the one, and *is* the patron now of the other.

The experiment of this Tractarian attempt to meddle with the Irish Reformation movement will not, we think, encourage Anglicans to renew the attempt, or Irish prelates to patronize it. Mr. Williams, the warden, has lately been called over to Cambridge to take office in his college. Our advice to him would be to remain where he is. If King's will consent to keep him, the Irish clergy will never say nay.

Hitherto our readers will have observed, in the course of these remarks, the Reformation movement in Ireland had been carried on through one class of agencies only—the hedge school; the Irish reader, often himself a Roman Catholic; the training of an Irish-speaking ministry. These were so many preparatory stages of the work; but a step in advance was now to be made. Whether the Irish Society was prepared at the time to make it, is now a matter of controversy between the friends of the Irish Society and of the Irish Church Missions, of whose work we will now make particular mention. As well-wishers to both, but partizans of neither, we will decide for neither side. Gallio-like we drive such disputes from our judgment-seat. The position of the two societies, when the Irish Church Missions took the field in 1847, in the controversy with Rome, may be likened to the position of the two Anti-Slavery Associations in America. The Quakers, as here, for peace, and averse to political demonstrations of all kinds, long maintained their under-

ground railway, extending from the slave states into Canada. Friend Phineas asked no question for conscience sake, when a poor hunted African knocked at his door, at the dead of night. He never read the "Hue-and-cry;" knew nothing of slave brands; and therefore passed on the man of colour up the country without breaking the laws of God, or coming under the letter of the laws of man. But the abolitionist of the Northern States would not speak smooth words and play sly tricks upon slaveholders as Friend Phineas did. He had a mind of his own, and spoke it out; he had a will of his own, and acted it out. What he resolved on the platform to denounce, he often resolved in the slave rescue to suppress. A meeting convened in Harmony Hall would often adjourn to the gaol precincts, where

"He'd prove his creed was orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

The Irish Society had provided an underground railway for runaway Romanist slaves; many a "poor Paddy" in Kingscourt found an asylum similar to that provided for Uncle Toms on the Ohio. Whole droves of black Papists—"darkies" in creed if not in colour—were thus forwarded over the river from spiritual slavery to freedom. The banner of English law and liberty waved over thousands of freed limbs in Canada, and of freed hearts in Ireland; but the slaveholders in both countries took alarm—the property in flesh and blood, or in soul and spirit, was fast slipping out of their hands. They hunted down runaways in America and Jumpers in Ireland. Priests claimed the Celts, and planters the Africans, as their property: the one forged decretals, the other forged dockets, to support their claim. The bills of sale could not be contested: Peter's pence had been paid for the one, dollars and cents had changed hands for the other. The priest with his horsewhip, the planter with his lash, swore he would whip religion out of his slave. Jumpers in Irish villages, and runaways in American cotton-fields writhed under the lash of Legrees and O'Sullivans; but free hearts soon boiled at the sight. Abolitionism took fire in England and in America. The underground railway must give place to more open assaults on slavery, whether of body or soul. Friend Phineas in America, and old Irish Society men here, still stuck by the old system. Their plan was to prove, that neither priests nor planters could afford to breed slaves who would some time or other give them the slip. By their plan the two slaveries would be starved into submission. But the

new abolitionists, Old Englanders and New Englanders, were to go ahead for this: Brother Jonathan and Brother Dallas had each a plan of his own to "whop" the planters and priests into submission: the slave-rescue system was tried with some success, and much opposition, on both sides of the Atlantic. Abolitionism has rapidly gained on the old underground railway. The Irish Church Missions now shows a balance-sheet of £40,000 per annum; the old Irish can raise scarcely a fourth of that sum; yet we should be loth to say, that the work done by the two societies is as four to one. It must be conceded in favour of the Irish Society, that it has fewer unproductive missions than its younger sister. Abolitionism is noisier, but not eventually more successful than the underground system. It has often effected a rescue, as in Connemara: it has sometimes been obliged to abandon the lawful captive. It is not our purpose here to follow the history of the Irish Church Missions, or to trace the extension of its work; nor, again, are we minded to contrast the two societies together, as if it behoved us to declare for the one or the other. We are neutral for both; not, as some, neutral for neither. Indeed, the two societies are rapidly approximating to each other in their plans of conducting their operations. The Irish Society is not slow to follow the Irish Church Missions in publicly proclaiming the Gospel, and in the distribution of placards and handbills; and, again, the Irish Church Missions has copied to some extent the school system of the old Irish Society.

In one respect the new Society has learned a lesson of wisdom from the old. A year or two ago Mr. Dallas and his friends seem to have expected that the Irish people were weary of Popery, and ready to conform in a body. High hopes were held out to English collectors and subscribers. A year or two more, it was said, and our work will be done. The exodus from Popery has begun, nor will a hoof be left behind in Egyptian bondage. English tourists came over, and wrote their "Connings in Connemara," or their "Fort-night in Ireland"—they came, they saw, they conquered. Cæsar was not so laconic, or Menschikoff so magniloquent, as these summer tourists. Alas, for such airy hopes—holiday bubbles, soon blown, and soon burst.

"Lighter than air, hope's summer visions fly
If but a summer cloud obscure the sky,
If but a beam of sober reason play;
So fancy's fairy frostwork melts away."

Ireland is the land of "flummery," as Scotland is the "land of cakes." Centuries ago St. Jerome denounced the new and dangerous novelties of Pelagius as "Irish flummery." In the "stirabout schools" of the Irish Church Missions, the tourists were given to taste some of this filling but flatulent food. They ate and were satisfied, and returned to tell their countrymen of the Irish Reformation. The word chosen to express the work they had seen carried on in the west was unfortunate. It was one of those words appropriated to a certain theological sense. The Eastern Church is orthodox, the Latin Church is Catholic; and Protestants have appropriated to themselves the word Reformation. The word indeed is a sacred one, not to be lightly used. We are a reforming people it is true; but we will only allow to one Reformation. Twenty years ago we reformed our Parliament; we are daily appealed to, to reform our tailor's bills; but neither of these—not even the last—has ever aspired to the style and dignity of the Reformation. We are all, moreover, attracted by words: similarity of sound will, even to the well-informed, suggest similarity of idea. Hence a parallel was supposed to exist between the religious movement of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whole nations awoke at once, and shook off for ever the superstitions of Rome. Ireland now was awaking—her slumbers had been protracted a little longer than her sisters' in England and Scotland: they had risen at day-dawn, when the sun of religion and letters only streaked the eastern sky: but that sun had now risen high in the heavens; it was already the third hour of the day. Ireland had overslept herself, and must now start to overtake her sisters, who had risen with the sun. So thought the English tourists, and so, we have reason to suppose, thought Mr. Dallas.

Now it behoves the Irish Church Missions, in this the seventh year of its operations, to undeceive any who are not willingly ignorant of the true position of things. We would not for that reason desire our readers to turn for information to the reports of any of the Irish Missionary Societies. We should be very loth to say or think that these documents were in any sense "cooked." Our knowledge of many of the missionaries employed sets them above all suspicion of "making things pleasant" for English readers; yet, as old Jacob sent into Egypt a little honey and a little balm, nuts and almonds, besides the double money in his sons' hands, so the missionaries may indulge their hearers with a few coloured comfits of hope, in consideration of the sterling facts

with which they meet them annually. We would prefer the verdict of the parochial clergy to any testimony of any missionary, however unimpeached. The judgment then of the parochial clergy would compare the work now going on in Ireland to that in India, rather than to what occurred in England 300 years ago. To one seeking for information as to the true state of things we should say, look to the Church Missionary work in Tinnivelly: the results in the one mission field are as encouraging as in the other. In both there is a staff of missionaries who itinerate; preach controversial sermons—whether under a banyan-tree or in a wooden pulpit it matters not—and superintend a staff of catechists or Scripture-readers. In both, the printing-press is extensively made use of. The very handbills found so useful in Ireland are now employed in India: Mr. Mitchell having imported the idea from Armagh to Kurachi. In both, the preaching of the gospel is protected by the strong arm of British law; yet the converts, and occasionally the missionaries, in both, encounter a good deal of petty persecution. In both, the disproportion between believers and unbelievers is still very great: and, lastly, in both, the converts are gathered out into settlements of their own. Achill Island, for instance, is the Raduchapuram of Ireland; Krishnagur the Connemara of India. We would pause on this last fact, which gives a clearer insight into the real state of things than any other. Colonies for the protection of converts were not founded in Germany, Scotland, or England during the Reformation; but they are required in Ireland; therefore the Reformation there is not the precedent to what is going on now. Again, colonies, or Christian settlements for the protection of converts, are planted in India as in Ireland; therefore the work which is slowly progressive in the one is the same in the other also. In India the masses are preached to, and individuals are singled out, “whomsoever the Lord shall call:” they are first inquirers; then converts; then members of a little Christian community; and, finally, cut off from the rest of their fellow-countrymen, and drawn together into Christian settlements. Such therefore, or similar to it, is the work in Ireland. In Down, in Dingle, and in Achill there are Protestant settlements as like to these Christian villages in India as two things can be. The parallel between Popery and Paganism is in nothing closer than this, that both set the mark of the beast upon the right hand and the forehead of all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, that no man might buy or sell, save he that has the mark.

We believe that the testimony of the ablest missionaries of the Irish Church Mission would quite corroborate these remarks; and that its English advocates are not ashamed to confess that there has been some innocent exaggeration on their part. The reports of most of their missionaries open with a little disclaimer of all exaggeration. "I desire," writes the missionary in Upper Balla, "to set forth the truth without a single tint of extra colouring." The Rev. J. Dowling, the Society's missionary at Kingstown, writes in a true missionary spirit. "Thus gradually, but yet surely, were we acquiring an influence among the people, when they saw that a work, which they regarded as a mere experiment or desultory effort of spasmodic zeal, exhibited system and perseverance in its arrangement and operations. Ignite powder on the surface of a rock, and though there may be much of smoke and flame you will only blacken, not blast it: if you would blast it you must first bore it. Our work has been as the boring of the rock."

Mr. Dowling writes from life. His mission is among the granite quarries of Killiney and Kingstown, and he has learned a quarryman's lesson. He is content to hammer and bore. Duties are ours, he writes, results are God's; and he thanks the auxiliary for contributing upwards of £400, and this at a time when as yet the Mission had produced but little apparent fruit. That its missionaries should write in this spirit we take to be a token for good to the Irish Church Missions. Such patient continuing in well doing shall not go unrewarded: the vision may tarry, but men with this spirit of faith will wait for it.

It is worthy of remark, that although the Irish Society and the society for Irish Church Missions set out, as we have seen, professing a different plan of operations altogether—the one under ground the other above ground—the one conciliatory the other controversial—the one teaching the other preaching—they have each fallen into the plans of the other. The Irish Society adopts the new plan of preaching by placard, the Irish Church Missions employs the school system of the "Old Irish." The Ragged School system, now adopted by both Societies, has drawn them still more closely together, and caused any diversities of operation between missions in the south and west almost to disappear.

Little did John Pounds, the Southampton cobbler, the founder, as we are told, of Ragged Schools, imagine, when he enticed little Irish boys into his school with a hot potatoe held at the end of a fork, that he was preparing an agency

for evangelizing the Roman Catholic town population of Ireland. Open air preaching has been found unsafe; controversial preaching in parish churches scarcely attracts the lower classes; the mob in many instances tore down the placards, beat or pelted the readers, and would not attend the enquiring classes. At this juncture of the work a new agency has been provided, worth almost all the rest put together. The Ragged School has opened a harbour of refuge in every town to which readers, enquirers, and converts may retire from the rage of the mob.

But John Pounds not only opened a school; he fished for pupils, and used for his bait a potatoe. Prescient John Pounds! he knew human nature, and above all the difference between preprandial and postprandial benevolence. True, he had never dined at the Thatched House Tavern; but honest John Pounds had a theory, that if an annual dinner lubricates a public charity, and makes an alderman's face to shine, much more does a mealy potatoe melt in an Irishman's mouth. So not having the fear of priests before his eyes, the kind cobbler bribed little boys to a most unconscionable extent. The dietary question being thus easily settled, ragged schools spread and multiplied. Head knowledge thrived apace; hungry little urchins both eat to learn and learned to eat. Good Lord Shaftesbury soon took up the work. The licensed victuallers of learning became a powerful body: every town had its Ragged School. Ireland and Irish Reformation Societies were not slow in adopting the good work. Dublin has its Ragged Schools, where two thousand men, women, and children are taught the Protestant religion out of the Roman Catholic Bible. Limerick, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Tuam, Enniscarthy, and other towns are fast following the good example. The principles on which these Ragged Schools are connected with the two Reformation Societies seems to be this;—that the Societies provide a Mission School, where instruction is given, and local friends subscribe for bread and stirabout on the Ragged School system. Thus none are sent empty away: those who can eat in their own houses enjoy all the advantages of the Mission School alone, and those who have nothing to eat enjoy the added advantages of the Ragged School.

There are purists who would banish the kitchen department out of the Mission House altogether. To such, John Pound's plan is far too simple and upright; it has the suspicious air of bribery, and is not ashamed of it. "*Panem et circenses*" was the cry of the Roman populace; the wisest

emperors were not ashamed to supply both wants together. Bread and the Bible is the cry of our ragged poor—we cannot give the one and withhold the other,—and since the wants are connected, what objection is there to conceal the supply of their wants? What good object would be gained by holding the bread class and the Bible class under different roofs? The bribery, if any, is none the less real because carried on in a more circuitous route.

The test of the efficacy of these Ragged Schools is their being adopted and imitated by the Romanists themselves. Tired of taunting the missionaries as “souters” and “stirabout men,” they too have taken the kitchen department under their care. The cook is the only “lively oracle” now extant in these schools; doubters are invited to discuss the Church at clerical breakfasts; and the people who once put on the pot for the priest now compel the priest to put on the pot for them.

To bring our sketch of the Church’s work in Ireland down to the last dates, it is right to take notice of an opinion very extensively prevailing, that the Irish Church Missions’ work within the last year has received a check. It is true we hear less of it now than two years ago. But two things deserve to be taken into consideration; the one, that we had then no European war to turn all eyes to the East, to the exclusion of home interests; the other, that the Irish Church Missions had not then subsided into its proper sphere as a great prop to the Church in its witness against Popery in Ireland. Allowing for these two considerations their full weight, we cannot admit that the missionary work in Ireland has suffered any check. Still there have been crosses. In two particulars Mr. Dallas has run counter to many of the Irish clergy within the last few months, which, if it has not paralysed the men under arms in the trenches, has divided at least the counsels of their generals.

Irish Orangeism, a plant of the thistle rather than the shamrock order of herbs, sheds its down in the north of Ireland every July, and raises a plentiful crop of processions, and Protestant walks, and Kentish fire. The “No Surrender,” indeed, of Orangeism so corresponds to the motto of the thistle bristling with defiance—“*Nemo me impune lacessit*”—that it would seem as if the one was a free translation of the other. It is difficult for Englishmen to look at Orangeism as it is, “to extenuate nothing, to set down naught in malice.” We fear, even as we write, lest our ink should run with more gall than is right; but, however this

may be, Mr. Dallas and the London Committee of the Irish Church Missions, in retrenching their work last year, dismissed, it is said, some readers who continued enrolled Orangemen. But, alas for Mr. Dallas, he was trenching on the smouldering fires of party, and he knew it not. "*Incedis suppositos per ignes.*" The "Sentinel" newspaper, the organ of Dr. Tresham Gregg, first took fire—the match fell, it must be acknowledged, on very inflammable materials—and swiftly the bale fires of controversy spread from one Orange print to another. As we write, the Ultra-Orange clergy are planting "Anti-Dallas demonstrations." The hated spirit of party, and that odium most odious of all, the *odium politico-theologicum*, have been let loose. Happily for the Irish Church, her leaders and principal men are, as a body, men above party; her bishops are liberal, some latitudinarian even, but not Orangemen; and her best and most devoted parish ministers, with some exceptions, stand aloof from that party whose organ the "Sentinel" is. The best hopes of the Irish Reformation rest upon this, that so long as the Irish Church Missions retains the confidence of the great bulk of the Irish clergy, it cannot split upon the rock of party politics. Meanwhile it must needs be that offences come; it seems as if the Church in Ireland was to be rebuilt as the temple of old was—amidst the weeping and the shouting of the old and the young. The elders weep, that it is shorn of its old pinnacles of political ascendancy; and the youngers shout, when they remember from what mounds of rubbish it is being built up; and yet the glory of this second temple may exceed that of the first, inasmuch as the ministrations of the spirit excels any ministration of political privilege only.

The relations between the Irish Church Missions and Orangeism are unsatisfactory; the two bodies are suspicious the one of the other. Political Protestantism, which is only defensive, and spiritual, which must be as decidedly aggressive, present so different a front that it is difficult to combine the two together; the teachers of the one are seldom seen on the platforms of the other. There is nothing in this of itself alarming to the cause of missions in Ireland. It would be a much more formidable difficulty if the Society failed in securing the full confidence and co-operation of the Irish clergy.

The Irish Church Missions have always heartily assented to the parochial system, and acted up to it in good faith. It has not forced itself in without the consent of the rector, or refused to withdraw its agents at his desire. But a little

difficulty has arisen as to the amount of superintendence which the parish clergyman is entitled to exercise ; the Committee are not willing to part with their central, or the clergy with their local, authority. On the one hand, a voluntary society, if admitted at all, must be admitted on its own principle ; the contributors, acting through their committee, must have a right to do what they please with their own. If the Establishment, planted by law to protect against Popery, finds itself unequal to cope single-handed with the enemy, and calls in a voluntary association to aid in the work, it forfeits at once some of its rights. It is the same as with Turkey, she will have to pay the Western Powers for their Alliance in concessions if not in cash : she gives a right to interference in her internal affairs by inviting them to her external defence. But, on the other hand, alliance must not be made the plea for usurping established rights. The Establishment has enlisted voluntarism on its side ; voluntarism has no right to dispossess the Establishment of any stronghold without its consent. Thus the Establishment and the societies should double, not divide, their strength ; the Establishment has the birthright, but Societies seem born to inherit the blessing. Let them not supplant each other.

Much practical wisdom and forbearance will be needed on both sides. If the Irish Church Missions should say boastfully, that it has been raised up to do what the Establishment failed to do, let it remember that it has been grafted in on an old stock, and that it is only a graft, not a tree. "Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee." Or, again, should the Establishment resent the solicitude of a London Committee and stand on its ecclesiastical rights, let it remember, that a fruitless tree is in danger of being cut down as a cumberer of the ground ; and that it is true wisdom to revive the dead natural branches of the parochial system by living grafts from the wild olive of voluntarism. Of the two dangers the former is the most imminent now. There is more danger of the voluntary principle despising the established, than of the established refusing the aid of the voluntary. Of the two services, as in India, the uncovenanted, though underpaid, is more energetic than the covenanted ; and yet the one is powerless without the other. There is no instance of reformation in Ireland in which the work has not been effected by the parish minister aided by agents from without. In no instance that we can recall, either when missionary grants have taken the form of minister's money, or when missionaries unauthorised by the paid

minister, have occupied his parish, has the work been signally blessed. The Irish Church Missions is not merely a Pastoral Aid Society to the Establishment: the Establishment is not merely an old ecclesiastical map of Ireland, with the sites of churches not yet filled in. Kingscourt, Doon, Dingle, Clifden, Achill, and St. Michan's, Dublin, are all instances to the contrary. The happiest results have followed the co-operation of the two principles—Established and Voluntary: either by itself will remain barren of fruit for ever. The conclusion we would draw from this, is a friendly caution to Mr. Dallas and the Committee of the Irish Church Missions, not to take the lead from the Establishment in opening mission doors. An iron gate opened of its own accord to let Peter out of the prison. God's providences, like angels, go before; we must wait and follow where they lead. Because there have been openings in Ireland, we are not to assume that all Ireland is equally open. Much strength has thus been wasted in vain. We witnessed an instance of this in a parish in the County of Louth two years ago. The missionary of the district obtained from the rector his reluctant consent to the location of two Scripture readers in the village of C—. The Irish Church Mission courts publicity, and so the advent of the readers were heralded by a shower of handbills, and the priest and his flock summoned to surrender at discretion. The readers came, and were met at the head of the village with an ovation of eggs, rotten as the religion of those who threw them. The priest forewarned, forearmed, had denounced the Jumpers in time. He had told Paddy his cabin was his castle; and if a reader would persist in entering, first to knock him down with a spade, and then claim damages for housebreaking and assault. To the women and children a plenary indulgence was held out to pelt, groan, shout at, or mob the readers, so far as the police would allow them to indulge their noisy right of conscience. The Protestants of the village coldly looked on; not a shopkeeper could be found to take in the readers; the rector was obliged to house them in his lodge-gate; but in less than a month they were called off to open a mission elsewhere. Their location at C— had been hastily conceived and as hastily abandoned. Popery was irritated without being injured; the church schools emptied of their Catholic children; the clergyman's influence considerably lowered; the priest's triumph complete and apparent; and, on the whole, more harm done in a month than six months of usefulness elsewhere could repair. The

Irish Society, in justice to it be it said, has taken fewer of these inconsiderate steps, for this reason, that it has never outrun the Establishment; or, if more swift-footed, it has come first to the sepulchre of the dead Christ of Popery,* it went not in till the elder witness came up, went in first, and invited the younger to follow.

Meanwhile Rome has done what she could to retrieve her falling fortunes in Ireland. It will lead to much soberer and more scriptural hopes for the cause of missions in Ireland, if we take into account the reaction made by Rome. She has never shown such astonishing proofs of vitality under repeated well-directed blows. "Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him? The deadly wound has been healed, and all the world wondered after the beast." We witnessed, in 1848, the Jesuits hurried out of Nice at twenty-four hours' notice, smiling at the people's impetuosity to be rid of them, and assuring them they would soon invite them back. None but a Jesuit could have believed that it was not all up with the order. And so in Ireland, he must have been a bold Romanist who did not despair of the fortune of Rome five years ago. But from the date of the Synod of Thurles, the reaction, conducted with consummate skill, has begun. The old system of MacHale, Bishop of Ballyloughally, has been superseded by that of Paul Cullen, of Marianopolis. Mr. Huc tells us, that the Chinese suppose death ensues from the soul departing out of the body. They, therefore, flock round the dying man's bed, and first try and coax the soul to stay; but when it seems obstinate they resort to shouts and threats; they hem the soul in by standing round the bed-side, and beat the sides of the wall for fear it should slyly escape. The end is that the sufferer dies often prematurely, and the soul quietly slips off in the midst of this strange charivari.

The old bully system of the Irish priests, to keep the body and soul of Popery together, seems to have resembled the Chinese, and with the same results. But since the Synod of Thurles the tactics of Rome have been altered. School for school, college for college, mission for mission; she has met every effort of Protestantism by a counter effort of Popish propagandism. She has not been ashamed to learn from an enemy. She dreads the Bible, but distributes it;

* "That convent," said Myconius, referring to Luther in the Augustinian convent at Erfurt, "is like our Lord's sepulchre. They wish to prevent our Lord rising again, but will not succeed."—*D'Aubigné's Reformation*, Vol. I.

she hates enlightenment, but educates; she fears private judgment, but reasons with the people. Her convents and religious houses were dens of debauch and riot of old; she now challenges inquiry for herself, and vexes her chaste spirit with the impurities of Protestant England. Dr. Cahill points to Oxford as a cage of unclean birds, and extols the chaste celibacy of the Catholic clergy. The energy of her counter efforts to the truth in Ireland is truly wonderful. Ireland is the Pope's Sebastopol, nearly invested by the allied arms of the Protestant Churches. They have opened fire on her from hundreds of controversial pulpits and classes. They have commanded the heights and demolished every unprotected house; and yet Paul Cullen can write to his Holiness that nothing decisive has occurred, and that his position is as good as ever. Nor can this be denied at present. The one siege, in truth, is as tedious as the other. Popery is apparently as far off evacuating Ireland as Russia is the Crimea. Would that our chances of success were as impending with one case as in the other. But Englishmen-like is our polemics as well with Rome and Russia, we have alternately exaggerated or overlooked the real strength of the enemy. At one time we call Rome the Antichrist, Babylon the great, the harlot beside many waters. At another, we send our mission army to Ireland, to invade her in one of her strongholds (for, like Russia, her strength is in her extremities), and affect surprise that Rome is not stormed in a day, and that she offers a much more obstinate defence than we had reckoned on. We find, even to our surprise, that she is strong enough to make sorties into England, and cut off some of our rural clergy asleep at their posts. They have sent, we are told, controversial preachers through the country. One tumbled, like a shell from the skies, in this way into the quiet village of Sleephollow-cum-Snorewell, and challenged old Dr. Drowsy to a three days' public controversy. The good doctor, who knew no more of Popery than of Thuggism, was fairly dumbfounded; but Nemesis was on his heels in the shape of a smart Irish curate in a neighbouring town, who took up the challenge, whereupon the champion of Rome beat a retreat from the scene of his brief triumph.

The vitality of Rome under assault, even of spiritual weapons, must be seen to be believed. We have good hope of reformation work in Ireland; but it will be slow and progressive, and never complete till all enemies shall be put under Christ's feet, and Satan restrained from deceiving the nations.

As there have been three revelations of God to man—the primitive, or nature religion, under the patriarchs; the religion of rites, under the prophets; and the religion of spirit, under THE SON—so there have been three apostacies corresponding to each: the apostacy of nature religion, or Paganism; the apostacy of the Testament truth, or Mahometanism and modern Judaism; and the apostacy of the New Testament, the dead churches, Greek and Latin. In the times of the restitution of all things, it is not to be supposed that one apostacy will be destroyed before the others, least of all that the last of the three should be the soonest overcome. If God's messengers of mercy have been more and more honourable, ending last of all with his only Son, so have Satan's. Impostors have risen upon each other; they cannot be disconnected with each other; there is no isolating our efforts upon one grand point of attack. Let us not say "Popery in Ireland has been demolished after our press can be set free to oppose the other two older apostacies—Pagan and Deist." We would hardly be at the pains of writing on a truth so self-evident, were it not that undue hopes for Ireland have been raised, and that the reaction is already setting in.

But we must draw our remarks to a close, and cannot do so more appropriately than with a tribute to the venerated Primate of Ireland, the patriarch in right of his years, as in right of his office, of the Irish Church, who is this year entering on a jubilee year of his episcopate. His life may be said to represent the fortunes of the Irish Church during the last half century. Consecrated Bishop of Cork in 1805, he has held in succession, during half a century, three bishoprics and two archbishoprics. His episcopal life, if divided into two portions of a quarter of a century each, will represent the two stages of decline and restoration through which the Irish Church has passed between 1805 and 1855. The twenty-five years from 1805 to 1830 mark the decline and fall of the old political church system in Ireland. In 1830 the twin stars of Toryism and Protestant ascendancy waned together. Dr. Whately was then sent to Ireland to establish a new state of things. The humiliation of the old party was complete. One by one the Church was stripped of her privileges. Church rates, the ten bishoprics, the twenty-five per cent. tithe rent charge, the church education, were loppings from the leafy, but too often fruitless, tree of the Church Establishment. To all these measures of Church spoliation, except the last, on which he has stood firm, the Primate has given his unwilling consent. He has been

blamed by some for yielding at all as if his resistance would have saved these rights in the least. There is no dishonour in a general giving up his sword when resistance is useless. Imbecile obstinacy, the worst and commonest fault of narrow and arrogant churchmen, is no fault of the Primate of Ireland. "If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place, for yielding pacifieth great offences." It is often truer dignity to submit than to strive.

But from 1830 to 1855 the Church has been recovering in one direction more than it lost before in another. In 1830 it lost an unjust and oppressive ascendancy, prohibitive to Papists, and not protective even to Protestants.* In 1855 it has gained ground over Presbyterianism in the North and Popery in the South and West. In the North the Church never was so strong as at present: it has gained ground on Presbyterianism everywhere. In Belfast, church extension never was so active, or baptisms so numerous, as in the last few years. And of the progress of the Church against Popery we have already made mention. Trinity College, Dublin, never was so full of students: an unusually large number were entered last year. Classes multiplying—new professorships founded—public lecture-rooms rising in one of the quadrangles—prove it has nothing to fear, either from the Catholic University or the Queen's Colleges. Within the same period the number of clergy in Ireland has nearly doubled. Unions of parishes have been abolished. No clergyman now holds twenty-five miles of country, and £2000 a year in tithes. Livings in the West are not now famous only for fishing. Deans do not hunt twice a week and shoot on the alternate days. But we will not boast of things beyond our measure. Much remains yet to be done, and some things to be done away with. The education question is still unsettled, and the Irish clergy and Church suffers for conscience sake. The Bishop of Ossory's compromise ought to be carried out. The success of free trade in education in India should encourage the Government to abandon its present priest-protectionist scheme of education in Ireland. The disproportion between under-paid over-populous livings, and over-paid and under-

* As a specimen of mere political Protestantism and its fruits, the following may be quoted. Not twenty years ago, when the Orangemen of Edenderry were prohibited from marching in procession, and firing over the Boyne, numbers, to show their displeasure, renounced their religion, and went openly to mass. The Protestant names, such as Murray and Scott, borne by Papists as bigoted as any in Ireland, remain to warn us of the evils of the old days of political churchmanship.

peopled livings, should be righted. Thus the vicar of Dundalk, with 2,000 church members, is "passing rich on forty pounds a year;" and the rector of Louth, with scarce a handful of Protestants, draws £1,000 per annum from his living. The motto of the good old Irish Society ought to be more observed in our Establishment. "No work no pay; and the work must be seen." Meanwhile, as a whole, the last twenty-five years have more than compensated for the depression of the first twenty-five of the period in question. We cannot conclude our article on Church matters in Ireland more appropriately than with a prayer that the Primate, so long identified with the Irish Church as a chief ruler in it for upwards of half a century, may experience the same consolation in Christ, the same fellowship of the Spirit, the same bowels and mercies, which have been the true life of the Church through these years of decline and recovery; and when laid in his own cathedral church, restored and beautified by his munificence, may the same words be inscribed over him, which were inscribed over the last Archbishop of Tuam; "He was a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, holy, just, temperate, holding fast the faithful Word as he had been taught."

ART. V.—1. *Modern Painters*. Vol. I. By a GRADUATE OF OXFORD. Fourth Edition. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1848.

2. *Modern Painters*. Vol. II. London. 1848.

3. *Stones of Venice*. 3 vols. London. 1851.

4. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London. 1849.

5. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting, delivered at Edinburgh in November, 1853*. London. 1854.

ART comes to us as the interpreter of Nature: she wears the robe, and she speaks with the authority of Nature's Hierophant: she unlocks the treasure-house of the universe; she draws the veil from the countless mysteries which surround us, and bids us learn from her of Nature's God. But Art comes to us in another character—as the exponent of man's inner feelings. She receives the sighs and the aspirations which are whispered to her by a myriad votaries, and enables them to put the disembodied spirits of their conception into tangible, material forms, so that humanity at large may gaze and learn. It is in these points that there is so

strong an analogy between art and poetry. They have both a far higher aim than merely pleasing man's capricious fancies, or ministering to his depraved appetites. They have both a mighty mission to fulfil in this world of ours; for they have to tell of God and of his works; they have to trace the great truths which float over our being; and they have to serve as expressions of kindred joys, common sympathies, and united faith.

Such are the leading thoughts which appear to us to underlie the remarkable series of works whose titles we have given above. They are the rich fruits of a mind which has been gifted with wonderful powers of perception, and striking originality of thought. Besides this, Mr. Ruskin has the rare faculty of arraying his conceptions in the most gorgeous imagery which language can supply, and of speaking with the persuasive earnestness of one who feels that he is doing a great work for God and his brother men.

These abilities were essential to his success; for he strikes at the root of the theories which had received the sanction of centuries, and had passed almost into axioms. He utterly denies the truth of the principles upon which artist and architects have proceeded from before the Reformation until now; he defends the character, and establishes the excellence of men whom multitudes had conspired to asperse; he has the stern voice of the prophets of old, denouncing the whole school of "*renaissance*" architects, together with their followers, and boldly asserting the paramount superiority of a revived school of art. In many it would be sheer presumption to stand up and say, that the art-critics of this and other generations are all equally blind to the plain truths of their profession; but in the author whose works are before us, it is an earnest love of truth, grounded on a most reasonable basis.

We have the greatest possible sympathy with the general tenor of Mr. Ruskin's works; and, although there are points of minor detail from which we must beg leave to dissent, yet, on the whole, we acknowledge ourselves his followers. We look upon the publication of the volumes before us as forming a new epoch in the history of our common Christianity; for we were satiated with the Paganism which preceding generations had bequeathed us, and which we accepted unquestioningly. Paganism, greatly resembling the Romanism which we dread so much, works in our midst: it fills our halls—it enters our churches—it parades our streets: men give it a forced admiration, and forget its bane; they look at it with a morbid

kind of wonder, and disguise its hatefulness under the name of classical beauty. We have often to enter the house of God through a portico which is feebly copied from a heathen temple; and, during the celebration of the holiest rites of our religion, the eye is compelled to rest upon capitals or mouldings which were first devised to adorn the shrines of ancient deities, when, if the builders had done their duty, it might have been reminded of God by the trefoil in the windows, or of the Saviour by the vine-leaves on the capital. But, alas! even in the sanctuary Paganism too often stares us in the face, and Paganism too which has not half the beauty or the impressiveness of the temples at Benares or Delhi. And as we tread the streets of our towns, there is nothing to tell us that we are in a Christian country, or to remind us of the broad fields and sunny landscapes which lie beyond. The houses, as a general rule, are dangerously weak from the faults of their construction, or hideously ugly from the utter want of any element of beauty. Even their apologists will merely assert the undeviating uniformity of their design as striking the eye with a sense of order, and conveying the idea of a single block of building. But how would these apologists admire a forest, if every tree were clipped and shorn to resemble its neighbour; if every trunk were planed smooth, and every branch twisted into uniformity? How would nature look, if every flower were formed on precisely the same model, so that one rose could not be distinguished from another? It is not enough that houses should be uniform; they must have unity—the unity which Nature has. But their chief need is beauty; and this beauty cannot be found in the narrow imitation of a lifeless Paganism: we must show that we are men; we must strike out a new path for ourselves; we must think for ourselves how we can best adapt our means to the end proposed; and in decoration we must imitate nature as far as we can, and we shall find, that though no two buildings may have precisely the same features, yet there will be some fresh beauty in each, borrowed from some fresh corner of the wide realms of nature.

But while there is a spirit of practical Paganism in our architecture, there is a spirit of practical Atheism in our appreciation of nature. Science has explained the phenomena of the clouds, systematized the flowers, and named the stars. This is very right so far as it goes; but we must not habituate ourselves to look at these mighty proofs of the wisdom and power of God merely as subjects for human in-

vestigation, or at their beauty as the result of natural laws. We are too apt to leave the world's great Architect out of our thoughts, or at least not to search, as we ought to do, for the beauty which is His stamp upon His creation—the sign and seal of Nature to the testimony of the Bible, that they are very good. Mr. Ruskin would have us look into Nature, that we may learn lessons of beauty and of love; he would have us renounce the blank and empty gaze for the searching, attentive observation; he would have us carefully notice every fact that comes before us, and every form that presents itself; he would have us look at Nature as a lovely teacher of the great lessons of humanity. And if we would learn how to look at God's work aright, we cannot have a better guide and model than Mr. Ruskin; for we will venture to assert, that no writer has ever combined the perceptive and imaginative faculties so strongly as he has done, or sent a keener glance into nature's inmost recesses. We might quote passage after passage to prove our words; but we rather refer the reader to the writings themselves, and rest content with giving but one quotation, which is taken from the first volume of "Modern Painters."

"The noonday sun came slanting down the rocky slopes of La Riccia, and its masses of entangled and tall foliage, whose autumnal tints were mixed with the wet verdure of a thousand evergreens, were penetrated with it as with rain. I cannot call it colour, it was conflagration. Purple, and crimson, and scarlet, like the curtains of God's tabernacle, the rejoicing trees sank into the valley in showers of light, every separate leaf quivering with buoyant and burning life: each, as it turned to reflect or to transmit the sun-beam, first a torch and then an emerald. Far up into the recesses of the valley, the green vistas arched like the hollows of mighty waves of some crystalline sea, with the arbutus flowers dashed along their banks for foam, and silver flakes of orange spray tossed into the air around them, breaking over the grey walls of rock into a thousand separate stars, fading and kindling alternately as the weak wind lifted and let them fall. Every glade of grass burned like the golden floor of heaven, opening in sudden gleams as the foliage broke and closed above it, as sheet-lightning opens in a cloud at sunset: the motionless masses of dark rock—dark though flushed with scarlet lichen—casting their quiet shadows across its restless radiance, the fountain underneath them filling its marble hollow with blue mist and fitful sound, and over all—the multitudinous bars of amber and rose, the sacred clouds that have no darkness, and only exist to illumine, were seen in fathomless intervals between the solemn and orbéd repose of the stone pines, passing to lose themselves in the last, white, blinding lustre of the measureless line where the campagna melted into the blaze of the sea."

How infinitely greater would be our pleasure in looking abroad upon the works of God, if we could view them in Mr. Ruskin's spirit; if we could look up at the piled masses of white cloud as the marble steps to the palace of the great King, or down upon the fragrance of the mown grass, as the incense which earth is offering in the temple of the heavens; if we could see God's name written in stars by night, or in flowers by day.

Mr. Ruskin is very careful to establish each step in the development of his theory before proceeding further. It will be our duty to follow him, and to give, though in very shadowy and imperfect outline, a summary of the points on which he lays the greatest stress. We have to triumph, however, over one slight defect in Mr. Ruskin's works—his frequent diffuseness: for although he is often not merely concise, but suggestive; although he frequently fills our souls with such delicious nectar as to make us thirst for more; yet at other times he descends to the most trivial and unimportant details, and takes three or four sentences to explain something which the first has made quite obvious. We think also, that some of his long digressions might have been welded together into separate treatises, instead of interrupting the current of his remarks upon art.

We must notice, that he establishes a fundamental axiom, viz., that there should be an absolute standard in matters of taste. The proverb, "De gustibus non disputandum est," has sat enthroned for centuries on the hearts of millions; but it is high time that it should totter to its fall. In such an age as the present, when men contend that "truth is what each man troweth," in theology as well as in æsthetics; when they set up their own intuitions as unerring guides to correct morality as well as correct taste, it is difficult even to gain a hearing on such a point as this, which involves the sacrifice of what most men hold so dear—their own infallibility. But if there is a right and a wrong in morals; if there is a true and a false in the material world; and if God has given us the faculties for judging between them; it follows that the universal law of his government must be applied, and that we must be held responsible for the use of our judgment. And if we are amenable to God for the sentence which we allow our judgment to pass upon all other things which come to its bar, why should an exception be made in regard to taste? In other words, is it possible or probable that painting, sculpture, and whatever else comes into the province of the senses, should be merely *subjectively*

beautiful? Mr. Ruskin's arguments, as given in the second volume of "Modern Painters," are deserving of most careful consideration; for at present, men are wont to cover the most flagrant depravity of taste, and the most unblushing attachment to all that is bad, by the supposed recognized principle, "Tastes vary."

If then there is a right and wrong, a good and bad in art, the next question will be, What is the standard by which excellence is to be measured? how are we to determine whether a work of art be good or bad? Dogmatism in such a case would be of no avail, and therefore the subject must be carefully investigated from those first principles on which there is a common consent of mankind. If we search into those things which are usually required of a work of art, we shall find it necessary that it should be, first of all, *Truthful*; i. e., that it should faithfully represent what it is intended to represent. Secondly, *Useful*; i. e., that it should serve some good purpose. Thirdly, *Beautiful*; i. e., that it should please the moral sense. We cannot lay down any more than these three axioms; yet merely these, in Mr. Ruskin's hands, serve to demolish the whole fabric which Renaissance artists and architects have reared, and to form a solid basis for a better and more durable theory. We shall consider each of these three points in its order; first premising that we cannot pretend to do more than briefly sketch out the line of argument which runs through Mr. Ruskin's works. For the full discussion and accurate subdivision of each head we must refer our readers to the works themselves.

I. Mr. Ruskin contends, and we think very justly, that the principle of Truth is essential to all works of art, whether in the form of paintings or of buildings. To the elucidation of this point nearly the whole of the first volume of "Modern Painters" is devoted, and every possible bearing of the subject is there fully examined.

"The word truth," says our author, "as applied to art, signifies the faithful statement, either to the mind or senses, of any fact of nature." Two points in this definition require particular notice: first, that the "faithful statement" may be conveyed to the *mind*, as well as to the senses; so that the term will include any symbol which has a definite signification in the minds of those to whom it is addressed; secondly, that a fact of nature may be moral as well as material. If nature is to be represented at all, she must be so represented as that the mind shall be able to form an image of her as she really exists, and not otherwise: she must not be imitated;

for there is a vast distinction to be drawn between ideas of truth and ideas of imitation.

“The mind in receiving one of the former, dwells upon its own conception of the fact, or form, or feeling stated, and is occupied only with the qualities and character of that fact or form, considering it as real and existing, being all the while totally regardless of the signs or symbols by which the notion of it has been conveyed. . . . But the mind in receiving an idea of imitation, is wholly occupied in finding out that what has been suggested to it is not what it appears to be : it does not dwell on the suggestion, but on the perception that it is a false suggestion : it derives its pleasure, not from the contemplation of a truth, but from the discovery of a falsehood.”

And again, thoughts are to be represented as well as facts, and, in forming a judgment, the general expression of a conception is to be attended to far above mere manipulation. Mr. Ruskin enters into these points with great minuteness and skill, but our space forbids us to follow him. They have a twofold application :—

First, to Painting. We need not now remind our readers of the controversy which for many years has disturbed the whole race of painters ; and after what has been stated above it is equally needless to add, that Mr. Ruskin stands forward as the uncompromising defender of Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites. The old masters, as they are termed, such as Claude, G. Poussin, Cuyp, Teniers, Salvator Rosa and Ruysdael, with their followers, are shewn to have neglected all that is really great and beautiful in nature : they sought to display their own power of execution in mere imitation, and selected for their purpose the subjects which were easiest to depict, and which could most readily be recognised. They painted in order to gain men's applause for the mere success of their imitation, without producing any beneficial effect on the beholder : their endeavour was simply to deceive the eye for a moment by the semblance of reality, while the aim of the faithful disciples of nature is to seize what is best and noblest, and to convey it to the mind in the most truthful form. This great defect of the old masters furnishes the theme for a splendid burst of eloquence which we feel compelled to quote. Its beauty must serve as an apology for its length.

“And indeed it is difficult for us to conceive how, even without such laborious investigation as we have gone through, any person can go to nature for a single day or hour, when she is really at work in any of her nobler spheres of action, and yet retain respect for the old masters : finding, as find he will, that every scene which rises,

rests, or departs before him, bears with it a thousand glories of which there is not one shadow, one image, one trace or line, in any of their works; but which will illustrate to him, at every new instant, some passage which he had not before understood in the high works of modern art. Stand upon the peak of some isolated mountain at daybreak, when the night mists first rise from off the plains, and watch their white and lake-like fields as they float in level bays and winding gulfs about the islanded summits of the lower hills, untouched yet by more than dawn, colder and more quiet than a windless sea under the moon of midnight: watch when the first sunbeam is sent upon the silver channels, how the foam of their undulating surface parts and passes away; and down under their depths, the glittering city and green pastures lie like Atlantis, between the white paths of winding rivers: the flakes of light falling every moment faster and broader among the starry spires, as the wreathed surges break and vanish above them, and the confused crests and ridges of the dark hills shorten their grey shadows upon the plain. Has Claude given this? Wait a little longer and you shall see those scattered mists rallying in the ravines, and floating up towards you, along the winding valleys, till they couch in quiet masses, iridescent with the morning light, upon the broad breasts of the higher hills, whose leagues of massy undulation will melt back and back into that robe of material light, until they fade away, lost in its lustre, to appear again above, in the serene heaven, like a wild, bright, impossible dream, foundationless and inaccessible, their very basis vanishing in the unsubstantial and mocking blue of the deep lake below. Has Claude given this? And then you will hear the sudden rush of the awakened wind, and you will see those watch-towers of vapour swept away from their foundations, and waving curtains of opaque rain let down to the valleys, swinging from the burdened clouds in black, bending fringes, or pacing in pale columns along the lake level, grazing its surface into foam as they go. And then, as the sun sinks, you shall see the storm drift for an instant from off the hills, leaving their broad sides smoking, and loaded yet with torn, steam-like rags of capricious vapour, now gone, now gathered again; while the smouldering sun, seeming not far away, but burning like a red-hot ball beside you, and as if you could reach it, plunges through the rushing wind and rolling cloud with headlong fall, as if it meant to rise no more, dyeing all the air about it with blood. Has Claude given this? And then you shall hear the fainting tempest die in the hollow of the night, and you shall see a green halo kindling on the summit of the eastern hills, brighter—brighter yet, till the large white circle of the slow moon is lifted up among the barred clouds, step by step, line by line; star after star she quenches with her kindling light, setting in their stead an army of pale, penetrable, fleecy wreaths in the heaven, to give light upon the earth, which move together, hand in hand, company by company, troop by troop, so measured in their unity of motion, that the whole heaven seems to roll with them, and the

earth to reel under them. Ask Claude, or his brethren, for that. And then wait yet for one hour, until the east again becomes purple, and the heaving mountains, rolling against it in darkness, like waves of a wild sea, are drowned one by one in the glory of its burning: watch the white glaciers blaze in their winding paths about the mountains, like mighty serpents with scales of fire: watch the columnar peaks of solitary snow, kindling downwards, chasm by chasm, each in itself a new morning; their long avalanches cast down in keen streams brighter than the lightning, sending each his tribute of driven snow, like altar-smoke, up to the heaven: the rose-light of their silent domes flushing that heaven above them and about them, piercing with purer light through its purple lines of lifted cloud, casting a new glory on every wreath as it passes by, until the whole heaven—one scarlet canopy—is interwoven with a roof of waving flame, and tossing, vault beyond vault, as with the drifted wings of many companies of angels: and then when you can look no more for gladness, and when you are bowed down with fear and love of the Maker and Doer of this, tell me who has best delivered this His message unto men?"

Secondly, the principle of truth must be carried out in architecture as well as in painting, and the first great point in which it applies will be the imperfection which must characterise every representation of a natural object. If we look at Greek sculptures, we shall find that an artificial symmetry has been given to those things in which nature has been content with unity instead of uniformity. The waves of the sea, for instance, if represented at all should be drawn with all their wondrous variations, and not resolved into the meaningless symmetrical curves which we find in Greek mouldings: the leaves of the acanthus on a Corinthian capital would look very well if a kind of life were infused into them; instead of their being formed by certain geometrical rules after a supposed perfect model.

"The demand for perfection is always a sign of a misunderstanding of the ends of art. . . . Imperfection is in some degree essential to all that we know of life. It is the sign of life in a mortal body, that is to say, of a state of progress and change. Nothing that lives is, or can be, rigidly perfect; part of it is decaying, part nascent. The foxglove blossom,—a third part bud, a third part past, a third part in full bloom,—is a type of the life of this world. And in all things that live there are certain irregularities and deficiencies which are not only signs of life, but sources of beauty. No human face is exactly the same in its lines on each side, no leaf perfect in its lobes, no branch in its symmetry. All admit irregularity as they imply change; and to banish imperfection is to destroy expression, to check exertion, to paralyse vitality. All things are literally better, lovelier, and more beloved for the im-

perfections which have been divinely appointed, that the law of human life may be effort, and the law of human judgment, mercy."

The principle of truth in architecture will, however, be chiefly shewn in the expression of the thoughts of the builders. Their characters must be stamped upon their buildings, and their ideas must be written in the stones which they carve. Mr. Ruskin lays down that, in Gothic, this mental expression, which is wrought into the material form, assumes six distinct phases—Savageness, Changefulness, Naturalism, Grotesquesness, Rigidity, and Redundance.

Savageness: this is implied in the very word Gothic—the rude, wild architecture of the northerns—and it is one of its most ennobling features. It stamps a building as belonging to our own clime, as the production of a free and unshackled mind; a mind which did not measure nature by geometry, or seek its own conceived perfection, but which was content to impress itself upon its works, and was not ashamed to raise up monuments of its wildness to all future generations.

Changefulness is the second great element of Gothic architecture. Dutch gardening is to a great extent out of fashion now. We can no longer assert of our pleasure-grounds—

"Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other."

But yet the same principle which actuated Dutch gardeners a century and a half ago, is being daily carried into practice in our streets, in strange defiance of the natural impulses of our minds. To quote the forcible words of our author:—

"Change or variety is as much a necessity to the human heart and brain in buildings as in books. There is no merit though there is some occasional use in monotony; and we must no more expect to derive either pleasure or profit from an architecture whose ornaments are of one pattern, and whose pillars are of one proportion, than we should out of a universe in which the clouds were all of one shape, and the trees all of one size."

It appears to us, however, that this love of variety may sometimes be carried too far, and that it should often yield to some kind of uniformity. The Italian mind was less susceptible of the want of methodical arrangement than ours, and it could therefore tolerate what appear to us to be incongruities, but, whatever may be their æsthetical opinion, Englishmen will mostly be found to prefer that variety should be restricted within due limits.

Naturalism is the third great mental element in Gothic architecture, and it is in this that the great contrast lies between Gothic and ancient or Renaissance architecture. It is defined as "the love of natural objects for their own sake, and the effort to represent them frankly, unconstrained by artistical laws." Mr. Ruskin is rather elaborate upon this point, but it is sufficient for our purpose to say that he divides artists into Purists, Naturalists, and Sensualists: the former, men of fact; the second, men of design; the latter, men of both.

"The great Naturalist takes the human being in its wholeness, in its mortal as well as in its spiritual strength. Capable of sounding and sympathizing with the whole range of its passions, he brings one majestic harmony out of them all; he represents it fearlessly in all its acts and thoughts, in its haste, its anger, its sensuality, and its pride, as well as in its fortitude or faith, but makes it noble in them all: he casts aside the veil from the body, and beholds the mysteries of its form like an angel looking down on an inferior creature. There is nothing which he is reluctant to behold, nothing that he is ashamed to confess; with all that lives, triumphing, falling, or suffering, he claims kindred, either in majesty or in mercy, yet standing, in a sort, afar off, unmoved even in the deepness of his sympathy; for the spirit within him is too thoughtful to be grieved, too brave to be appalled, and too pure to be polluted."

The Gothic builders were Naturalists in the highest degree on account of their love of truth, and especially their love of vegetation, which enabled them to indulge to the utmost their love of variety. We delight to notice this fondness for nature, this recognition that her works are the most beautiful; we delight to see this warm-hearted love of living reality in opposition to the cold idealism of Greece; and we delight in the thought that at least one writer in this self-satisfied, utilitarian age has acknowledged that "the proudest architecture that man can build has no higher honour than to bear the image and recall the memory of that grass of the field which is, at once, the type and the support of his existence: the goodly building is then most glorious when it is sculptured into the likeness of the leaves of Paradise."

Grotesqueness is the next great feature of Gothic architecture. We think that this is its weakest point, for although it is true that the human mind frequently loves what is fantastic and horrible, yet probably in most instances such a spirit is the offspring of a morbid state of feeling which it is not proper to indulge. And although sin has everywhere had a blighting influence on God's handiwork, distorting what once was perfectly beautiful, and showing marks of

ruin and of God's terrible wrath, yet it would seem to be the especial part of Christian architecture to endeavour in some sort to repair the ruin by treating rather of the restoration than of the fall. However, our readers will do well to peruse Mr. Ruskin's very fine chapter on this subject in the third volume of the "Stones of Venice:" we must premise that he does not in any part of his works bring any convincing arguments as to the utility of the Grotesque. For our own part, we think that it has entered far too largely into the directly religious application of Gothic architecture: if confined to secular buildings it often serves a very useful purpose in shewing the fancy of the sculptor, but we must deprecate its use as an element in the decoration of any part of a sacred edifice.

Rigidity is the fifth element; and by this term is designated "not merely stable but *active* rigidity; the peculiar energy which gives tension to movement and stiffness to resistance; which makes the fiercest lightning forked rather than curved, and the stoutest oak-branch angular rather than bending, and is as much seen in the quivering of the lance as in the glittering of the icicle." Mr. Ruskin shortly afterwards adds: "The moral habits to which England in this age owes the kind of greatness that she has,—the habits of philosophical investigation, of accurate thought, of domestic seclusion and independence, of stern self-reliance, and sincere upright searching into religious truth,—were only traceable in the features which were the distinctive creation of the Gothic schools, in the veined foliage, and thorny fretwork, and shadowy niche, and buttressed pier, and fearless height of subtle pinnacle and crested tower, sent like an 'unperplexed question up to heaven.'"

The last and least important feature of Gothic architecture is Redundance—"the uncalculating bestowal of the wealth of its labour:" and this is a sign not merely of generosity, in the unselfish sacrifice of its best work to God's service, but also of humility in the little value which it apparently sets upon such a sacrifice.

Such are the main points in which the principle of truth is shewn in Gothic architecture, but one more yet remains. A building should not merely be correct in its plan, and true to nature in its decorations, but it should often tell the tale of those who built it, it should often serve as an expression to all future time of the feelings which prompted its erection. We do not now speak of the many minor details which should be determined by the predilection of the architect, as, for ex-

ample, at Bourges, where the fondness of the builder for green hawthorn is shown by the rich wreath on the cathedral porch. We speak rather of buildings forming as it were historical monuments, from which we may learn what written history so seldom tells us—the feelings and thoughts of one or more generations. We shall best, however, illustrate our meaning by an instance; and we can hardly select a more beautiful one than that of the builders of Torcello, recorded in the “Stones of Venice” (vol. ii. *in init.*). Our author’s words, in describing the cathedral there, are these:—

“It has evidently been built by men in flight and distress, who sought in the hurried erection of their island church such a shelter for their earnest and sorrowful worship, as, on the one hand, could not attract the eyes of their enemies by its splendour, and yet, on the other, might not awaken too bitter feelings by its contrast with the churches which they had seen destroyed. There is visible everywhere a simple and tender effort to recover some of the form of the temples which they had loved, and to do honour to God by that which they were erecting, while distress and humiliation prevented the desire, and prudence precluded the admission, either of luxury of ornament, or magnificence of plan. The exterior is absolutely devoid of decoration with the exception only of the western entrance, and the lateral door, of which the former has carved sideposts and architrave, and the latter crosses of rich sculpture: while the massy stone shutters of the windows, turning on huge rings of stone, which answer the double purpose of stanchions and brackets, cause the whole building rather to resemble a refuge from the alpine storm than the cathedral of a populous city.”

Would that the spirit could prompt the men of modern times which prompted these fugitive exiles—homeless as they had been made, by the ruddy fires of their burning homesteads, and the gleaming swords of their merciless pursuers. Men in modern times seem for the most part ashamed to express what they feel: they wish posterity to form a grand and noble opinion of them; they covet the esteem of their contemporaries, and, if they strive at all to build well, they do so very commonly that they may be flattered and imitated. They seek to drown their real spirit in the flood of emulation by which they are carried away; they endeavour to attain perfection, and in doing so produce mere crude generalisations, when, if they had followed the instincts of their nature, they might have shewn at least their own nobility—they might have proved to others that they were *men*, and, above all, Christians. We quite appreciate the enthusiasm with which Mr. Ruskin takes up the cause of the exiles of Torcello. We quite subscribe to the accuracy of his conclu-

sions, and we trust that his powerful language may induce some to revive the manliness of the olden time, and build for themselves, to express their own state, to harmonise with their own spirits, and to assist their own devotions. We cannot refrain from adding the eloquent words in which Mr. Ruskin concludes his account of Torcello :—

“ And if the stranger would learn in what spirit it was that the dominion of Venice was begun, and in what strength she went forth conquering and to conquer, let him not seek to estimate the wealth of her arsenals, or number of her armies, nor look upon the pageantry of her palaces, nor enter into the secrets of her councils ; but let him ascend the highest tier of the stern ledges that sweep round the altar of Torcello, and then, looking as the pilot did of old along the marble ribs of the goodly temple-ship, let him re-people its veined deck with the shadows of its dead mariners, and strive to feel in himself the strength of heart that was kindled within them, when first, after the pillars of it had settled into the sand, and the roof of it had been closed up against the angry sky, still reddened by the fires of their homesteads,—first, within the shelter of its knitted walls, amidst the murmur of the waste of waves, and the beating of the wings of the sea-birds round the rock that was strange to them—rose that ancient hymn in the power of their gathered voices :

‘ The sea is His and He made it,
And His hands prepared the dry land.’ ”

II. The second great requisite for excellence in art is Utility ; and this must consist in the abiding influence for good, which works of art should have upon us, as well as in their adaptation to a particular end. If artistic beauty is merely intended for our gaze, if we are simply to look upon it and admire the arrangement of certain lines, and the versatility of the builder's invention, or the grandeur of his conception, the less we have of art the better, for man's highest powers will shrink into utter insignificance, his utmost skill will be dazzled in a moment before the glow of a single rose, or the effulgence of a single sunset. If art is to end in simple imitation, there can be but very little use in it, but when nature is represented for a definite purpose, art becomes ennobled. In the constructive part of architecture, where our own convenience is mainly consulted, the endeavour should never be lost sight of to teach man, by every possible means, the great lessons of nature and humanity which he continually needs. There are many who *will* not be taught by nature—to whom the landscape and the flower are alike sealed books—there are many more who do not trouble themselves with searching into nature for the lessons which are inscribed

upon her works ; and yet, if the lessons are written in characters of stone, on window tracery or decorated pinnacles, men feel an interest in, and a sympathy with them. They may not notice, for instance, how each little blade of grass points upwards to its Maker, yet they cannot but be struck with the spire which keeps its stone finger ever uplifted to raise our thoughts for a moment from the busy turmoil of active life to the abode of God in glory.

Mr. Ruskin has cut away from beneath our feet many of the notions in which we used to indulge respecting Christian architecture ; he has shewn that symbolism is quite a secondary element in Gothic art, but yet we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that it has acquired a certain sacred, or, at least, ecclesiastical character, from its association in our minds with cathedrals and churches. It was undoubtedly used for private houses in the middle ages, but this does not prove its secular character, for we know that the men of those days loved to show their Christianity in every possible way, and in all probability wished to make their houses temples consecrated to God by domestic virtue and piety. It is sad to think that their faith was so corrupt ; but we must be careful to give them credit for the nobility of their thoughts, while we mourn over the errors of their creed. If we doubt the utility of a general restoration of this Christian architecture, we have but to consider the effect which has been produced on generation after generation among us by the presence in our midst of the piles of Christian building which have remained as perpetual monitors of religion through the winters and summers of ages. Mr. Ruskin has supplied us with a very forcible illustration of our remark, when he says ("Stones of Venice," Vol. ii. p. 62):—

"And now I wish that the reader would imagine himself for a little time in a quiet English cathedral town, and walk with me to the west front of the cathedral and there stand for a time, looking up at its deep-pointed porches, and the dark places between their pillars, where there were statues once, and where the fragments, here and there, of a stately figure are still left, which has in it the likeness of a king, perhaps, indeed, a king on earth, perhaps a saintly king long ago in heaven ; and so higher and higher up to the great mouldering wall of rugged sculpture, and confused arcades, shattered, and grey, and grisly with the heads of dragons and mocking fiends, worn by the rain and swirling winds into yet unseemlier shape, and coloured on their stony scales by the deep russet-orange lichen, melancholy gold ; and so, higher still, to the bleak towers, so far above that the eye loses itself among the bosses of their traceries, though they are rude and strong, and

only sees like a draft of eddying black points, now closing, now scattering, and now settling suddenly into invisible places among the bosses and flowers, the crowd of restless birds that fill the old square with that strange clangour of theirs, so hard and yet so soothing, like the cries of birds on a solitary coast between the cliffs and sea.

“Think for a little while of that scene and the meaning of all its small formalisms, mixed with its serene sublimity. Estimate its secluded, continuous, drowsy felicities, and its evidence of the sense and steady performance of such kinds of duties as can be regulated by the cathedral clock, and weigh the influence of those towers on all who have passed through the lonely square at their feet for centuries, and all who have seen them rising far away over the wooded plain, or catching on their square masses the last rays of sunset, when the city at their feet was indicated only by the mist at the bend of the river.”

There was a purpose of incalculable utility which was served by mediæval churches, the effect of which would be entirely lost now. We must remember that few in those times had the power of either purchasing or reading the Holy Scriptures; on the one hand MSS. were costly; and, on the other, the people were unlettered. There is, however, a kind of language which requires no learning, there is a kind of knowledge which we attain at first sight, and this language is conveyed by painting. Accordingly church walls were not left blank; they were filled with frescoes depicting all that is capable of depiction in the more important parts of the Bible. The whole series was so arranged that the beholder might pass from one to the other without any great gap occurring which he could not fill up for himself; and besides this, care was taken that certain great subjects should come prominently before the eye, and that not even the most hurried worshipper should depart without carrying away some great fact of the Gospel. This was the case, for example, at that wonderful realisation of the religious feelings of mediæval builders, St. Mark's, Venice, of which our author writes:—

“Daily as the white cupolas rose like wreaths of sea-foam in the dawn, while the shadowy campanile and frowning palace were still withdrawn into the night, they rose with the Easter voice of triumph—‘Christ is risen;’ and daily as they looked down upon the tumult of the people, deepening and eddying into the wide square that opened from their feet into the sea, they uttered above them the sentence of warning—‘Christ shall come.’”

The most essential pre-requisite of all buildings still remains, viz., that they should have the very best capabili-

ties for discharging the offices for which they are intended. It would be impossible to shew in a few pages how Gothic architecture, besides being more truthful and beautiful, is far better adapted than any other for carrying out the primary objects for which buildings are designed. We need only assert here that nothing could be more masterly or original than the way in which Mr. Ruskin proves the paramount superiority of Gothic architecture, advancing step by step from the plainest axioms. We must refer our readers to the first volume of the "Stones of Venice," and also to the Edinburgh Lectures.

III. We consider Beauty third in order of the mental elements which are essential to Art; but our readers must not thence assume its inferiority to the others, for all the elements are necessary to one another, and no real work of art can be produced unless they are more or less united. Beauty, as we said, is the stamp of God upon his creation, and if so, all things must bear the impress of his finger, except those anomalies in nature which are at once the type and the fruit of his curse upon sin. This point is elaborated by Mr. Ruskin with wonderful lucidity, and with great analytical power in the "Modern Painters." He loves to begin at the beginning of a subject, and so carry it through without borrowing definitions, or assuming questionable axioms; and accordingly he precedes his investigation into beauty by a subtle disquisition upon the faculties which take cognizance of it. The first of these is designated "the Theoretic" faculty, for as it is shewn that ideas of beauty are the subjects not so much of sensual, or even of intellectual, but rather of moral perception, the term "æsthetic," which relates exclusively to the senses, is scarcely applicable. The second faculty is the Imaginative, which is exercised when the mind searches for esoteric truth, when it dives into the depths of nature's mysteries to bring up what is hidden beneath the planging waves of the ocean of life. The Theoretic faculty is intimately connected with our love of God and his service, for the more we see of His loveliness and loving-kindness in His works, the more will our hearts be disposed to acknowledge Him as a Father; the more we see of the beauty of holiness, the more shall we be inclined to robe ourselves in the mantle which God has spread upon his creation.

"We cannot say how far it is right or agreeable with God's will, while men are perishing round about us; while grief, and pain, and wrath, and impiety, and death, and all the powers of the air, are working wildly and evermore, and the cry of blood going up to

heaven, that any of us should take hand from the plough ; but this we know, that there will come a time when the service of God shall be the beholding of him ; and though in these stormy seas, where we are now driven up and down, his Spirit is dimly seen on the face of the waters, and we are left to cast anchors out of the storm, and wish for the day, that day will come, when, with the evangelists on the crystal and stable sea, all the creatures of God shall be full of eyes within, and there shall be ' no more curse, but his servants shall serve him and shall see his face.' "

The chapters on Beauty in "Modern Painters," vol. ii., display metaphysical powers, united to sublimity of thought, which have seldom, if ever, been surpassed by any writer in any language. Imagination, in the truest meaning of the word, seems to run in his very life blood ; Eloquence stands ever waiting in his mind's presence-chamber, ready at a moment's bidding to tell the world its Master's thoughts ; while angels' wings seem ever crossed to bear his soul aloft to the utmost heights of Intellect or of Heaven. He first treats of Typical Beauty ; and its first feature is Infinity—the type of Divine Incomprehensibility. From this feature he passes to another—Unity, the type of the Divine Comprehensiveness : this is beautiful, because it is necessary to perfection ; for to stand alone in the wide universe, without the possibility of union with any created thing, would bespeak the utmost imperfection, the utmost distance from the Three-in-One. We know that the discord of the church is a sign that she is yet in the wilderness, and we look forward to the time when she will be at unity with herself ; for then she will be without spot or blemish, as a bride adorned for her husband. The unity of material things is shown by their exhibiting proportion ; by their love of continuity ; by their being members one of another ; or by their yielding to the same influences, as when the wind makes waves in the summer corn—the type and emblem of the Spirit, who bloweth where He listeth upon the broad field of the church below. There is also the Beauty of Repose—the type of Him whose name is " I am ;" Beauty of Symmetry, which reminds us of His justice ; and the Beauty of Purity—the purity of light which lives and energises, which is active and not so much passive. We were reminded by Mr. Ruskin's words on this subject of Typical Beauty of a short passage in the writings of one of the Jewish Rabbis, which we must rescue from its obscurity :—" ' Light is the countenance of the Eternal,' sang the departing sun. ' I am the hem of his garments,' answered the red glow of twilight. The clouds flocked together and cried, ' We are his nightly pavilion ;' and the waters in the cloud

sang in chorus with the echoing thunders, 'The voice of Jehovah is upon the waters; the God of glory thundereth; Jehovah upon many waters.' 'He did fly upon my wings,' whispered the wind; and the silent air replied, 'I am the breath of God, the aspiration of the presence of his mercy.'"

Mr. Ruskin next treats of *Vital Beauty*, which is defined to be, "the appearance of felicitous fulfilment of function in living things; more especially of the joyful and right exertion of perfect life in man." We think that, in this part of his subject, at least, he cannot be far from right; for he would have us look at the brute creation in a spirit of Christian love, and at man as being born "to be the witness of the glory of God, and to advance that glory by his reasonable obedience and resultant happiness."

We must now draw to a close our rough sketch of the three elements of art as propounded by Mr. Ruskin. We feel bound to apologize to our readers for the imperfect way in which the subject has been handled; for it would require no ordinary powers properly to digest, and lucidly to set forth the multitudinous branches into which æsthetics are divided. There are however two points which may possibly suggest themselves, and upon which therefore a few words are necessary. The first is, the supposed connection of Gothic art with Romanism—a supposition as untrue as it is absurd. It is true that Romanism values especially Gothic architecture: she has seized on it for her own bad purposes. She is aware of its influence on mankind; and if in her hands it allures so many to her churches, and makes men often forget the corruption of her creed in the purity of her architecture, what would be its influence, if employed for the purposes of a purer faith, and for the conversion of our houses into the memorials of our Christianity? And if we condemn Gothic architecture as Popish, what shall we say of Renaissance—the architecture of which modern builders are so enamoured? Hear Mr. Ruskin describe this latter phase of false art:—

"Gathered out of their ruins by the second Babylon—gathered by the Papal Church in the extremity of her sin—raised up by her, not when she was sending forth her champions to preach in the highway, and pine in the desert, and perish in the fire; but in the very scarlet frontage and fulness of her guilt, when her priests vested themselves not with purple only, but with blood, and bade the cups of their feasting foam not with wine only, but with hemlock—raised by the hands of the Leos and the Borgias—raised first into that mighty temple where the seven hills slope to the Tiber, that marks by its massy dome the central spot where Rome has reversed the words of Christ, and, as he vivified the stone to the apostleship, she petrifies the apostleship into the stumbling-stone—

exalted there first, as if to mark what work it had to do, it went forth to paralyse or to pollute; and wherever it came the lustre faded from the streets of our cities; the grey towers and glorious arches of our abbeys fell by the river-sides; and the love of nature was uprooted from the hearts of men."

The other point upon which we can only touch, although its importance is extremely great, is the vast increase it would make in the welfare of the people, to enable them to show their freedom in the works of their hands. Operatives are often little better than machines while working, and their spirit of liberty finds its vent in dissatisfaction with their masters and their rulers. In Gothic architecture the value of each individual soul is fully recognized; and half the pleasure which we have in gazing upon it is derived from the thought, that each stone shows that the workmen were not shackled in spirit by men who dictated the curvature of every line, but that they had a life and liberty in themselves. They felt happy in expressing their own free thoughts in durable materials; and this feeling of happiness made them love their masters, and be content with their state: it brought religion into their homes, and, amid all their disadvantages, gave them glad thoughts of true freedom.

We look forward with earnest hope to the time when we shall not be so much ashamed of our Christianity; when we shall be purged from Paganism, and the crowd of evils which follow it. And though there be "thunder on the horizon as well as dawn," yet we must be ready to do our part without being chilled in soul by sad forebodings for the future.

We venture to recommend our readers to an earnest and thoughtful perusal of the volumes before us; they have a wonderful power in them to make us wiser, and happier, and holier; they are Christian in the fullest degree, in addition to being storehouses of intellectuality; they tend to an increase in faith, and hope, and charity, and they give us clearer views of the great lessons which are interwoven with our existence in the world, than any others with which we are acquainted. They at once elevate and purify; the one, by pouring floods of light through the palace-windows of our hearts; the other, by lifting us up to the angel-choirs, "with the flames on their white foreheads waving brighter as they move, and the sparkles streaming from their purple wings, like the glitter of many suns upon a sounding sea, listening in the pauses of alternate song for the prolongation of the trumpet-blast, and the answering of psaltery and cymbal throughout the endless deep, and from all the star-shores of heaven."

ART. VI.—1. *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains*. By C. R. SMITH, Hon. M.R.S.L., F.S.A., &c., &c. London. 1855.

2. *Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities*. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1855.

IT is impossible to look over the list of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, without feeling satisfied that it contains a large proportion of the most distinguished names in England; that every branch of archæological science finds there some of its principal representatives; and that if the annals of the Society do not exhibit every proof of prosperity, it certainly cannot be for want of scholars on whom it has a claim.

Yet there is a general, and we are compelled to believe, a far from unfounded impression, that the Society of Antiquaries of London does not, at the present time, satisfactorily accomplish the objects for which it was instituted. We propose, therefore, to investigate the grounds of this impression, to examine whether it has been exaggerated, and to inquire whether there be any mode of remedy within the reach of the Fellows.

We occasionally hear of a society declining and dying out from the failure of public interest in its pursuits: the world has become tired of them, other and more exciting subjects have arisen in their place, and they have become obsolete. But surely this cannot be the case with archæology? We find new and flourishing societies rising on every side; if any fail to keep their place it is by reason of internal dissensions: and the number of candidates pressing forward for the fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries, shows that means will not be wanting, if they are judiciously used, to place archæological science in this country on the same footing which it has long obtained in France.

It is, then, with hopeful feelings that we venture, to lay before our readers what we believe to be the present state of the Society, and what we think may be done for its benefit. It has wealth as well as a large number of Fellows—the last Report spoke of increased funds:—so that whatever deficiencies there may be in the services it has rendered to literature, it cannot plead poverty; it cannot say, “we would gladly take our proper position as the oldest and most dignified body connected with English archæology, if only we had

the means placed at our disposal." Every year it is funding a portion of its income, and it is by no means impossible that each successive year will show a more favourable balance sheet, and a yet longer list of members.

But we would venture to ask, are these things proofs of real prosperity? Is a Society to be valued for what it receives from the public, or for what it gives in return? It used, at one time, to undertake costly works, such as few, if any, private persons would venture on. It used to engrave large plates. Not content with the "*Archæologia*," which was then really devoted to antiquities, it also put forth the "*VETUSTA MONUMENTA*," a work splendid enough to establish a real claim on the part of the Society to public support. For that purpose it sent an artist to copy the Bayeux tapestry; it did not consider how little, but how much it could expend, and how its members could best maintain the dignity of that venerable Society. But those days are past, and we will now lay before our readers what the general opinion is of its present condition.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, no longer ago than 1852—and, alas! the case has not improved since—speaks in a printed letter to the Fellows of the Society, of "the meagre and poorly illustrated '*Archæologia*,' the '*Monumenta*,' now indeed '*Vetusta*,' the incomplete neglected library, the prevailing dissatisfaction with the conduct and management of the Society, the treatment of its independent members, and the doleful dullness of our meetings when they are not enlivened by disputes among ourselves." He refers, and rightly, to the "exploded rules, antiquated customs, and unsuitable statutes;" the remedy recommended by Sir Fortunatus was to raise the subscription to three guineas, and to revise the statutes.

Since that period, the statutes have been revised, but we are free to observe that we see no benefit which has accrued to the Society from the revision. It does less than ever for archæology; and as to the interest excited by and at the meetings, it is well known that a distinguished member of the body declared, that in order to enliven the next Thursday evening gathering, he would send the lease of his house to be read to the Fellows.

Mr. C. R. Smith, in the third volume of the "*Collectanea Antiqua*" thus speaks: "The library remains in the defective state complained of by Sir Fortunatus Dwaris and others. The same loose mode of electing the council prevails; the same characterless meetings are held; the same want of energy and vitality is visible; and in spite of councils and

committees, and numbers and wealth, the spirit of antiquarianism is still excluded from Somerset House."

Mr. Pettigrew, in a letter to Lord Mahon, complains that the president had not been sufficiently acquainted with the working of the Society, and had been singularly unfortunate in the formation of the councils; that the persons selected were in general not qualified; that favouritism prevailed; and that the real antiquaries were passed over and disregarded. He believed the permanency of the vice-presidents to be prejudicial to the society; and he pointed out many other causes of its decline.

These are matters of opinion, it is true; Mr. Pettigrew may be right or wrong, nor do we endorse all his complaints; but they are made by a man of long experience and great archæological learning.

There are, however, a few matters of fact, and not of opinion, to which we must recall our readers attention. The very unsatisfactory state of the foreign correspondence is one of these; the Fellows are not kept *au courant* of what is going on in Europe with regard to antiquarian science; nay, they can hardly wonder at this, when they are in ignorance of what is transacted in their own city. In the fortnight previous to the 1st of February last, a beautiful Roman tessellated pavement had been discovered in the City of London, and had been broken up and sold piece-meal to curiosity vendors. Some inquiries were made at the next meeting of the Society concerning this pavement, but nobody knew anything about it. It might have been secured for a small sum; but it is now dislocated and dispersed. It will not seem strange then, that they are as ill-informed of the results of excavations made abroad, at Treves, Paris, Athens, or even at places still nearer than the French capital. Now they might easily obtain zealous coadjutors among continental archæologists if they only showed them that they valued their co-operation. We could point out many at this moment whose aid would be very valuable to them. And there is one way in which this might be done at a small cost indeed—they might send them the "ARCHÆOLOGIA." The cost of this act of courtesy to themselves may be estimated from the significant fact, that the volumes were suffered to accumulate in Somerset House till it became difficult to decide what to do with them, and the council solved the difficulty by selling them for waste paper! A gentleman, well-known as an antiquarian, recently purchased forty volumes at 1s. 6d. per volume! Surely if these had been made into sets and distributed among the scientific and historical socie-

ties of Europe, the return would have been greater in actual value, to say nothing of spreading a knowledge of the Society's operations. Even their own foreign members do not receive the "*Archæologia*;" they complain, and we think justly, of this neglect, and they are certainly not encouraged by it to send communications of value.

We hear, too, that all the plates, both of the "*Archæologia*," and of the "*Monumenta Vetusta*," have been broken up and sold. Is there *any* valid reason—any excuse even, that can be offered for such a proceeding as this?

But those who complain, do not only say that the Society makes a bad use, and often no use at all, of the books which it produces, but also that the books when produced are of little value. We know these two objections may be set in array, the one against the other; and it may be argued, if the books are valueless, the less they are circulated the better. But we apprehend, first, that the council will not concur in this wholesale condemnation; and next, that the objectors will not consent to this shelving of their objections; they will rather say, mend the books and then circulate them.

Let us see, then, what they aver as to the quality of these productions. We presume it is alleged by the council that so little interest is taken in their proceedings by working archæologists, that they really get few papers of any value presented for publication. We have, it is true, never heard this assertion made, but we think it is implied with tolerable clearness by the publication of a paper in the "*TRANSACTIONS*," on the habits and manners of the Caribs. A very proper subject for the Ethnological Society or the Royal Geographical, but about as suitable for the Antiquarians as a disquisition on the orbit of the last discovered comet, or an essay on the financial plans of the Right Hon. Benjamin D'Israeli. As to the paper itself, we have no fault to find with it; we understand that it is taken from French, and *published*, sources; but as the essay has clearly no business in the "*TRANSACTIONS*" at all, it would be idle to object to its want of originality.

We take it here simply as a satisfactory proof, either that archæological matter is not sent in sufficient quantity to fill a volume in two years; or that, if it be sent, the council for some reasons, perhaps very good ones, does not avail itself of the offer. If we come to make a few enquiries we shall be told by one, "I sent papers but they were declined"—perhaps they were not worth printing; another says, "I sent papers but the council would not be at the expense of illustrating them." We have an instance of this in

the case of Mr. C. R. Smith, who tells us, in the preface to the third volume of the "Collectanea," that he offered for the "ARCHÆOLOGIA" an elaborate account of the Anglo-Saxon discoveries made at Ozingell in Kent, but that the council decided that they had no precedent for employing an artist to copy the objects found, and then expending about ten pounds in engraving them.

Now this "*trouvaille*" was one of the most interesting of late years. We are able to judge of this by Mr. Smith's own paper in the "Collectanea," the same which he offered for the Society, and which for his own work he caused to be properly illustrated. The loss of the paper itself was considerable, but it was a mere nothing in comparison of the damage done to the Society by the reason alleged for not accepting it. No precedent! In the first place, we must take the liberty of saying that we do not believe it. Is it meant to be inferred that all the plates in the "Archæologia" have been taken from drawings furnished by the writers of the articles? Did not the Society employ Mr. Stothard to make drawings of the Bayeux tapestry, and is not this precedent enough? But even if the Society were warranted by truth in making so disgraceful an avowal, it is but the more certain that the very first opportunity should be taken to wipe away the shame.

No precedent! It is this maxim of red-tapism which has done more mischief in the world, and prevented more good than all the wickedness of the worst administrators. No precedent! Why, what is Earl Stanhope in the chair for; able archæologist, accomplished gentleman, as he is, but to *make precedents*? The merest dunce on earth might sit in the chair of Lord Stanhope if he might excuse the neglect of duty by pleading that he had no precedent! If a measure be a good one, let a precedent be made for it as soon as possible; if it be a bad one, let it be rejected on the grounds of its own demerits, and not for so despicable a reason as the want of a precedent.

But the world as well as the Society look to the council to take every measure, within the limits of their means, which may aid and encourage archæological research; and when they are met with the excuse of "no precedent," they will be apt to enquire, "What do you propose to do with that increasing balance of which your late treasurer boasted? What do you intend to return to the public for the large sums you receive?"

May we relate an anecdote, which we think very germane to this matter? The late Justice Taunton was

remarked for speaking sometimes rather sharply to barristers who occupied unnecessarily the time of the Court, or who fell into errors in point of law. On one occasion a request was made to him to enlarge a rule. He expressed his intention to do so. Up started a learned sergeant, and exclaimed, "My lord, in the whole course of my experience I have never known such a rule under such circumstances to be enlarged." "Then, my learned brother," replied Taunton, "I shall have the pleasure of enlarging the rule, and your experience at the same time." We think the Society may safely enlarge its expenses and its experiences together; and in no way can it so profitably do so as by discarding the old red-tape rule of precedents, while it has in Lord Stanhope a president so qualified to act in each case *pro re natâ*.

We are perfectly satisfied that what we say commends itself to his lordship's approbation; that had he possessed despotic power over his body, it would have stood in a much better position before the world; and that personally he is neither answerable for, nor favourable to, the abuses we have pointed out; but there is a kind of phraseology adopted by some among the members which seems calculated, and as we think very invidiously, to throw on him personally the odium of every error and every job. We have a printed letter before us in which his lordship is addressed. It speaks of "your" council, "your" secretaries, "your" treasurer, "your" director, "your" auditors. His lordship has a clear right to protest against language so open to misunderstanding, and so calculated to mislead the world.

We cannot help thinking that all the most important papers which have been printed by the two rival bodies—the British Archæological Association, and the British Archæological Institute—might have been secured for the "ARCHÆOLOGIA," had the writers known that they would have been treated with the same liberality as that which they received from the other Societies. Besides, what are the antiquaries to spend their money in? Even if spending it in dinners were lawful, the attempt would be made in vain, for they have tried the experiment and could not get any body to dine with them.

The things which we have now stated came before them as facts; there can be no question about their existence, and as little that they tend to the detriment of the Society, and so far to the discouragement of archæological study. But there is another evil of which every body complains, and no one seems to perceive that it requires a combined action to overcome it. The Society has been to a great extent the victim of cliques.

It is notorious that some of the best men it has to boast of have been actually black-balled, because they belonged, or were supposed to belong, to some party, the opponents of which were strong on the evening of their ballot. We have ourselves heard the exclamation, "I shall black-ball this man, for he is supported by — and —!" We have ourselves taxed a distinguished member of the Society with having so acted, and stated the qualifications of the rejected candidate, and that a very able paper from him had been read that evening; and have had the reply, "I came too late to hear the paper read!"

One of the most accomplished officers of the British Museum, now a very valuable member of the Society, was rejected in a similar manner. One exceedingly zealous and active antiquary was black-balled because he was a solicitor's clerk. Another, because he kept a shop. Another, because, having been the editor of a newspaper, somebody called him "a-penny-a-liner." Surely the Society of Antiquaries is bound to look to antiquarian eminence. They are not ordered by charter to be "*bene nati, bene vestiti, et mediocriter docti*;" and sneers at trade come with an ill grace from Englishmen.

We can speak the more freely on this subject, because the evil we expose is one which all admit and all deplore; indeed it is itself only a series of reactions. A. black-balls B. because B.'s friends and supporters have treated with similar unfairness a candidate recommended by him; and thus a kind of feud is kept up to the disgrace of the Society and the laughter of those without.

We shall now quit this first topic of our investigation, and in order to treat the subject with perfect candour, let us endeavour to ascertain how far the evils we have alluded to may be said to be over stated. It is well known that when a ministry is thrust from its place, it generally assumes the form of an opposition; that those eagerly looking after ministerial posts, often swell the ranks of that opposition; and that no administration, whether national, or resembling that of a learned Society, is exempt from the operation of the *œres* rule. It is in human nature,—of which antiquarian nature forms but a small section, and offers no exception to the rest,—that those out of office should scan very closely the proceedings of those who are in; and that those who are in should resent the interference of those who are out; and it is therefore only right to make some allowance for this bias; and to admit that *opinions* as such should be taken with

certain caution. It was the opinion of Lord Stanhope, as well as the council, that the offer made by the Duke of Northumberland, to place the Society of Antiquaries at the head of those investigations which he proposed to make along the line of the great Roman wall—should be declined. We shall venture to give with much diffidence our own opinion on this subject, and the more deferentially because it is diametrically opposed to that of the council. The duke proposed, in order to unite all interests, and to prevent even a whisper of faction, to join with the Society a few gentlemen selected from the Institute and the Association.

Lord Stanhope expressed a fear that the members chosen from these rival societies would not like to meet, and on this ground declined his grace's offer. We regret this, because we can hardly hope that another such opportunity will occur of placing the Society in its proper place, as the great conservator and investigator of antiquities in this country; but while we regret this, we cannot think the council justified in declining the proposal of his grace. They were concerned only for the Society of Antiquaries, in which body they held a high and distinguished station; it mattered nothing to them, whether the other parties invited chose to accept the duke's invitation or not.

If Mr. A. had so great an objection to Mr. B. that he would not carry on antiquarian researches in his company, he might have stayed away. And if Mr. B. had been equally foolish, he might have stayed away too. Surely the Society of Antiquaries could have done very well without them. In short—we wish we could express ourselves more politely—it was no business of the council whether they accepted or whether they declined. We fear the president is sometimes a little too considerate of the feelings of others, and has occasionally allowed the interests of archæology to be sacrificed to the irritable and irritated tempers of individuals. It is hard to find fault with courtesy, but this is one of the difficulties of his lordship's position. On the whole then, we do not think the impression made on the public mind,—an impression that the Society has failed to accomplish (at least of late years) the objects for which it was instituted, has been overstated even by those who take the least flattering view of the subject. The very fact that the British Archæological Association commenced its operations under such favourable auspices, was in itself a proof that the majority of English antiquaries felt obliged to look to other quarters for the performance of that which the Society was bound to accom-

plish ; and that it remained so short a time, without being rent asunder by internal dissensions, is a proof, if proofs were needed, that cordiality among the members of a great scientific body is absolutely necessary for the interests of science, so far as those interests can be secured by the body in question.

The spirit of clique which has reduced to a precarious existence *two* societies, which, if united, might have taken their work out of their hands, will probably be the means of giving the Antiquaries another opportunity to regain the confidence of the public.

But can any remedy be found for a state of things so unfavourable to the developement of archæological science ? We are inclined to think that there can, and that easily. Those who are most dissatisfied with the existing condition of the Society, find fault with the council. They attribute to its members the fostering of that spirit of clique which has long been so prejudicial : they name eminent archæologists who are kept by its operation from aiding the Society in every possible way. To this accusation, we are inclined to demur. We see no names on the council which we would wish to remove. We may, without any suspicion of adulation, say of the president, that he is amply entitled, both by learning and antiquarian zeal, for his post. The vice-presidents and secretaries are men of European reputation. Some have grown grey in the service of the Society ; and we do not envy the feelings of those, if any such there be, who would wrest from them their hard-won honours. And thus, having no personal changes to propose, and no personal accusations to bring, we are the more at liberty, because withheld by no feelings of delicacy, from pointing out the defects of the system. As the Society is at present constituted, the council cannot help such scenes as those we have described taking place at the ballot for the fellowship ; nay, more, they cannot help being elevated to their own posts by the very spirit which, as individuals, they would most deprecate. The Society of Antiquaries is nominally a republic—it ought to be a democracy ; but it is, in fact, an oligarchy. The president, who has a right to represent five hundred of the most erudite men in England, does, in fact, only represent some half dozen very respectable gentlemen, who make up what is called the “House List.” His own merits, great as they are, have nothing to do with the question. Were he as useless to the Society as the Earl of Aberdeen was, still he would be elected year after year, simply because nobody would be at the trouble to organize an effective opposition.

Very few persons attend the anniversary; the dinner has already been discontinued, and the council of the Society is in fact, a self-elected body.

Now so long as this continues, so long will there be a growing discontent among the great body of the Fellows. It is not that they want *other* men, it is simply that they wish to elect their officers, freely and fairly. One says, I take no interest in the Society; I live far away from London, I cannot take a part in its proceedings; and any matter of archæological interest that comes before me, I send my notice of it to the local Society: this is a very common case, and especially among the clergy. Another says, I am not satisfied with the proceedings of the Society, but it seems admitted that nothing can be done by way of reforming it. A third remarks, I have offered papers, excavations, time, labour; I can scarcely obtain a reply; I no longer feel any interest in the Society. Is it not a fact, that a very large number of the more recent members have only become so, that they may use the title as a kind of literary distinction? Does F.S.A. signify archæologist?

Now we would propose two steps, one by which none should be admitted to the Fellowship who were not in the judgment of the council worthy of that honour; in short, we would assimilate the practice of the Society to the far more wholesome one of the Royal Society: and, secondly, we would make the annual election of the council and officers, a real and free election. Every candidate for the Fellowship should present his credentials to the council, and unless they considered him to be qualified his name should never be submitted to the general body at all; a certain number of Fellows only should be elected, and those annually; thus two great advantages would be gained at once. In the first place, a great number of unqualified persons, whose very candidature is a disgrace to the Society, in that the signatures of Fellows are attached to their certificates, would never be brought forward. In the next place, no one would feel disgraced at non-election, inasmuch as he would have the testimony of the council that he was a qualified person, and the only cause of his non-success was that some others were preferred before him. The unseemly disputes which we have described would never be witnessed again; the Society would be more "select," a great *desideratum* in the eyes of many of its members, and we do not think it would be less numerous.

We are persuaded that the whole body would rise in public estimation very greatly were some such course as this

adopted. As it is, the title of Fellow is scarcely a distinction, so easily is it acquired. The reduction in the admission fee, and in the annual payment, has contributed to this effect. More seek the Fellowship, but it will scarcely be contended that they are better qualified than under the old scale of payments. The general impression is, that nearly one half of the annual income of the Society has been sacrificed without any corresponding advantage having been gained in return. In the face of this depreciation it would be well to fence round the Society against unqualified pretenders. All men who are in the slightest degree connected with public life know the fatal facility with which testimonials and certificates are obtained. Few persons have the moral courage to refuse them, even when they know the applicant to be destitute of any valid claim to that which he asks; and a great step towards removing this temptation would be made by requiring a stronger ordeal to be gone through than the mere asking a few private friends for their signatures. The whole body, too, would have time to deliberate; no man could say he was taken by surprise; the real claims of candidates would be sifted and presented to him in an intelligible form; misrepresentations, under colour of which more than one person has been (it is said) elected, would be rendered impossible; and the credit of the Society would be restored in the eyes of the world, precisely as that of the Royal Society was by a similar measure.

But this is not the only change we would introduce. If the council be elected as it now is, this measure would only amount to giving the half-dozen, doubtless most respectable gentlemen, who now draw up the "House List," the power to form the whole Society out of such materials as they pleased. We do not suppose that the Society so chosen would be any worse than it is now, very probably it would be better; but the very notion of committing to so small a body the task of deciding who should and who should not be Fellows, would at once take away from the Society all appearance of a republic of letters, and would not, nay, could not be entertained for a moment. We propose then, first, that the practice of drawing up a "House List" be abandoned. Let any Fellow be at liberty to propose himself or any other Fellow, as a member of the council; let all such names be printed in alphabetical order; and let a list thus formed be sent to every Fellow, with instructions to select those from the list, who, in his judgment, were best fitted for the post. It would be necessary, too, that votes should be received

by post or by proxy, the former being in our opinion by far the preferable way.

The result of this would be, that the Society should have a freely-elected council, every voice would be heard ; the non-elected, however desirous to serve the Society, would see that the general will had decided in favour of others ; ineffective members would not be re-elected ; and new life would be infused into the proceedings of the Society. The offices of president, and treasurer, and director might be voted in the same way, and at the same time ; but we would reserve to the council the right of electing the secretaries.

It may be said that, unless some provision were made for the purpose, the same council might be elected year after year ; but we see no reason for altering the present rule, that a certain number should go out by rotation, and all that would be necessary would be to arrange that ten members of the existing council should retire to make room for ten freely elected members, deciding among themselves who should thus return into the ranks, and the other half would necessarily go out at the end of the second year. After which there would be no further difficulty ; the persons who would be ineligible would be all known ; they would retire by rotation, and their places would be supplied by new men having the confidence of the Society at large.

It does appear, that by such a reform as this the venerable Society might speedily set itself right with the public, as well as with its own Fellows. If there were any cause of complaint, the blame would rest, not as it does now, on a council, which is often very ignorant of the mischief, and the members of which know perfectly well that they cannot be disturbed ; but on a council which would feel its responsibility, practically as well as theoretically, and which would not fail to be removed at the next election, if it could not keep up the prosperity of the Society.

In speaking thus we would wish to be rightly understood. We bring no charge against the council beyond that which may be fairly brought against any similarly constituted body, however high the character of its individual members. It is a notorious fact, the assertion of which can give offence to no one, that corporations will do acts at which each separate member would shudder ; and that irresponsible bodies will be guilty of such neglect as could never be charged against them, were they *really* called at any stated period to show how they had fulfilled the trust committed to their care.

We notice here, only to repudiate it, the notion prevailing

among some of the Fellows, that the Society's great object is the payment of its officials. It *must* have officials; they *must* be gentlemen and scholars; and it would be very false economy to treat them as though they were clerks in a counting-house, or shopmen in a linendraper's establishment. Our own deliberate conviction is, that they are by no means sufficiently paid. We know well that we would not undertake the duties performed by the resident secretary, a man who is known throughout Europe as a profound and practical archæologist, for the remuneration he receives.

And now we must conclude. We have said, that we thought the Society might borrow with advantage a hint from the statutes of the Royal Society. We would not however *entirely* assimilate its practice to theirs; for in their case the council do *really* appoint the Fellows: and this immense power, though it may work well, and certainly has hitherto worked well in their case, entails a responsibility which we should be very sorry to lay on the shoulders of the council. Rather indeed than this, we would let all things remain as they are; but we would partly adopt the principle of their government.

It is, therefore, with much satisfaction that we hear of the following alterations shortly to be proposed. First, to repeal the 4th, 5th and 6th statutes of the sixth chapter; that, namely, which prescribes the mode of electing the president, council and officers. And then it will be proposed to be adopted instead of them the following:—

IV. At any period of the year, not less than one calendar month before the anniversary, it shall be lawful for any Fellow of the Society to propose himself or any other Fellow of the same as a member of the council, or as president, treasurer or director for the ensuing year. This proposition to be made in writing, signed by the Fellow proposing, sealed with his seal, and addressed to the secretary.

V. That one week before the day of election all such names shall be collected into one list, and printed in alphabetical order; and that such list of persons so recommended to fill the offices of president, treasurer, director or councillor, be forwarded to each Fellow of the Society.

VI. That each Fellow shall select from such list the names of ten Fellows to form the new council, eleven remaining of the old; jointly composing the twenty-one members required by the charter; and that he shall also select such persons from the list so forwarded, whom he shall judge most fitted to fill the offices of president, treasurer and director, signifying the said names, and those whom he desires to elect on the council, by attaching his initials thereto: a blank space being left before each name for that purpose; and that he shall at the bottom of the said list sign his name at full length.

VII. That any list containing more names than those required shall be void ; but that any list containing a smaller number shall be valid.

VIII. That voting lists may be sent by post or tendered by proxy, the secretary verifying the signature of the Fellow whose name it bears, and that all such voting lists shall contain full directions so as to avoid mistakes.

It will be proposed next that the statutes numbered respectively 7, 8, 9, 10, in chapter VI, be numbered respectively 9, 10, 11, 12.

Next, that statutes 11 and 12, in chapter VI. be repealed, and that in place thereof the following be enacted.

XIII. Upon any vacancy in the office of president, treasurer, director, or councillor in the interval between two anniversary meetings, it shall be lawful for the council to fill up such vacancy at their discretion, provided that not fewer than nine do assemble for that purpose, within twenty days after the occurrence of such vacancy.

It will be proposed to add to chapter IX. a new statute.

III. That every honorary and corresponding member of the Society do receive all publications of the Society with all convenient speed after the publication of the same.

It will be proposed that chapter IV. of the statutes be repealed :—

I. In the making, altering, or repealing of statutes, in the election of the president, council, Fellows, and officers of the Society, and in all other questions which the chairman may deem of sufficient moment, the votes shall be taken by way of ballot ; and, in case of an equality of votes upon any ballot, the chairman shall have a second or casting vote, except in those cases where special provision is made by these statutes.

And instead of this it be enacted—

That in all questions which shall come before the council, and which the chairman shall deem of sufficient moment, the votes shall be taken by way of ballot ; and, in case of an equality of votes upon any ballot, the chairman shall have a second or casting vote, except in those cases where special provision is made by these statutes.

We come next to the election of Fellows, and it is intended to propose, that statutes 1 and 5 of chapter V. be repealed, and in place thereof it be enacted.

I. No person shall be proposed, elected, or admitted a Fellow of the Society on the day of the anniversary meeting for electing the council and officers.

II. Every Fellow, previously to his proposing a person as a candidate for election, shall inform him of the obligation to be subscribed, of the sum to be paid for admission money, and of the

payments to be made to the Society, before he can be admitted a Fellow.

III. Every such candidate shall be proposed and recommended by a certificate in writing signed by six or more Fellows, of whom three at least shall certify their recommendation from personal knowledge. The certificate shall specify the name, rank, profession, qualifications, and usual place of residence of the candidate; and being delivered to one of the secretaries, shall be entered in a book to be kept for the purpose, with the date of delivery and particulars as stated thereon.

IV. Any one of Her Majesty's subjects, who is a prince of the blood Royal, or a peer of the United Kingdom, or one of Her Majesty's privy council, and any foreign sovereign prince, or the son of a sovereign prince, may, nevertheless, be proposed at one of the ordinary meetings of the Society by any one Fellow, and upon being seconded by another Fellow, may be put to the vote for election on the same day, provided public notice of such proposition shall have been given by the proposer at the preceding meeting of the Society.

V. At the first ordinary meeting of the Society in May 1856 the names of all candidates duly proposed after the first day of May 1855, and in subsequent years at the first ordinary meeting in May, the names of all candidates proposed subsequently to the first meeting in March of the preceding year, shall be announced by the secretary from a list arranged in alphabetical order, without reference to the dates of the certificates of the candidates; and these certificates shall be suspended in the meeting-room until the day of election.

VI. In the first week in June, a list shall be printed, containing the names of all the candidates so announced at the first meeting in May, arranged in alphabetical order without reference to the dates of the certificates, together with the names of the Fellows by whom each candidate is proposed and recommended; and a copy of such list shall immediately thereafter be sent to every ordinary Fellow.

VII. The council shall select by ballot from such printed list of candidates a number not exceeding ———, * to be recommended to the Society for election; but no such selection by the council shall be valid unless eleven members at least be present and vote, a majority deciding, or in the event of equality the president or his deputy having a casting vote.

VIII. At the last ordinary meeting of the Society in June, the president, or his deputy, shall read from the chair the names of the candidates whom the council have selected as most eligible, arranged in alphabetical order; and after such meeting, a circular letter shall be forthwith sent to every Fellow, naming the day and hour of election, and inclosing a printed list of the selected candidates, with

* The blank is left to be filled up with such number as may be thought expedient.

space for such alterations as any Fellow may determine to make in pursuance of statute X.

IX. The election of ordinary Fellows, not included in the privileged classes referred to in statute IV. of this chapter, shall take place on the last day of June; unless the council shall alter the day of election to any other day in the month of June, in which case due notice of such alteration shall be given to every ordinary Fellow.

These are the alterations which it is intended to propose to the Fellows of the Society, and we earnestly hope that whenever the time shall come for their discussion, whether at the anniversary or at any other meeting appointed for that purpose, a sufficient number of the Fellows will be assembled to ascertain the *real mind* of the Society upon this important question.

By way of conclusion, let us reiterate that our objections are not to the men chosen, but to the mode of choosing. The Society cannot hope for a more accomplished president, a more experienced director, a better treasurer, or more efficient secretaries than they have now, but they may hope to see them more fully supported by the Society, kept more acquainted with the progress and wants of Archæology, and enjoying a greater measure of that confidence to which they are entitled.

The untoward facts to which we have called attention, would find no place were the council a freely-elected body. The great body of the Fellows would keep such a council fully aware of all that it is necessary for it to know; and as to matters of opinion we would only say, that in the very instances we adduce, the president undoubtedly acted with regret, and had he felt himself properly supported he would have gladly adopted bolder counsels.

If the Society has men so able, and such financial prosperity under a system so oligarchical, what may not be expected when the whole zeal of the body is put forth.

- ART. VII.—1 *Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias. A brief Memoir of his Life and Reign.* By the Rev. H. CHRISTMAS, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Shaw. 1854.
2. *The Progress and Prospects of Russia in the East.* By Sir J. McNEILE. 3rd edition. Murray. 1845.
3. *Gleanings from Eastern Europe.* By Miss A. M. BIRKBECK. Darton & Co. 1855.
4. *Constantinople in Connexion with the Present War.* By the Rev. S. FARMAN. Wertheim & Co. 1855.
5. *Foreign Affairs.* A Series of Articles reprinted from the "Sheffield Free Press." Sheffield. 1852.
The Austrian Alliance: What it has cost to Turkey and to England. From the same. 1855.
6. *The Neighbours of Russia; and History of the Present War to the Siege of Sebastopol.* By J. REGNEL MORELL, Author of *Russia as it is*, &c. London. 1854.
7. *Crimes of the House of Austria.* By F. W. NEWMAN. J. Chapman.

WE cannot but compassionate the wretched fanaticism which, while it affects to uphold the principles of Puritanism, would deliver over, without remorse, the government of the nation to the followers of the "Prince of this world;" to the mere effete dregs of Whiggery or Toryism, ever ready, as at the present time, to sacrifice the vital interests of this truly great and glorious, and we trust God fearing, nation, to the miserable muddle and mercenary Machiavelism of the petty Principalities of Germany. What would the stern old Puritans of the Commonwealth, to whom, though we no way sympathize with their king-killing propensities, we cannot refuse the just meed of having been instigated in their general views by genuine patriotism and true English feeling; what would these men, under whose sway the name of England was feared and respected by all the nations of the universe, have thought of their degenerate representatives of the present day; who promulgate the mischievous and debasing doctrine, that a Christian has nothing to do with politics; but that it is, on the contrary, our bounden duty to sit still, and not to raise hand or voice to warn our deluded countrymen, though we see evil men, under the influence of a Philo-Germano-Moscovo Camarilla, literally exhausting the unbounded wealth, and physical and moral energy of this mighty people, in a sham war against a rapacious and unprincipled despotism?

We use the term a sham war advisedly, for what can possibly be a greater sham than a war commenced and carried on with the avowed purpose of doing as little damage as possible to the enemy? We have been told over and over again, by cabinet minister after cabinet minister, in their places in either House of Parliament, that we have no intention whatever of diminishing aught of the territorial possessions of Russia. What but a most disgraceful sham was our sending a powerful fleet into the Bosphorus to protect our ally the Sultan from Russian aggression, and that fleet permitting the awful butchery of Sinope to be perpetrated almost within sound of their signal guns? What could be a more paltry sham than the subsequent mock bombardment of Odessa? Of that *peaceful commercial* town, which had demonstrated its innocent character by firing on a flag of truce; and the sparing of which, for a future base of operations to the Russian army in the Crimea, has cost the Allies some eight thousand gallant soldiers on the bloody day of Inkermann, and will cost them many thousand more before the massacre of Sinope is fully avenged, and the Czar's stronghold of wholesale murder and spoliation is wrested from him, or levelled with the ground.

But it is not our intention in this article to enter into a review of all the *shams* and blunders by which, as our clever contemporary the "Atlas" most justly remarks: "Instead of being nearer peace, as we ought to have been, we are just commencing war—war without plan, without principle, without purpose; and our only preparation for which great coming struggle is to have lost the finest army which ever left our shores, and effectually frightened our townsmen and peasantry away from the recruiting serjeant, whose efforts we paralyse, while upon them we must rely. We have made ourselves pitied in France, despised in Germany, distrusted in Poland, and an object of wonderment and contempt in Switzerland, which for months past has been offering us the troops we pretended to want, but had not the common sense to accept." Our readers have no doubt been sufficiently horrified, and their indignation has been fully enough excited, by the terrible accounts, every day received, of the unparalleled sufferings of our brave countrymen in the Crimea; the but too natural consequences of the half-hearted vacillation with which this hitherto *sham* war, as far as England has been concerned, had been carried on. We will not, therefore, dwell any longer at present on this melancholy and degrading topic; our intention being, in taking up the

pen, to take a rapid view of the political consequences which will be the probable result of the present contest, on our part so feebly and inauspiciously commenced.

In doing this, and in looking at this sudden outburst of the smothered flames of war after forty years of European tranquillity—unbroken save by the spasmodic struggles of the oppressed nationalities just seven years since, to which we shall have occasion to refer in the course of this present article,—we purpose, as Christian patriots, and firm believers in the eternal justice and mercy of the Almighty King of all kings and Governor of all things, to regard the impending contest from the Church's point of view; and looking on its origin and commencement from that stand-point, we cannot but think we perceive the avenging hand of outraged justice grasping the sword for the punishment of perjured despotism.

That this, our position, may be fully comprehended by our readers, it will be necessary that we should take a retrospective glance at the position of the nations of the European continent more immediately implicated, either as principals or accessories, in the present struggle, at the period when those complications arose out of which this war was brewed. The result of the revolutionary convulsions of 1848, had been such as to leave the continental nations in general in a state of exhaustion. Russia alone had been untouched by the general conflagration. The late Emperor Nicholas had, however, lent his powerful assistance to Austria to crush the Hungarian insurrection; and with his enormous military forces, comprising such an artillery as was never yet brought into the field by any other nation, he looked upon himself as the arbiter of the fate of Europe; and only awaited a pretext for getting up a quarrel with the Sultan, to march his victorious legions at once across the Balkan, to drive the Turks across the Bosphorus, and to resuscitate the Holy Greek empire at Constantinople, under a new Constantine, in the person of his second son; and thus to provide a remedy against the apprehended struggle for the imperial diadem of Russia, between the primogenitus, and the porphyrogenitus, which historical precedent, added to the stirring and ambitious character of the Grand Duke Constantine, gave him but too much reason to apprehend might take place at his death. The mighty Emperor Nicholas, has suddenly and unexpectedly been summoned to his account, and his eldest son the Czarewitch Alexander has succeeded to the throne of all the Russias, Poland, and Finland; his brother Constantine having been the first to take the oath of allegiance

to the Emperor Alexander II. There can be no doubt that the late Emperor fell a victim to his own inordinate ambition; the enormous labour which he exacted of his powerful frame and iron constitution, and the rage and mortification at the repeated defeats of his armies, and the utter frustration of his scheme for the absorption of the Ottoman Empire. No one who has read the secret correspondence, so opportunely laid open before the eyes of Europe, can for a moment doubt what were the *ultimate* views of the late Czar, with regard to Constantinople, and the pretext for which he was so eagerly looking was not long wanting.

But before we enter upon the subject of the present war and its political consequences, we must glance at the position of the other nations of Europe, when that pretext, which Russia so ardently seized upon for her meditated aggression, was afforded her. Austria, as we have already hinted, had passed through a most alarming crisis; her capital had been in open insurrection, the Emperor had fled to Olmutz, and the Government had been superseded by a revolutionary Diet. The popular leaders, however, of this revolution, as is most frequently the case, were mere talkers, and the city was speedily surrendered to the united armies of Windischgratz and the Ban Jellachich. Not so, however, with the Hungarian insurrection. There the movement was strictly conservative, and the leaders, for the most part, men of action; and the consequence was, that Austria was beaten at all points, and but for the opportune assistance of her more powerful and crafty neighbour, Hungary and its brave and loyal population had been for ever lost to the faithless house of Hapsburg.

For the present, however, we will leave Hungary pacified (“*solitudinem faciunt—pacemque appellant*”) by this very opportune assistance of the magnanimous Emperor Nicholas; it being, nevertheless, our intention to return to the subject of this most diabolical *coup de politique*, when we come to speak of the position which Austria has assumed in the present contest. Of Hungary’s north-eastern neighbour Poland, what can we say. The late Czar’s ukase of 1847 has completely blotted her out as a nation from the map of Europe. What can we add, but quoting the words of the super-loyal Philo-Fudge—

“That Poland, left for Russia’s lunch
Upon the side-board, sung reposes.”

Let us turn, then, to Prussia. She, too, had not escaped

the revolutionary paroxysm which had convulsed the rest of Europe; and her feeble and vacillating monarch had been besieged in his palace, and compelled, by the pressure from without, to grant his people a constitution; which he, with truly royal perfidy, took the earliest opportunity to violate, backed, no doubt, by promise of support from his mighty brother-in-law. Indeed, it is more than probable, that this retrograde step was taken by command of that uncompromising foe to every constitutional form of government. Meanwhile, with the Machiavelian policy which appears to be a marked characteristic of the German mind, Prussia was secretly fomenting the rebellion in Schleswig-Holstein, and encouraging, underhand, her officers and soldiers in open war with Denmark, with whom she professed to be at peace; nor could she be persuaded to desist from her iniquitous aggression, or induced to recall her troops, till Austria had put an army in motion to compel her to keep the peace. Then the magnanimous Czar, the *pacificator* of Europe, interposed his baton to prevent a collision between his two dear allies, and Prussia was forced to an ungracious compliance.

We will now cast a retrospective glance at the events which have placed our gallant allies, the French—with whose successful struggles to shake off the incubus of a worn out dynasty, all these continental insurrections originated—once more in the very foremost ranks of European nations. Whatever may have been the errors of Louis Philippe, and we know that in politics a blunder is always looked on as worse than a crime, impartial history will not refuse him the well-earned character of a wise and politic ruler. He was well aware that the Holy Alliance still regarded France with eyes of aversion, not unmixed with fear; and he resolved that France should lose nothing of her prestige as the first military power in Europe. No sooner, therefore, was he seated on the throne, from which the elder branch of his family had been for the second, we may say the third, time expelled, than he set about the organization of an army under the old tricolour, *à toute épreuve*. To have carried out this scheme, however, in a time of profound peace, would have brought the Holy Alliance about his ears; he therefore resolved to form a permanent military colony in Algeria, little foreseeing that the splendid army which was to grow out of the struggles for dominion with the warlike tribes of the African desert, were to be wielded by the *censé* rash young adventurer, whom he held prisoner in the fortress of Ham, but who, as Napoleon the Third, was to deliver the impe-

rial eagle into the hands of those tried warriors, and to send them to fight with Englishmen for their allies, against the encroaching powers of their old enemy, Russia.

And what, during all these continental intrigues and commotions, was Great Britain about? Why, reducing her army and navy to the lowest peace establishment, as though in emulative contrast to Russia, who was every year increasing her army and navy, and making the most gigantic preparations for carrying out her favourite scheme of converting Europe into a Pan Slavonic dominion, and placing a new Constantine on the throne of the Eastern empire. But then England was sending her cotton manufactures to the ends of the earth, and not only that, but the sturdiest and most industrious of her peasantry also. Thus, when suddenly called upon to oppose by arms the unjust encroachments of Russia, she finds her army in a state of fatal disorganization, her regiments mere skeleton corps, and her whole war administration in helpless confusion.

It is now time to take a glance at the origin of the war in which we are engaged, and its probable political consequences to the nations of Europe. Looking at this contest then from the point of view which we have assumed, namely, the stand-point of the Church,—and we cannot, as Christians, voluntarily choose any other,—we see in it the dawn of a day of hope for the oppressed and trodden down nations of the Continent. A paltry intrigue of rival priesthoods for the exclusive custody of the holy places in Jerusalem, afforded the pretext for the notorious Menchikoff note, and for Nicholas's seizure of the Danubian Principalities, as a material guarantee for its acceptance by the Sublime Porte. Thus far, however, he would not, for the present, have ventured, but for his dependence on the Austro-Russian sympathies of the Aberdeen cabinet, and his certain conviction that the *entente cordiale* between the French empire and Great Britain was an impossibility. And, indeed, had the Emperor of the French proved less equal to his great vocation, Turkey would have been sacrificed to the Russo-Germano instinct of Aberdeen and his cabinet backed by the Manchester school and the Peace Society.

The Emperor Napoleon, however, was not the man to be made a mere tool of. Having entered into a treaty with him, there was no drawing back without the chance of a war nearer home: so both the Emperor Nicholas and his friends in the English cabinet found themselves wrong in their calculations. And then began a series of mutual recriminations,

which ended in the publication of the secret correspondence, and the exposure to the eyes of Europe of the real intentions of the late Czar, in his invasion of the Turkish territory. Still Lord Aberdeen, as he himself expressed it, "clung to the hope of peace;" though Turkey had declared war as early as the beginning of October, 1853, and though Russia, while professing to act only on the defensive, had destroyed the Turkish fleet and massacred 4,000 Turks at Sinope on the 30th of November.

Still no blow was struck, no war declared; but Austria, "false, fleeting, perjured" Austria, reeking with the noble and loyal blood of her Hungarian subjects, was to be courted into a triple alliance, in hopes of patching up a hollow truce through her mediation. We beg pardon of the brave and noble Hungarians for our slip of the pen in designating them as the subjects of Austria; had they been so, that might have been cited as some excuse for the violence, though none for the perfidy, of Austria towards them. But the Hungarians never were the subjects of Austria; they were subjects to the constitutional King of Hungary. It is true that ever since the year 1527, when Ferdinand I. was crowned King of Hungary, and solemnly took the oath to preserve the constitution of Hungary in its integrity, the house of Hapsburg has been seated on the throne; and has, during more than three centuries, proved its utter unworthiness to reign over that brave and loyal people, by constant evasions and violations of the coronation oath, and endeavours, during almost every reign, by force and fraud, to abrogate the constitution, and to deprive its Hungarian subjects of their Diet and liberties.

It is for this reason that we have stigmatised Austria as false and perjured; and this accusation we are able to substantiate. It would ill become us, assuming as we do, to look at European politics from the Church's point of view, to bring a railing accusation against Austria; but the cause of truth and justice is our cause, the Church's cause, and that which ought to be the cause of Great Britain in the present, and in all other wars, or political complications; and we fearlessly assert, that Great Britain and France, in undertaking this most just and necessary war, ought *not* to have admitted Austria into the alliance, without first binding her down to make restitution to Hungary, as far as in her lies; for, alas! she cannot restore to her her murdered patriots, the noble Count Louis Bathýányé, the hero of Peslacz, Ladislas Csányi, and a score of distinguished generals and heroes who were hung or shot by court-martial for their loyalty and defence of the

ancient constitution of their country, and whose blood cries from out the ground for vengeance on the faithless house of Hapsburg.

We know it will be argued against this, that we have nothing to do with the internal commotions of foreign nations, or with disputes between despots and their own subjects; and this we readily admit. But we answer to this, Should we and the French nation have stood aside, and permitted Russia to interfere in a civil war; a war provoked entirely by the perfidy of the Austrian government? When that government had provoked the contest by the basest double dealing and the most barefaced perjury, should it not have abided the consequence of its iniquity? And should Great Britain, the land of free institutions, have stooped to solicit the alliance of that Austria, whose Hungarian sceptre is yet reeking with innocent blood, the blood of the noblest and most loyal? And let not any of our readers suppose from what we are here affirming that we are republicans, or admirers of revolution, as the friends and favourers of despotism will no doubt stigmatise us with being; no,

“ We too are friends to loyalty. We love
The king who loves the law, respects his bounds,
And reigns content within them. * * * * *
Beyond that mark is treason. He is ours
T’administer, to guard, t’adorn the state;
But *not to warp or change it*. We are his,
To serve him nobly in the common cause—
True to the death—but not to be his slaves.”

We know that, in thus pleading the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, we have not only the statesmen of our own country, but the most influential portions of the periodical press against us. This however, powerful though the influence be which condemns our political creed as impracticable or utopian, cannot change our perceptions of right and wrong. We do not desire to look upon this present contest with the eyes of mere worldly politicians: the Church’s point of view is ours. And while the daily press, almost without exception, is lauding to the skies our foreign minister, for having secured the alliance of Austria, we cannot help feeling that the blessing of Him whose aid we daily implore, as Him “to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners,” and as “the only giver of all victory,” is not to be conciliated by an alliance in a just war with treachery, perjury and murder. To prove this grave accusation, and to show that we are not, from

mere hatred of despotism,—though it is as little consonant with our ideas of good government, as a lawless, brawling democracy,—we must refer our readers to the acts of the Austrian government which *necessitated* the Hungarian insurrection; and then let the friends of Austria defend her, if they can, from the accusation which we have here brought against her.

The Ban Jellachich, having heard of the murder of General Lambert, and that Count Bathyányé had left the country, gave orders for the attack, fully expecting to find the Hungarian army in a state of disorganization, and confusion, and anarchy in the capital. He also calculated on a dearth of gunners in the Hungarian army, because the Austrian artillery are all Bohemians. He therefore advanced, confident of a complete and bloodless victory. He was however beaten at the vineyards of Sukoró, and retired in utter confusion by forced marches to the Austrian frontier. Another band of Croats, 5000 in number, under the command of Baron Albert Nugent, was on the 3rd of October attacked and routed by the National Guards of the south-western counties, headed by Joseph Vidos, a member of the Diet. Another Croatian corps of 12,000 men, with twelve guns, under Generals Roth and Philipovich, was on the 5th obliged to surrender to the “*Niépfelkelés*” (*levée en masse*), led by Crápo, Görgey, and Perezel. Twelve pieces of artillery, seven standards, and 11,000 muskets, were the trophies of this day, which caused the greatest enthusiasm in the capital.

Thus began the war which Austria, deceitfully and unprovoked, forced upon the loyal Hungarians, and which for her resulted in a course of well-merited disgrace and defeat, which would for ever have severed from her the most valuable of her dependencies, and have deprived her armies of that unrivalled cavalry, to which she has owed almost all her successful campaigns; had not the politic Czar Nicholas, the uncompromising enemy of constitutional freedom, mindful of the old adage, “*cum proximus ardet*,” acceded to the summons of the Austrian ministry, founded on a forced interpretation of the Holy Alliance, and sent Field Marshal Paskievitch to prop up the falling despotism with the whole enormous power of Russia if necessary; but not until he had seen Austria sufficiently humble, and, like a beaten hound, yelping for assistance against the men whom she had traitorously purposed to trample beneath the feet of the *rebellious* Croats.

And now, if our readers would be made fully aware of the

vile hypocrisy, with which despotism seeks to clothe its treason and murder with the mask of religious obligation, we direct their attention to the document on which that extraordinary league the Holy Alliance was founded.

We could multiply proof upon proof of the perfidious conduct of the Austrian ministry towards Hungary, would our limits permit ; but we must be content with a particular instance or two which will illustrate the fact. On the 10th of June, 1848, the Emperor had declared Baron Jellachich guilty of high treason, and denounced him as a traitor on account of his disobedience in refusing to appear at court to give an account of his acts of rebellion. When, however, he appeared at court in July at Innsprach, he was most graciously received, and admitted to an audience. Immediately after which the Archduchess Sophia (and the mother of the present Emperor, the veritable *bête noir* of the Hungarian business) invited him to tea in these words: "My dear Ban, I expect you this evening to tea;" Jellachich replied, "Imperial Highness, I am now no longer anything but an arch-traitor!" To this the Archduchess replied, "Then, my dear arch-traitor, I expect you to tea."

Now, as a commentary on this anecdote, we will present our readers with a few lines from the Memorial of the Catholic Bishop of Hungary, presented to the Emperor at Olmutz ; it is dated from Pesth, the 28th October, 1848, and commences thus :—

"Sire ! Penetrated with feelings of the most profound sorrow, at the sight of the innumerable calamities which desolate our unhappy country, we respectfully address your Majesty, in the hope that you may listen with favour to the voice of those who, after having proved their inviolable fidelity to your Majesty, believe it to be their duty, as heads of the Hungarian Church, at last to break silence, and to bear to the foot of the throne their just complaints, for the interests of the church, of the country, and of the monarchy.

"Sire ! We refuse to believe that your Majesty is correctly informed of the present state of Hungary. We are convinced that your Majesty, in consequence of your being so far away from our unhappy country, knows neither the misfortunes which overwhelm her nor the evils which immediately threaten her, and which place the throne itself in danger, unless your Majesty applies a prompt and efficacious remedy, by attending to nothing but the dictates of your own good heart.

"Hungary is actually in the saddest and most deplorable situation. In the south, an entire race, although enjoying all the civil and political rights recognized in Hungary, has been in open in-

surrection for several months, excited and led astray by a party which seems to have adopted the frightful mission of exterminating the Magyar and German races, which have constantly been the strongest and surest support of your Majesty's throne. Several thriving towns and villages have become a prey to the flames; thousands of Magyar and German subjects are wandering about without food or shelter, or have fallen victims to indescribable cruelty, for it is revolting to repeat the frightful atrocities by which the popular rage, let loose by diabolical excitement, ventures to display itself. . . . Suffice it to say, that the different races who inhabit your kingdom of Hungary, stirred up, excited one against the other by infernal intrigues, only distinguish themselves by pillage, incendiarism, and murder, perpetrated with the greatest refinement of atrocity."

We have given but a slight extract from this powerful and heart-rending address, but sufficient to show how zealously the "dear arch-traitor," and his accomplices, had fulfilled the task assigned to them by the Camarilla which surrounded the imbecile Ferdinand; and whom, when they found in him an insuperable obstacle to their favourite scheme of centralisation and the overthrow of the Hungarian constitution;—because, with the simplicity of a child, his reply to all their Jesuitical arguments was, "My oath, my oath, I cannot break my oath!"—they forced to abdicate on the 2nd of December at Olmütz, in favour of his brother, Francis Charles; who, however, in his turn renounced his claim to the throne; and his son, Francis Joseph, a youth of nineteen, entirely under the control of his unscrupulous and ambitious mother, thus became emperor.

Before we quit this part of our subject, we will just refer to another false accusation of the Austrian Court against the Hungarian Ministry; which was, that they had violated the "Pragmatic Sanction." Now this was as false as all the rest of their proceedings. It was, on the contrary, the Ban Jellachich, who, by the instigation of the Camarilla, had acted illegally in summoning a provincial Diet, and proclaiming martial law in Croatia, declaring, at the same time, all official connection of the Croatian authorities with the Hungarian Ministry treasonable, in direct violation of the "Pragmatic Sanction," by which Hungary and Croatia are inseparably united. This document,—to which the Austrians are so fond of referring, is of no greater antiquity than the reign of the Emperor Charles VI. and the II. of the name as king of Hungary,—bears date 1723, and was drawn up principally for the sake of allowing his daughter, Maria Theresa, to inherit the Hungarian crown, from which inhe-

ritance, beforetime, women were wisely excluded. The Hungarians, however, in making this concession, took care that the same instrument should contain a recognition of their ancient laws and privileges, as we shall prove to the satisfaction of all those who may have imbibed Austrian ideas on the subject.

The third article of this somewhat prolix document, and its confirmatory or tenth article, promulgated by Leopold II. in 1790, may satisfy any one who may have doubted as to the justice of the cause of Hungary, or who may have been staggered by the continual reference made by Austria and her advocates to the "Pragmatic Sanction." It is true that Austrians universally suppress the articles here referred to, and direct attention to the second article, which, as it refers entirely to the continual succession in the female as well as the male line, and says nothing about Hungarian independence, is made, by some slight omissions and contortions of some of its clauses, to answer their purpose after a diplomatic fashion.

Having thus, as we think, sufficiently made good our case against Austria as regards Hungary, we will now proceed to look at her course of action toward her immediate neighbour; and in doing so we will refer our readers to the little books, or rather pamphlets, which stand No. 5 at the head of our article, and here, more especially, the latter *brochure*—"The Austrian Alliance." It thus begins:—

"It is matter of recent memory, that in the affairs of Bosnia and Montenegro, Austria was the bitter and dangerous enemy of the Turks. In the autumn of 1852, the Emperors of Russia and Austria had many secret interviews, which were fully discerned, by others than professional statesmen, to involve projects hostile to the Sultan, or (as a well-known humorist of the day graphically expressed it) a scheme to 'finish the *Port* together.' This opinion was afterwards confirmed by Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, in a secret dispatch. It may not be amiss here to quote Sir George's words: 'On February 21st, 1853,' he wrote concerning the late Czar, 'the sovereign who insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighbouring state, must have settled in his own mind that the hour—if not *of* its dissolution, yet *for* its dissolution, is at hand. This assumption would hardly be ventured, *unless some intimate understanding existed between Russia and Austria.*' Again on March 9th, 1853, he wrote: 'These points appear to me to be *fully established* by the imperial memorandum—the *existence of some distinct understanding between the two imperial courts* upon the subject of Turkey,' &c. . . . Assuming as a certain and *now acknowledged* fact, the existence of an understanding or compact between the two Emperors as to Turkish affairs, it becomes of the

deepest importance to know the extent of the engagements entered into between them. . . Its basis was, no doubt, laid *at some of the meetings between the sovereigns which took place in the autumn*; and the scheme has probably been worked out since, under the management of Baron Meyendorff, the Russian envoy at the Austrian Court, who has been passing the winter at St. Petersburg, and is still here.' Thus warned, the English ministry nevertheless, when the Czar had invaded the soil of Turkey, adopted Vienna as the centre of mediation between Russia and the Porte. Baron Meyendorff was at that time at Vienna, and closely connected with the Austrian minister. The celebrated Vienna note, which all but ruined the Sultan's cause, was the result."—pp. 3, 4.

Of the complicity of Austria, in the contemplated partition of the Sultan's European dominions, we think that among our readers there can be but one opinion; that this has been modified since the commencement of the present contest there is no doubt; but that the merest selfish fears have caused that modification, and not any inclination towards the cause of justice, must be manifest to all who have studied the conduct of the Austrian government in their relations with the Ottoman empire, up to, and even since, the occupation of the Principalities by Russia. We quote again from the same little book:—

"We will not go back to the affairs of Bosnia, where revolt was stirred up by Austrian intrigue. Suffice it to say, that toward the close of 1852, *just after the conferences between the two eastern emperors*, Montenegro revolted and obtained more than sympathy from Austria. The Montenegrins surprised a Turkish fort in profound peace, and cut off the heads of two or three hundred Turks. Austrian officers are stated to have been in the country to advice, encourage, drill, and direct the rebels. . . . Two Austrian officers, volunteers in Montenegro, received Austrian decorations for their brave conduct. And this is the Austria whom we have been pressing on the Porte as a friend and ally!"—pp. 4—6.

But we are not writing a history of Austria's iniquities; for that horrifying detail we refer our readers to No. 7, at the head of this article. We will only add, that had our government taken the view which we propose to take of the political bearings of the present war—that is to say, had they taken their stand on the Church's point of view, instead of the red-tape one, they would have rejected Austrian mediation altogether, until that perfidious nation had given some proof of her Christianity, by restoring the plundered constitution of Hungary, which Great Britain ought never to have suffered her to suppress by Russian armies. We are as great and uncompromising enemies to interference with the civil

commotions or internal concerns of other nations as Cobden or Bright, or any of the cottonocracy; but when a despotic government, by its own villanous conduct towards its best and bravest citizens, incites them to insurrection, and then is beaten on all points and in imminent danger of meeting its just reward at their hands, and has recourse to its neighbour despot to slaughter its gallant opponents, it is time for every God-fearing nation to interfere, and to put a veto on such imperial villany. I know that our red-tapists will sneer at this, and stigmatize our views as quixotic; and tell us, perhaps, in their profound ignorance—for with all their pretensions to the collective wisdom of the nation they have shewn plenty of that negative statesmanship,—that England has never so interfered. To this we answer, by pointing to the pages of Hungarian history, to show that England *has* interfered between Austria and Hungary, even when there was no Russian interference or invasion threatened. The Hungarians had been driven into insurrection by Leopold I., and though his son Joseph I. was a noble and just prince, still the war was not at once put an end to; he, however, accepted the mediation of England and Holland, and a peace was concluded with the Hungarian confederates at Szathmán in 1711. Great Britain, nevertheless, in 1849, connived at the suppression of Hungarian liberty; and when the late Czar, who had thus, by putting down the spirit of independence in Hungary, secured the complicity of Austria,—which indeed he himself assured Sir G. H. Seymour that he had, for he said to him, “What pleases me pleases Austria”—commenced his designs against the Porte, the English ministry set about winning the friendship of Austria. How far we have succeeded in doing so is still extremely doubtful. What has she hitherto done for the common cause? She has occupied the Danubian Principalities with her troops, and signed treaty after treaty with the Western Powers, always promising to put her troops in motion against the Russians in the event of certain contingencies—such as *if* Russia did not accept the four points within so many days after the new year, for instance; but she has taken good care that her friend the late Czar should accept those four points, *as a basis for further negotiations*, before the time specified; and, of course, as long as the negotiations can be protracted, and Austria will take care they shall not come to a speedy termination, she is free from all obligation to take an active part in the war.

But let us even suppose that these negotiations should

break down, and that Austria should be forced at length to abandon her state of semi-neutrality ; is she then pledged to actual war with Russia? By no means ; she has merely pledged herself, in that case, to assist us in our *sham war* ; and we, or rather our Russo-Austrian ministry, have by the treaties by which they have secured the co-operation of Austria, bound down Great Britain to make no *real war* against Russia. Meanwhile Great Britain has, at the same time, pledged herself to protect *Austria* should her show of adhesion to the Western Powers bring down the vengeance of the autocrat of all the Russias upon her. And our Government is so proud of the grand stroke of diplomacy, that they are exerting all their diplomatic acumen to “move that dish of skimmed milk,” Prussia, to a like “honourable action.”

But the terms of our treaty with Austria, and Austria's consequent obligations, are a *secret* and known only to the executive. Why, therefore, do we found our arguments on what is a state mystery? Nevertheless, in the warmth of debate, these impenetrable mysteries will leak out. For instance, Lord John Russell, in the debate on the third reading of the Foreigners' Enlistment Bill, let slip an observation of great importance, as bearing entirely upon the tenor of these secret treaties. His lordship said that it was because the *British Government did not contemplate any diminution to Russian territory* that they hoped, if the war continued, to receive Austrian support. That such a contingency is very likely to happen in spite of this shuffling policy of the Austrian government is our firm conviction ; for our Austro-Russo-Germano foreign policy has, without at all intending to do so, placed Austria on the horns of a dilemma, from which she has no chance of escaping unscathed ; for should the pending negotiations on the four points fail, as we are convinced they will—for whatever may be the intentions of the British Government, it can do nothing without the adhesion of France, and the French Government will consent to no peace, which will disgrace their arms or their diplomacy ;—then Austria will be obliged to demonstrate what she has really been making all her vast military preparations for. If she joins the Western Powers, as she is bound in honour to do, then we trust that the Hungarian hussars will amply avenge the cruel and treacherous interference of Russia with their freedom ; in so doing they will not be fighting for the house of Hapsburg, but for themselves and their children ; for Russia will not after that be ready to assist Austria to

strengthen her position in Europe by a forced centralisation. Our Hungarian brethren should, in that contingency, keep in mind the good old adage, that "when rogues fall out, honest men come by their own." If, on the other side, Austria should be infatuated enough to jilt the Allies, which is, perhaps, the more desirable contingency of the two, upon the pretext of their straining the interpretation of the four points to an extent that Austria never contemplated; then of course the Hungarian regiments will take the earliest opportunity of joining the Allies and striking for freedom; while the Allies on their part will guarantee their separation from Austria, and the reconstitution of the kingdom of Poland; and pledge their united Governments never to sheath the sword till those most desirable objects for the permanent peace of Europe, and the restriction of Muscovite ambition, should be attained. And this result would only be the natural and well-merited chastisement of the crimes of the confederate despotisms, for if not avenged exactly in the way indicated, yet they shall not escape punishment. (Hand to hand *wrong* shall not go unpunished. Prov. xi. 21.) This is the eternal decree, and when did one word of the Divine Lawgiver ever fall to the ground?

That Austrian sincerity is likely to be put to the proof we also gather from the manifesto issued by the late Emperor Nicholas, on the 29th of January (10th of February), in which it is made manifest, that his only reason for authorizing Prince Gortschakoff to accept the four points of chicanery as a basis for a treaty, was the expectation that the Allies would be cajoled by it into a suspension of arms, which would enable him in the mean time to pour his legions into the Crimea, and, as soon as it suited him, to recommence hostilities. Thus he commences with the usual pious exordium of—

"By the grace of God, we, Nicholas, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., do make known. Our faithful and well-beloved subjects know how much we desire, *without resort to the power of arms*, and without a larger effusion of blood, to attain the *end we have constantly proposed to ourselves*, that of defending the rights of our co-religionists, and, in general, of Christianity throughout the East."

No doubt it had been the earnest desire of the crafty autocrat to *attain his end* without bloodshed; it has always been the policy of Russia to do so, and never to have recourse to that *dernier resort* till all the appliances of fraud and dishonest artifice should have failed. Such is the course

of action deliberately inculcated by that Satanic testament, "The will of Peter the Great." *The defence of our co-religionists in the East*, of course requires the extermination of the followers of Mahomed; and when that is accomplished, it must be extended to the followers of Bramah and Buddha, and of Confucius; for all these successive steps, by which the blessings of Muscovite domination and Cossack civilization are to be imposed upon the whole of Asia as well as Europe, are clearly marked out in that delectable state paper. Discontents are to be fomented in neighbouring nations; these are, by Russian emissaries, to be fanned into insurrection. Then Russia is to offer the friendly aid of her arms to put down the rebellion which she has excited; that help is to bring about occupation, and occupation is to result in annexation. The more powerful nations were to be invited to share in the plunder, and then excited to disputes about the division of the spoil. Thus wars were to be fomented to the mutual destruction of their forces, that Russia might profit by their weakness to push forward her schemes of aggrandisement.

Never was such a scheme of gigantic wrong imagined by *despot* or *demon* since the creation. Never was there a scheme of villany, which, up to the present crisis, has been carried out with such complete and invariable success. Now let us see with what complacency this diabolical policy and its profitable results were contemplated by the "mild-eyed" monarch himself. Thus proceeds the manifesto:

"This wish is equally well-known to all who have followed with attention and impartiality *the march of events* and the *invariable tendency of our actions*. . . . Even now, faithful to the principles we adopted, we have announced our consent to the opening of negotiations with those Western Powers who have formed an hostile alliance against us with the Ottoman Porte. We, in *our justice*, trust to find on their part *the same sincerity*, and the *same disinterestedness of purpose*; and we do not give up the hope of arriving at the re-establishment of a peace so desirable and so precious for the whole of Christendom. Nevertheless, looking at the forces they are assembling, and the other preparations they are making to cope with us—preparations that, *in the face of commencing negotiations*, are not discontinued, but are, day by day, unintermittingly pushed forward to more and more immense development, &c. &c. . . . May God, who reads all hearts and blesses the *pure purpose*, grant us his assistance.

"Given at St. Petersburg, &c. &c."

Here are patent the motives for the wily Czar's acceptance of the "four points," as a basis for negotiations. He hoped to

inveigle the Allied Powers into an armistice, and so to gain time to save his pet arsenal of spoliation and homicide—Sevastopol.

And now let us turn to the work of Sir J. McNeill, which, despite its diplomatic bias, will afford us the means of following with impartiality *the march of events* and the *invariable tendency of Russia's actions*. In this work Sir John indirectly bears a most striking testimony to the miserable gullability which has made English diplomatists ever the ready tools or accomplices in Russian aggression—

“It will be seen,” he says, “that the acquisitions she (Russia) has made from Sweden, are greater than what remains of that ancient kingdom; that her acquisitions from Poland are as large as the whole Austrian empire; that the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces; and that her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal in extent to all the smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland taken together; that the country she has conquered from Persia is about the size of England; that her acquisitions in Tartary have an area equal to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain; and that the territory she has acquired within the last sixty-four years (since 1772) is greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time.”

Now what has England been doing all these years that Russia has been making such vast strides towards universal dominion? England, who has always been capable, at any moment, of checking Russian aggression? Why, English diplomacy has been made the cat's-paw of Russia. Hear Sir John McNeill:—

“Every portion of those vast acquisitions, except perhaps that in Tartary, has been detained in opposition to the views, the wishes, and the interests of England. The dismemberment of Sweden, the partition of Poland, have all been injurious to British interests.”

And English diplomatists, to their eternal disgrace, have recognized and guaranteed these possessions won by force or fraud to Russia! Yet Messrs. Cobden and Bright, with many others, whose whole souls are absorbed in money grubbing, are ready to assure us that England has nothing to fear from Russia. Every one must remember Mr. Cobden's emphatic metaphor of “crumpling up Russia” like a sheet of paper, when he suited the action to the word. And as for Russia ever being able to make head against our power in Central Asia, and in any way jeopardizing our Indian em-

pire, why the "Times" has sneered down such childish apprehensions in its peculiar off-hand style, over and over again, within the last six months. But let us consult Sir John McNeill, who, from his long experience as British resident at the Persian court, may be supposed to be a tolerable authority. As to the safety of India, does he think us so perfectly safe? Sir John, *loquitur*—

"In sixty-four years she (Russia) has advanced her frontiers 850 miles towards Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Paris; she has approached 450 miles nearer to Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a few miles of the capital of Sweden, from which, when Peter first mounted the throne, her frontier was distant 300 miles. Since that time she has stretched herself forward about 1000 miles *towards India*, and the same distance towards the capital of Persia. The regiment that is now stationed at her furthest frontier post on the western shore of the Caspian, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow as onward to attack on the Indus, and is actually further from St. Petersburg than from Lahore, the capital of the Punjaub. The battalions of the Russian Imperial Guard that invaded Persia, found, at the termination of the war, that they were as near to Herat as to the banks of the Don; and that they had already accomplished half the distance from their capital to Delhi; and that, therefore, from their camp in Persia, they had as great a distance to march back to St. Petersburg as onward to the capital of Hindostan. Meanwhile the *Moscow Gazette* threatens to dictate at Calcutta the next peace with England: and Russia never ceases to urge on the Persian government to accept from it, free of all cost, officers to discipline its troops, and arms and artillery for its soldiers; at the same time that her own battalions are ready to march into Persia whenever the Shah, to whom their services are freely offered, can be induced to require their assistance."

We know by the latest Indian news, that Russian diplomacy is entirely in the ascendant at the court of Teheran, and that insurrections in favour of Persian ascendancy (stirred up, no doubt, by Russian agency) have broken out in Cabool and Candahar; and that in fact, as Lord Ellenborough said a few weeks since in the House of Lords, it behoves England to bestir herself in Central Asia.

Having thus, with the help of Sir J. McNeill, endeavoured to place before our readers the power and prospects of Russia, and her rapid progress toward universal dominion, we will strive to place before them the probable consequences of the present struggle, as regards not only the position of that gigantic despotism, but of Europe and Asia in general. And this must entirely depend on the result of the present conference at Vienna. That conference is to be opened on "the

basis of the four points." Now the wording of those four points is familiar to all who read the leading journals, and we need not here repeat it, as our space is nearly occupied. One thing however we do know; to wit, that Lord John Russell, who has been selected as the representative of Great Britain at that conference, has emphatically declared in his place in Parliament, that there is to be "no territorial diminution of Russia;" but whether this forms part of the meaning given by the Allies to the "four points," is a mystery into which the British public is not permitted to enquire; it belongs to "secret diplomacy," whose motto is "*Ōdi profanum vulgus, et arceo*," and which requires us to permit the representatives of the crown for the time being to *sell* us to the despots of the Continent, as a compensation for the enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure which England has lavished on the most just war she ever waged.

On the subject of these pending conferences, we will direct the attention of our readers to a very able and lucid leader, which appeared in our clever contemporary, "*The Atlas*" of January 13th, with the very appropriate title, "*England in Danger*," which is a perfect reflection of our own views; and though the ministry has since then changed hands, yet while Lord John, with the celebrated declaration which we have quoted above in his mouth, is delegated to represent Great Britain at the coming palaver, we cannot feel secure that we shall not be *sold*.

We must say, that we believe most firmly, that any peace which can be patched up on the basis of the "four points," however *liberally* they may be interpreted, would be at this conjuncture a great misfortune to Great Britain, and to every nation in Europe, except Russia; and that Russia only can be the gainer by such a treaty. It is on this account that we regard with unfeigned alarm the appointment of Lord John Russell as our plenipotentiary at Vienna; well knowing, as we do, how unequal he is to the task of supporting the interests of Europe against the long-headed and unscrupulous diplomatists of the continental despots. Lord John has shown himself, throughout his whole political career, a man very infirm of purpose, with abundance of presumption and self-reliance in projecting great things, but failing miserably in the execution, yet ready to undertake any responsibility, and to pit himself against any odds. "*Unstable as water*," a few flattering words and common-place attentions from the despots and their wily "*corps diplomatique*," will place the

small mind of Lord John at their service, and Great Britain and Europe will be betrayed by vanity and imbecility.

In fact, what the people of England has to dread, is the patching up of a hollow truce under the name of peace, and to avert which they have more reason now to be on their guard than ever. They have at length got rid of the Aberdeen cabinet, whose feebleness or treachery has involved the British arms in obloquy and disgrace. We have, it is true, no longer the Czar's "dear friend" at the head of the executive, nor the nephew of the Czar's devoted servant, Prince Woronzoff, to provide our armies in a sham war against Russia; but what have we got in exchange, "credat Judæus," the WHIGS! This miserable, worn-out faction—for it can scarcely now claim the dignity of a party in the House and country—that mere family compact to grasp places and pensions; and to these feeble and trembling hands the destinies of England, and of civilized Europe, are to be entrusted in the most perilous *conjuncture that Great Britain has ever known*. When the ship of the state is left among the breakers on a lee shore, by the treachery of pilots in the enemy's interest; and when nothing but the clearest heads, the strongest arms, and the most unflinching resolution, can save her from going to *pieces*; what can the English people expect, but that the sudden and momentous death of the "Disturber of Europe" will be seized upon by them as a God-send, tending to facilitate their base designs of betraying England and Europe at the Vienna conference, upon the plea that the necessity for war has ceased with the presence of its instigator. As though the policy of Russia was the policy of any single one of its emperors, or as if Nicholas were the author of the will of Peter the Great. Nay, a strong government, a government not in the interest of Russia and Austria, but of England and Europe, would grasp the present opportunity as a call to press on the war with tenfold vigour, while Russia is staggering under the blow; and to force from her such *material guarantees*, as would bind her down to keep the peace towards her neighbours in Europe and Asia for ever and a day.

This we feel but too well convinced will never be done by the *Whigs*, nor with the help of Austria; for it would require the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and the restoration of the Crimea to the Sultan. And we know that the Whigs, as well as the Peelites, have pledged themselves to treacherous Austria to require no diminution of the territories of Russia. But England and France can do it without

the help of, and indeed in defiance of Austria and Prussia, and all the petty despotisms of Germany thrown into the scale. The swords of France and England, with those of the patriots of Hungary, Poland and Italy, would make them kick the beam. What are the boasted array of 700,000 Austrian troops when shorn of their splendid Hungarian cavalry? We have seen the Austrian army, and a superb army it is to look upon; but what are its historical reminiscences of late years, at Ulms, at Marengo, at Hohenlinden? When has it proved itself able to withstand the impetuous charge of the French? At Dresden it was driven off the field in half an hour; at Leipsic it was in full flight, when the treachery of the Saxons, and the advance of the Emperor Alexander, with his Russian hordes in overwhelming numbers, changed the fortunes of the day. To do the Austrians, however, justice, they fought well behind their entrenchments at Aspern and Esling, under the gallant Archduke Charles; but that one short gleam of victory was soon quashed in the blood of Wagram, and Vienna lay helpless at the feet of the first Napoleon. We find the "Austrians" characterized by a writer in Blackwood as "proverbially among the least active soldiery of the earth."* And we have had a striking proof of their *slowness* in the fact that, since they have occupied Moldavia in force, the Cossacks have crossed the Pruth, and burned their magazines of forage. The Croats, who form the great mass of the Austrian infantry, are a mere cowardly banditti, utterly incapable of resisting the attack of regular troops, or of opposing a firm front either to the French or the Russians, and famous only for plundering, burning, ravishing and murdering. And it is to propitiate a despotism whose throne rests upon such supporters, that the British nation is called upon to betray her ally the Sultan, and to smother her people's sympathies with the oppressed.

Let the Whigs beware how they betray the sacred trust reposed in them: the storm is gathering; the thunder of an indignant people is already growling in the distance. Meeting after meeting has been held; the people mistrust their rulers; they have long, too long been aware that Whiggery and jobbery are synonymous; and should they by their truckling diplomacy, which there is but too much reason to fear, provoke the gathering storm, the whole *system of shams* will be *blown into atoms*, and "*apris eux le deluge*." This

* Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1835, p. 191.

seems to be the Whig motto :—a factious opposition to every government, however necessary to the well-being of the nation, in which they cannot grasp the lion's share of the loaves and fishes. We own we can feel no confidence in such a government. Lord Palmerston had a glorious opportunity afforded him, when the Peelite faction abandoned him, of calling to his assistance men suited to the emergency ; and when he appointed Mr. Layard to the under-secretaryship of the war department, the whole nation hailed it as a step in the right direction ; but the infusion of new and vigorous blood into his department did not suit the Whig red-tapist to whom the direction of the war is now confided, and the nation must put up with a third or fourth rate Peelite. We fear Lord Palmerston has flung away his chance, and delivered over the nation to an aristocratic clique, with whose shuffling and jobbery it has been satiated "ad nauseam." From such a government, in such a crisis, we augur nothing but misfortune and disgrace. Nevertheless, our hope is in God, who can and does overrule the schemes of the craftiest politicians to the furtherance of *His* glory, taking the cunning in their own toils, as is abundantly manifested in the case of the Aberdeen ministry : their diplomatic cringing to avoid the chance of a war, rendered war unavoidable ; and the feeble and reluctant manner in which they have carried on the war, with the view of conciliating the enemy, has rendered their much-desired peace impossible ; while a more vigorous and manly policy would have altogether averted this crisis, and arrested the Czar on his own side of the Pruth.

We say that peace, in the present state of the contest, is impossible ; for although the fiat of the King of kings has struck down the haughty oppressor in the midst of his schemes of conquest and revenge, yet Russia will never willingly submit to the demolition of Sevastopol, and to the destruction of her preponderance in the Black Sea. And the people of France and England will never suffer their rulers, after all the sacrifices which they have made to that end, to accept a peace which shall not accomplish that object. To show that this, our view of the Aberdeen policy, is shared by practical statesmen, we shall quote a few words from the speech of Lord Stanley, at Lynn, on the 15th of February.

"Why," continues he, "you may recollect the language held by the late government and its supporters in 1853. In the leading journal of the country, at that time the organ of the ministry, in the language of Mr. Gladstone, at Manchester, in the speech of Lord Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, everywhere you could trace

the same ideas, and the same feeling that war was to be deprecated ; and, that do what you please, the Turkish empire and the Turkish people could not be saved. It was well known that that was the opinion of the men who at that time held the government of the country. Is it not natural, is it not reasonable, to suppose that the Emperor of Russia, judging from the fact, and knowing also that up to the present time there never yet had been a cordial alliance between France and England, should conclude that we were not in earnest ; that we meant to protest indeed and remonstrate against his acts, but to do nothing more than protest ?”

Let us now take a look at the political consequences of the war, so far as it has yet proceeded, and supposing that a hollow truce, under the name of peace, should be patched up by Lord John Russell. In that case what will Europe, what will England, have gained by her enormous expenditure of blood and treasures ? And, firstly, if we look at the present position of Turkey, what will she have gained by the establishment of the *four points en permanence* ? Imprimis, she will have gained the great advantage of having two jealous and greedy despots, ever ready to intermeddle with her internal policy and to pour their countless mercenaries upon her territory, instead of one ; for such will prove the real effect of the quintuple protectorate of her Christian population. Russia and Austria will be the only real administrators of the so called protectorate. For this and for the furtherance of the coming designs of Austria, will all *her* blood and treasures have been expended, and her victories of Oltenitza, of Silistria, and of Eupatoria, rendered nugatory ; and she will be delivered, bound hand and foot by diplomatic fetters, into the power of her bitter and merciless enemies ; for such, it is easy to prove, have been all along the intention of the British court and government, who have acted throughout in the interest of Austria and not of Turkey.

Lord Clarendon, who is so bepraised by the ministerial prints for securing the alliance of Austria, has been constrained to admit that the Austrian generals did prevent Omer Pacha's pursuit of the retreating Russians ; but he says, it was a mistake. Count Buol disavows it ; it shall not happen in future. Meanwhile the mischief has been done.

“ And we know,” says the pamphlet above quoted—“ That it is the Austrian system to have a minister to talk liberally, and a general to act insubordinately. Just so Radetzky disobeyed his own ministry, and was thanked for it in due time. Just so Jellachich rebelled ; was proclaimed a traitor ; and was made dictator of

Hungary, to reward his treason. But Lord Clarendon is too wise to acquaint himself with facts so disagreeable."

Let us now see what will be the position of Great Britain, should she at once consent to a peace with Russia without *those material guarantees*, at which we have hinted. Should England prove so craven, she would become a scorn and a bye-word to the whole civilized world: as a nation possessed of unlimited means of offence and defence; but without sense or power to make any effectual use of them. What other conclusion could Europe possibly come to, after the series of blunders which have been made by the government in the prosecution of the war up to the present time? Too late has been stamped upon all that they have done! They were too late in declaring war; too late in taking the field; too late with supplies; too late with reinforcements, with ammunition, with forage, with clothing, with shelter for the troops; too late, in a word, with everything. And while this has been the cause of unheard-of suffering, and frightful mortality among our brave soldiers, the whole tenor of their policy has been such as to give rise to suspicions of the most criminal complicity with the enemy.

We have seen an extract from a letter, written by an officer of high rank in the Crimea, in which after describing the dreadful sufferings of his comrades, both officers and men, he says—

"It is utterly impossible that all these evils have been produced by mere incapacity and neglect alone; the mind seeks further, and looks to an intention. Constantly do I find the same question recurring, and unanswered; can there be any diplomatic object to be gained by forcing the army to capitulate?"

How much these suspicions and misgivings are strengthened by a review of the whole conduct of our fleet in the Black Sea! Even Mr. Layard has publicly disowned any intention of casting an imputation on the courage of Admiral Dundas. How then are we to explain the wretched inefficiency of that magnificent fleet, in all its pretended hostile operations?

To begin with the beginning. On the 22nd of November, 1853, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in solemn Divan, publicly introduced to the Sultan, Admiral Dundas and his principal officers; expounding, in a set speech, that these were the officers of the fleet, which her Britannic Majesty had sent to defend the Sultan from unjust aggression; and on the 28th of the same month, just six days after, the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed by Admiral Nachimoff, at Sinope. And

in a subsequent explanation of this "untoward event," M. Drouyn de L'Huys comes out with the truth; namely, that the combined fleet was sent only as a demonstration, "to display the intimate concord of France and England, and to save the Sultan (not from Russia, but) from religious enthusiasm and fatal auxiliaries."

Also, after war was declared, were not orders, in the first instance sent out to the admirals, *not* to molest Odessa, though our rulers were well aware that the Russian army on the Lower Danube drew thence their principal supplies? If not, why did the admirals apologise to their respective governments for having destroyed the stores and ships? Both admirals account for their attack solely from the necessity for avenging the affront offered to their flag of truce; and the French admiral concludes his apology with the emphatic self-justification, that he "did enough to avenge the insult to the flag, *and no more*." No one can doubt the power of those mighty armaments to have utterly destroyed Odessa, had the line-of-battle ships been brought into action. Was not this forbearance then complicity with Russia, and gross treachery towards Turkey? Was it not, that our rulers wished the Russians to gain some signal advantage over the Turks; as, for instance, to take Silistria, in order that the Emperor of Russia might be enabled to withdraw from the contest with honour; and the Sultan be compelled to accept such terms of peace as Aberdeen, France, Austria, and Russia, would then dictate?

So far Admiral Dundas, in sparing Odessa, seems to have acted according to his instructions. But what are the people of England to think of his *forbearance*, if Sir James Graham spoke the truth, when in reply to Mr. Layard's question, as to why Odessa was spared; he stated to the House, that "on more than one occasion during the last six months, the attention of the commander-in-chief in the Black Sea had been drawn to the state of Odessa; and an opinion had been expressed, that there should be no hesitation in making use of all the rights of war against it, if it could be done with a reasonable prospect of success?" If this was really so, the people have a right to know from the commander-in-chief *why* Odessa was spared, to serve as a basis for Russian operations in the Crimea. We are no advocates for shooting admirals for neglect of duty, as was done a century ago; but we cannot think it a good omen for England, when *such services* receive the thanks of Parliament. And as far as our own peculiar tastes are concerned, we think we should prefer the feelings of

Admiral Byng, when kneeling with a quiet conscience before the firing party of marines, than those of Admiral Dundas, seated at the royal table, with the reflection, that the sparing of Odessa cost the lives of so many of his gallant countrymen on the bloody days of Balaklava and Inkermann. But is Sir James Graham's statement to be depended upon? Is it not rather a mere attempt to shift the responsibility from the shoulders of the ministry on to those of the admiral? Admiral Dundas, however, seems always to have considered it necessary to apologise to the government, for any show of doing his duty against the enemy. Thus he commences his dispatch to the Admiralty, on the 18th of October:—"In consequence of the most urgent request of Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, it was agreed by the admirals of the allied fleets, that the whole of the ships should assist the land attack, by engaging the sea batteries N. and S. of the harbour, on a line across the port, &c." And how was this formidable sea attack carried out? Why by laying the line-of-battle ships 2,000 yards from the batteries, where they blazed away for about five hours, making noise and smoke enough, no doubt, but dropping five-sixths at least of their shot in the water, and those few which did reach the ports, taking about as much effect upon the granite as so many snow-balls. And had it not been for Admiral Lyons, who laid the Agamemnon within less than 1,000 yards of Fort Constantine, in which gallant attack he was supported by the Sanspareil, London, and Albion, and afterwards by the Rodney and Queen, "le jeu n'aurait pas valu la chandelle." And we were gravely assured by some of the leading journals, that this *shy* affair had finally disposed of the "*vexata quæstio*," as regarded ships and batteries. We can assure those wise-acres, that the question has been settled over and over again, and the batteries have been *settled* too by admirals who know *where* to place their ships, and had pluck enough to do it. It was settled two centuries ago by Admiral Blake, when he led his own ships into the harbour of Santa Cruz, and after silencing the batteries, and utterly destroying the Spanish treasure fleet, sailed out again. It was settled by Lord Exmouth, when he laid his flag ship within pistol shot of the formidable batteries of Algiers. And it was settled by Sir Charles Napier, at Acire. It is quite certain that no masonry can stand up against the concentrated fire of a three-decker, or heavy two-decker's broadside, when directed against it at a distance of four or five hundred yards, or less. While to attack batteries with

large ships, from a distance, is only to ensure damage to the ships, by making them targets for safe practice to the enemy's cannonade; while the ships at such distance can do little injury to stone walls.

The Russians, on whom no lesson is thrown away, seem to be entirely of our opinion, and well aware that they have now different admirals to deal with. We learn by the last intelligence, that—

“ They are occupied day and night, in rendering the sea face of Sebastopol impregnable. The whole face of the cliff under the ‘Wasp’ battery is being galleried and cut into casement batteries. Heavy *earthwork* batteries have also been erected, and line the inside of the harbour on both sides. Those on the south are placed perfectly level with the water's edge, while those on the north, cover the steep slopes which are crowned by the Star Fort and St. Sivernia. On this side the batteries sometimes present four tiers of guns, which are so placed that nothing but the muzzles can be seen, while the upper tiers could fire almost straight down on a vessel's deck. Under these circumstances, any attempt on the fortresses from the sea, is looked on here as little short of madness.”

We have cited this, as another instance of the “too late” system, which has marked all the operations of the war up to the present time. Had the fleet or army made a simultaneous dash at Sebastopol immediately after the victory of the Alma, the capture of the place would have been next to certain; while every day's delay that has since taken place, has only added to the strength of its defences; and has cost the Allies, at least 45,000 men, the major part of whom have died miserably of disease and famine; and how many more is it to cost before the Crimea is cleared of the Russians? So far, we have only “the beginning of the end.”

Of the “*parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*” conclusion of our naval campaign in the Baltic, the less that is said the better. It must be sufficiently evident that the fleet was not sent there to damage Russia, but merely to make a demonstration, and to drive the Czar into an acceptance of the “four points;” just as we show a rod to a dear naughty boy to bring him to reason. The destruction of Bomarsund was just a refresher to show him what we could do if we would. If anything was wanting to demonstrate the imbecility of Lord Aberdeen, it would be found in the attempt so to treat a man like the Emperor Nicholas; a man in whom such trifling could excite no feelings but those of unutterable contempt; as no doubt did all our miserable attempts to carry on the war upon peace principles. It is true that late in the

season, when the Russians had been allowed abundant leisure to add to the strength of their stupendous defences at Cronstadt and Sweaborg, and in spite of Sir James Graham's oft-repeated advice to Admiral Napier to "beware of stone walls," that Mephistopheles of the Admiralty caused the most goading letters to be sent to the brave old man, asking him why he did not take Sweaborg? and nobody knows what: but it is to be hoped that the Committee of Inquiry will thoroughly sift this matter to the bottom. Whatever may prove to be the facts of the case, one thing is certain, that Sir James Graham and his colleagues have managed so admirably, that they have utterly destroyed the prestige of the British navy, and disgraced our fleets in the eyes of the whole world to such a degree, that we have seen it positively stated in the journals, that the Russian Baltic fleet is to come out in the spring and offer us battle. Added to this, we are sorry to see that the admiral (Richard Dundas), who is already appointed to the command of our Baltic fleet, has received from some of our leading journals the very questionable praise of being "not one of your fighting men," and "no fire-eater!" Now it is notorious to every man who has ever served afloat, that your "fire-eater" is the only man for naval warfare; such were Blake, and Vernon, and Nelson, and Duncan, and Sir Sidney Smith, and Van Tromp, and De Ruyter, and Lord Dundonald, and every man who has left behind him the name of a naval hero. Your prudent, cautious gentlemen make no figure in the navy; and the appointment of such an admiral, if such be his character, looks very like preparing further mortification and disaster for our brave seamen in the spring.

So far then, under a temporising, half-hearted government, the political aspect of the war, despite the heroic deeds and more heroic sufferings of her soldiers, presents nothing but disgrace and humiliation to Great Britain; and a peace, under the present contingencies, would at once degrade her into the position of a second-rate power. The English people must be on the alert, or they will yet be betrayed by the court party. Austria will move heaven and earth to bring about a peace on her own terms—that is, the "four points;" for, in spite of all her blustering preparations, she does not mean war. Nor does she mean that *we* shall make a *real war* against Russia, if she can possibly help it. The "Times," which has always shown a leaning towards the Austrian party, and cries up Lord Clarendon for entangling us in the meshes of the Austrian alliance, has the following clause in a leading

article of the 5th ult. "If this contest is still to be carried on, depend upon it, it will lead to a convulsion in Europe, and we may add in Russia, which no man will be the master of, and the consequences of which may shake the foundation of that empire. On every account, therefore, we believe it to be the absolute and paramount interest of Russia to obtain peace." The "Times" is no doubt quite right as regards Russia, but not so as regards the interests of the rest of Europe, to whom the disruption of the Russian Empire, and the utter destruction of its power, which has ever been exerted for evil and not for good, would be the greatest of all blessings to millions of oppressed people.

The leading journal seems to found its hopes of peace on the peace-loving and unambitious character of the new emperor, Alexander II. But does the "Times" suppose that one ruler of feeble character will be able to make head against the old Muscovite party, headed by his energetic and fiery brother Constantine? Of which party it is said that, "Basing its system on religious fanaticism, it declares that the paramount duty of Russia is to establish, by the conquest of Turkey, the Trinity of the Golden Domes of Constantinople, Moscow and Kiev. These fanatics profess a sovereign contempt for and hatred of the nations of the West. They believed that neither England nor France would venture to offer any resistance. As events have proved the contrary, they are now resolved to throw themselves on the fanaticism of the Muscovite people, and to organize a general Slavonic insurrection, in order to vanquish 'the Anglo-Turks and French, *allies of Satan.*'"

What then is the duty of England in the present aspect of the war? Why, in the first place, to strengthen the hands of Lord Palmerston, and to encourage him, by public meetings all over the country, to carry out the intention which he is said to entertain, in the event of the failure of the conference at Vienna, namely, that of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Louis Napoleon is reported to have been long favourable to this short and easy method of dealing with the Russian difficulty, and thus obtaining a *material guarantee*, without which act of justice Europe can never be secured from Russian aggression.

M. Adrian Felian, a French military writer, in commenting on the Roebuck committee, gives as his opinion, that "what principally contributed to the catastrophe of 1812, was the unwillingness of Napoleon I. to restore to Poland the provinces appropriated by Russia. 'I wish to make war on

my brother Alexander with courteous arms,' said the Emperor to M. de Narbonne; and we have seen all the consequences of that courtesy. There is reason to fear that the ministry of Lord Aberdeen has imitated too closely that courtesy, and carried to excess their anxiety to please the Emperor of Russia." One thing at least is quite certain: that however the Aberdeen ministry might trumpet to the nation the perfect understanding as to the manner of prosecuting the war which subsisted between them and the French government, yet we know that the Emperor Napoleon has acted throughout with a straight-forwardness and earnestness of purpose, very different from the half-hearted policy of our Coalition government.

We will cite one instance alone, which took place at the first breaking out of hostilities. The Turkish ambassador in Paris put this plain question to the Emperor's cabinet: "Do you object to our using Hungarian and Polish officers, and raising a Polish legion?" and received the frank reply: "The Sultan, in so dangerous a war, must use such measures in his armies as his own safety may require; it will not become the Emperor to object to them." Did the Turkish ambassador in London receive the same answer, as there can be no doubt that he was instructed, simultaneously, to put the same question? We trow not! It is quite certain that the Sultan was *advised* not to have recourse to such *dangerous auxiliaries*. Dangerous because offensive to Austria; and Austrian and German politics are in the ascendant at the English court; to them are sacrificed not only the interests of our ally, the Osmanli, but those of Great Britain herself.

It is more than plain that the duty of Great Britain, at the present momentous crisis, does not point to the courting and conciliating the feeble and treacherous sovereign of Prussia, who, under the guise of neutrality, is working by every underhand means against us; and yet it appears in some of our daily papers, that, though Prussia is further than ever from acceding to any treaty that can bind her, under any contingency, to act with the Allies against Russia, she is yet to be admitted to the Peace Conference at Vienna, to give Lord John Russell a better opportunity of betraying the interests of Great Britain and her Allies to Russia. And the way that it is to be done, is by interpreting the third of the four points to require that Sevastopol shall be reduced to a simple commercial harbour, and its fortifications destroyed. And this it seems is then the idea of the Whig ministry, of a sufficient guarantee for Russia's future good

behaviour as regards Turkey. Admirable contrivance, and quite worthy of Whig diplomacy. And will the people of England be satisfied with such a consummation of all their sacrifices? And suppose Russia should consent to the sacrifice, which we opine is less likely now than even before the death of Nicholas, what would prevent her, even while in the act of destroying the forts of Sebastopol, from building up still stronger ones at Theodosia and Balaklava, and making hem the arsenals of her future operations against Turkey?

Now if peace is made with Russia upon the basis of Lord John Russell's allegation, that under "no circumstances is any diminution of the Russian territories contemplated by the Allies;"—and the sending of one, who has so declared in his place in Parliament, as a minister of the Crown to represent Great Britain at the Conference, implies such an intention;—then, indeed, are Turkey and England betrayed, and John Bright and the Peace Society, may rejoice in their country's degradation, while

"'Tis, therefore, sober and good men are sad
For England's glory, seeing it wax pale
And sickly, while her champions wear their hearts
So loose to *public* duty, that no brain,
Healthful and undisturbed by factious fumes,
Can deem them trusty to the general weal."

But is it likely that the young Emperor of Russia will venture to make the required concession? A letter from Berlin of the 4th ult. says:—"Things are not seen in such a favourable light as at the first moment (after the news of the late Emperor's decease); it is not now believed that the new Emperor will make new concessions." So that we may still hope that Lord John's amiable intention of betraying his country into a disastrous and disgraceful treaty may yet be frustrated, in spite of the treacherous aspirations of Austria to save Russia from further disgrace and damage, on the plea that enough has been done for military glory and honour on both sides; and that a basis is obtained for securing the integrity of Turkey without trenching on the rights of the Sultan, and that, therefore, hostilities should cease, pending the negotiations for peace. Meanwhile, having secured her object in occupying the Danubian Principalities, and gained time to organize her immense army, she is beginning to coquet with Russia; the Emperor having taken advantage of the death of the Emperor Nicholas to show his good feeling by an order of the day to his army, in which he, as a mark of gratitude for the assistance given to the empire with eager

promptitude and noble disinterestedness by the late Emperor Nicholas at a period of trial and great calamity; orders that the cuirassier regiment, "Kaisar Nicholas," shall retain that name for ever. Of course the assistance here alluded to, is the infamous assistance afforded to Austria in robbing the Hungarians of their chartered liberties and ancient constitution. It is also a plain and unmistakeable hint to the Allies, that if they do not accept terms of peace on Austria's dictating, she will withdraw from the alliance and take refuge in an armed neutrality: a position differing very little from that which she at present occupies, in which, while palavering and protocolling with the Allies, her actions have all been to the advantage of Russia. This cannot but be obvious enough to Lord Clarendon and his "*corps diplomatique*." And to cover the disgrace of being so befooled by a boy Emperor and his wily mamma, they will put every possible manœuvre in force to bring about a sham peace. Among the rest, they will probably urge Francis Joseph to use his influence with the new Emperor, to persuade him to agree to the demolition of Sebastopol; with a quiet hint, that as soon as the Allies have disarmed and have settled down into peace establishment, he can begin and build it up again.

The manifesto, however, of Alexander II., does not promise well for such a result; it looks very much as if dictated by the old Muscovite or war party. After a preamble, laudatory of the late Emperor, it says:—

"We also, on ascending the throne of Russia, and of Poland, and Finland, *inseparable from it*, take a solemn oath before God to regard the welfare of our empire as our only object. May Providence, which has selected us for so high a calling, be our guide and protector, that we may maintain Russia on the highest standard of power and glory, and in our person accomplish the *incessant wishes and views* of PETER, of CATHERINE, of ALEXANDER, and of our father. May the zeal of our subjects assist us therein."

To the views of Peter and of Catherine, which embraced nothing short of universal dominion both in Europe and Asia, we have already in this article called the attention of our readers. Therefore, if this manifesto means anything, it means war, till Russia has attained her object, or is driven by reiterated defeat and humiliation from her present haughty position. France and England must, therefore, in the present crisis, draw still closer the bonds of union; and, flinging overboard at once all Germanising influences, look around them northward and eastward for worthier associates in the grand struggle for European independence.

Should Austria then prove false, Poland and Hungary must be declared free, and *corps d'armée* pushed forward to assist in striking off their fetters. Italy, too, must be exhorted to rally to the banner of Victor Emanuel, whose spirited conduct in acceding to the alliance is above all praise; and a French army at Genoa will soon rid the Lombard kingdom of the "Barbari." The Allies must then look northward. There is no doubt that the population of Finland are ready to hail with enthusiasm the presence of an armament that would assist them effectually to cast off the galling yoke of Russia. Indeed, all the gallant Scandinavian people must heartily sympathise with the just cause for which Great Britain and France have taken up arms, whatever may be the feelings of their rulers towards the absolutist doctrine of Russia; and, alas! the predeliction of the monarch of Sweden and Norway for the cause of Russia, is too evident from the late continued interchange of autograph letters between King Oscar and the King of Prussia. The present one-sided neutrality of the secondary powers, so profitable to their own commerce, and so prejudicial to the Western Powers must be put an end to: the growing magnitude of the approaching contest requires it; and the Allies must secure the co-operation of the Scandinavian nations for the permanent peace of Europe; no less, that the terrorism of Russia in the North should terminate, than that her preponderance in the Euxine should be annihilated. As many of our readers may not be *au fait* in the intrigues of Russia in the North of Europe, we will present them with a few extracts from an admirable letter on the subject, which appeared some time since in the "Morning Chronicle," and which fully meets our views:—

"The present war with Russia will not have been without its lesson, if it has only served to disclose the great extent of the Russian navy and naval establishments in the Black Sea, the Baltic, and the White Sea. . . . It is obvious now that Russia only needs seamen, and an ocean line of coast in Europe, unfrozen all the year, to become at once a great maritime power. The possession of Norway would give Russia the seamen and the coast she needs. . . . I am anxious again to call attention to the aggressive designs of the Czar upon Norway, as evidenced by his attempts to obtain a footing upon the Norwegian coast in the Varangen Fjord, on the east of the North Cape. That grand fjord affords a highway to the ocean at all seasons of the year, its ample harbour being never frozen. A brighter example of the effects of freedom, industry, and constitutional government does not exist, than is manifested in the great increase of population, production,

and commerce of Norway, which has resulted from the acquisition of her independence in 1814. In a former paper you published a long communication from Copenhagen, in which was most clearly and admirably exposed the whole of the Russian treaties, &c., bearing upon the Czar's designs on the Norwegian coast. . . . The articles which have appeared against Norway during the last year in a few of the leading journals of France, Germany, and Holland, prove that the Russian agents are already at work, endeavouring to sow distrust in the minds of the Swedish and Norwegian people. It is time that this Iago-like proceeding should be exposed. Union is strength. By this Finland may be recovered. Distrust may afford a pretext for Russian protection. Woe to the unhappy country that becomes encircled in the deadly snake-like coils of Russian protection! It being so important to Russia to obtain possession of Norway, it follows that it is of equal importance to France and England to prevent it, and to maintain the existing union between Norway and Sweden in all its integrity. . . . This, considering the part which England took in establishing that union, constitutes the maintenance of that union, and of the constitution of Norway, a sacred obligation on the part of the British empire. . . . From the earliest times the Norwegian seamen have been the most daring and adventurous of navigators. This naturally results from their superiority of race, the great extent of their ocean coasts, and the heavy seas to which it is constantly exposed for upwards of 1,200 miles. From childhood the Norwegian seaman is constantly in the midst of danger, and thence his cool daring and admirable seamanship. . . . The seamen of the mercantile marine of Norway may be estimated at 30,000. The Norwegian navy is small, but admirable. It consists of eighteen frigates, corvettes, and schooners, armed with from two to forty-eight guns, a large proportion of 60lb. howitzers for shot or percussion shells, known as "Frederichsen's." Of the above eighteen are steamers. But the arm upon which the Norwegians justly pride themselves, is their fleet of 120 gun-boats, which are admirably adapted for service in the fjords, as well as in the Baltic. They are propelled by sails and sweeps, and draw only two feet six inches of water when fully armed. Eighty of these boats are armed with two of the formidable 60lb. howitzers, one forward the other aft. . . . The Swedish fleet is considerably larger than the Norwegian; in addition to its ships and steam fleet, it includes more than 250 gun-boats like the Norwegian. By next summer, Christiana, as well as Stockholm, will form links of the great European chain of (electric telegraph) lines radiating from London and Paris."

Now it is to be hoped, that with this important view of the necessity of drawing close our natural ties of kindred, race, religion, and the innate love of liberty which equally animate the breasts of our Scandinavian brethren, we shall not again send the most magnificent armada that ever left the

ports of any nation, merely to make a display of our naval supremacy ; but that we shall invite Sweden and Norway to join our alliance, by guaranteeing her against the future vengeance of Russia, and at once to assist her to recover Finland. We know that she can furnish 25,000 of the best soldiers in Europe, which, assisted by an adequate French *corps d'armée*, would soon drive the Czar's troops out of Finland ; while her flotilla of gun-boats would be a most effective force to act with the steamers of the Allied fleets on the Russian sea-coast. Such an active co-operation, in which the people of Denmark would, no doubt, eagerly join, would prove the death-blow to the preponderance of Russia in the Baltic. Thus we see, what vigorous action the present aspect of affairs requires in the North of Europe.

We will now turn our attention for a few moments to the far East, as the policy of Russia in that quarter of the world should not be overlooked, or we may find, when it is too late, that in setting boundaries to her ambition in Europe, we have only set free her enormous armies to see them turned against our Eastern empire.

"The prevailing passion of the Russian nation," says Alison, "is the love of conquest. Domestic grievances, how great soever, are overlooked in the thirst for foreign aggrandizement. In the conquest of the world the people hope to find a compensation for all the evils of their interior administration. Every Russian is inspired with the conviction, that his country is one day to conquer the world ; and the universal belief of this result, is one of the chief causes of the rapid strides which Russia, of late years, has made towards its realisation. *The meanest peasant in Russia is impressed with the belief that his country is destined to subdue the world.*"

With these views of universal dominion Russia has long had an eye to the conquest of India ; and though it must be postponed till she is freed from her present embarrassments, yet the Russians have been quietly making not only preparations for, but steady advances towards their object. We know that for some time they have occupied Khiva, and that they have rendered that occupation permanent by the construction of a chain of small redoubts between Osenburg and Khiva, in each of which they have bored an Artesian well. And a correspondent lately, in a letter from India, says—

"Here in India we have been accustomed to believe that Russia was 'too far off' even to disturb our peace. And yet there is evidence, hardly now to be gainsaid, that Russia is rapidly becoming possessed of the whole of the Doab of the Jaxashes and Oxus ; a country which, for ten centuries of history and twenty more of

tradition, has supplied India with invaders. The head-quarters of a Russian force, however large or small that force, is of little moment, are now established within 600 miles of our north-west frontier."

We do not mean to say, that we apprehend that Russia will succeed in wresting from us our Eastern empire; but we do apprehend, that if we allow her to gain the ascendancy in Persia she will assuredly make the attempt; and it behoves our rulers to think what that attempt will cost us. On their neglect of this important phase of the war Lord Ellenborough made some very stringent and apt remarks in the House of Lords on the 20th of February. He said that—

"The only point which he looked upon with any satisfaction was the treaty with Piedmont, a country which he rejoiced to see assuming a new position in Europe. On the other hand, the way in which the proper mode of carrying on the war in Asia had been neglected by the government was deplorable. By a little management Persia might have been made a useful ally; and an attempt at least should have been made, to employ a portion of our available Indian strength in that quarter, which combined with a Persian army, and added to the force which Schamyl could bring into the field, would have proved irresistible."

It is well known to all who have marked the progress of Russia, that the conquest of India is no new design; but that in the reign of Catherine II. this object was seriously entertained, and that in 1787 a project was drawn up by a foreigner for the march of an army through Bokhara, &c., to India. Should we not then, knowing all this, and seeing the efforts which Russia is making to draw over Persia to her side, at once offer our assistance to the Shah, to recover for him the provinces wrested from him by Russia, and thus bind him to us by an alliance offensive and defensive.

One thing only we will add: that in the spirit elicited throughout Europe we discern the dawn of hope slowly breaking through the gloom from the East for the oppressed nations. Yes, there is hope for Poland, for Hungary, and for Italy. The giant power of Russia, the great oppressor, round whom the smaller tyrannies rallied, has received a blow, at which all who love their fellow-men must rejoice.

"For he who values Liberty, confines
His zeal for her predominance within
No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
Whenever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of Man."

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

THE WAR AND THE MINISTRY.

We have gone through a great crisis. We have suffered much, and learned perhaps more. We have lost 20,000 men, and very many thousands of pounds; but we are, at the same time, beginning to know how to proceed in our war; which, it is evident, we did not know six months ago.

Nothing in England marks so decidedly a question nearly touching the public, as the effect it has upon the cabinet ministers. The issue of the war not being such as the nation had anticipated, one cabinet fell, two others failed in construction, and the fourth is now on its trial. We hear much, from time to time, of public opinion; and it appears occasionally as undefined a thing, as the Church is in the mouth of an Anglican; and yet we all seem persuaded that it is a most potent element of the British constitution, which does make other powers conform to its voice. The press is believed to be the organ of public opinion; for the very sufficient reason, that papers would not be bought by the public if the public did not assent to what the papers said. To speak more correctly, any particular paper represents the opinions of those who support it. We gather what are the sentiments of the supporters of Lord Derby, by enquiring what is in the "Morning Herald." We find, the pure Whigs (as they are called) reflected in the "Daily News:" and so on. But there is one paper that is evidently quite independent of party. The "Times" is not the organ of any body of men; except of its own proprietors, and editors, and reporters. It claims, indeed, the right to be the representative of the entire English nation, and to utter what the majority of English people think. But, in truth, the "Times" is not under the control, in any sense, of this majority. This majority have no voice in its management; and only read the "Times," for the same reason that they are interested in the debates of Parliament, or the Royal proclamations; because, namely, these are powerful and effective. The "Times" has been called, and with the utmost propriety, the fourth estate of the Realm. It wields actual powers, vested in a particular number of the people; just as the House of Commons has its own functions, or the House of Lords, or the Crown;—which are respectively lodged in the

hands of certain 600 gentlemen, or the chief of the great families, or the Sovereign together with the Cabinet Ministers.

The powers belonging to each of these estates have frequently been abused for the purpose of serving the private ends of those in whom they are vested. Ministers appoint as bishops, men who will serve, not the Crown, but those very ministers of the Crown. Individual members of the House of Commons have not always the public weal in their minds, when they vote for such and such measures. And the "Times" newspaper has, over and over again, exerted its enormous strength for the purpose of gratifying the feeling of those individuals who happen, at the time, to direct it.

Now let our readers recollect the leading events of the last six months, and see if these remarks are not borne out. The "Times," which, at first, had written, with its usual vigour and clearness, for a restoration of a Greek monarchy of some kind, and an expulsion of the Porte from Europe, immediately changed its tone, when it became manifest that the buyers of the "Times" did not, and would not, hold the same views. Then we had a long series of splendid articles, urging prompt measures for attacking Russia, and pointing, with an unwavering hand, to Sebastopol, as the real heart of Russian influence in the East. The mass of Englishmen knew but little more of Sebastopol than they did of Jeddo. They had heard that it was an exceeding strong place; but when the persevering assertions of the "Times" had fixed the idea of Sebastopol upon men's minds, every eye almost was turned in that direction. The "Times" now succeeded, in standing at the head of public opinion. Most men thought that clever writers, who urged from day to day the attack on the Crimea, must know something about the difficulties to be overcome. And the cry was raised for Sebastopol. We are not in possession of information as to the exact effect which this cry produced on the government; but it has been proved that they sent forth our army and fleet, in almost total ignorance of the nature of the enemy's position. And, in all probability, they bent before the storm of the public will, however certainly they may have known that that public will was evoked by the two or three gentlemen who wrote the leading articles in the "Times" newspaper.

The "Times" was at the pinnacle of power. The government made it, in part, their organ. It was commissioned to give forth the important news which government,

from time to time, had to communicate. And the small party papers came in for a stale version of the same. On a sudden, for some unexplained reason, this connection was severed. The "Times" ceased to be in the confidence of the government. The paper had given out, as usual, on the previous day, the contents of the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament; but it had not said a word about the principal ministerial measure to be brought forward in that Parliament—the Foreign Enlistment Act. It was known that the "Times" had been misinformed. This was never forgiven: from that day, the "Times," instead of writing in favour of the government and the army, wrote persistently against them. At about the same time the Duke of Newcastle had counter-ordered the permission to the "Times" correspondent to sail in a transport ship to the Crimea, or draw rations there from government stores. Lord Raglan quarrelled with this same correspondent, and mistrusted him. Stories were even in circulation of personal violence having been threatened. Perhaps ministers and generals were wrong—we do not know. But soberly judging people must receive the account of the "Times" with some caution, when they know that *private feeling* has had so large a share in its motives; however true it may be that the unhappy course of events too surely verify these facts. And let us not forget that the inquiry now going on before the House of Commons, while it proves the reality of the suffering, and the blunders or incapacity of many employed, has not yet laid the blame upon those whom the "Times" held up to obloquy, viz., the Duke of Newcastle or Lord Raglan.

The Foreign Enlistment Bill was the first apparent cause of dispute between the "Times" and the government; or, to speak more correctly, between the owners and managers of the "Times" newspaper, and Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and their colleagues. Was it the veritable cause? Probably we never shall know precisely. But let us notice some few things. The bill, as far as we heard of it, was an innocent enough measure of itself. We never could see any harm in having foreign soldiers to fight for us, if great convenience ensued. The French have done the same. The hero of the day, Sir de Lacy Evans, once commanded a legion of mercenaries, paid for by the Spanish government. We do not think there would have been much, if any, notice taken of the measure, if the "Times" had not struck the key-note of the outcry. And yet ministers knew it would be an unpopular measure,

or, which comes to the same thing, they expected the fierce opposition they would have to encounter ; for they gave not the usual notice of what they were going to do. So we have fifteen men of great wisdom and experience, thoroughly versed in Cabinet difficulties and parliamentary tactics, staking their popularity and existence (for they fell from the day of the Foreign Enlistment Bill) on a mere croquet. We do not believe it, and never did believe it. There were reasons for pressing that measure, and reasons for resisting it, which, perhaps, will never be certainly known, but which were not the reasons stated. The country talked of a *German* legion ; ministers refused to state where their levies were to come from. The country talked very absurdly about ministers distrusting their own fellow-subjects, and preferring the aid of German mercenaries ; ministers only evaded these objections, they did not answer them, or even point out their absurdity. One would have imagined, from the complaints against the government, that every Englishman who shouldered his musket was a William Wallace or a Leonidas ; and every German (so the foreigners were particularised) was a Dugald Dalgetty, minus his faith, skill and valour.

We cannot forget the very dignified words with which the Duke of Newcastle laid down his office—that the world, some day, would do justice to the government. Neither can we forget that, *to all appearance*, the measures then proposed, met with the full concurrence of Lord Palmerston, the friend of oppressed nationalities, and the bugbear of continental sovereignties. And we ask every man of discernment, who has not become mazed and confused by so many complicated events, whether he believed that our ministers were seeking for legal powers, not to arm some miserable German legion ; but to arm Poland, perhaps Hungary and Italy, if such should be necessary ?

The obstinate neutrality of Prussia, and the alliance of Austria, rendered it unnecessary ; and we are not surprised that our government, almost silently, and certainly with a very good grace, acquiesced in the apparent abolition of the very scheme, for which they had encountered the displeasure of the country, and their own dissolution. There was reason for their satisfaction, if the possession of these legal powers has paralyzed Prussia and hastened Austria.

The “Times” was vehemently opposed to the Foreign Enlistment Bill, and founded their hostility to government upon it. Is it not known how decided has been the support given by the “Times” to the Austrian empire ? How energetically

it wrote against the Hungarian and Italian revolutions? How hostile to Kossuth, and apologetic for Kossuth's enemies? We do not presume to say why, as we are not aware of the entire nature of the constituency of the "Times."

That great mistakes have been made, and much suffering been endured; that we have lavished men and money, and stores of all kinds, which have been lost or wasted;—cannot for one moment be questioned. But we do question very seriously whether the "Times" correspondent knew where the blame was to be attached, or could, if required, have suggested any efficient remedy for the whole misfortune. The Committee of Inquiry hitherto have fastened a certain amount of culpability upon a few *naval* officers, but very little upon the *military*; and yet, the panacea lately proposed for remedying these evils, is to assimilate the promotion in the army to that which obtains in the navy. We repeat, that the only good—and we acknowledge it to be a very great good—that the representative of the "Fourth Estate" has done in the Crimea, is to call public attention to the mischief committed under the management of the First Estate. But he has done irreparable harm to the cause of liberty and the constitutional rights of the press, by laying the fault upon those who may be quite innocent, and who would never have been indicated as the delinquents, if they had not incurred his private hostility.

We are not yet in possession of all the necessary information; but, as far as we have learned, we find the great original mistake to have been, the rushing upon a powerful enemy before we had ascertained his weak points. It is rumoured, that the enterprise was conducted against Lord Raglan's better mind. When we landed, and our soldiers stormed the heights of the Alma in three hours, Lord Raglan himself may have given up his own convictions, and relied too securely upon the feebleness of a foe, who was so soon driven from his strong position. The unmilitary error—perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances—was committed, of separating the men from their knapsacks. When they arrived at the country between Balaklava and Sebastopol, their first and most necessary duty was to fortify their ground and make ready for the enemy. That this was an imperative duty is rendered very evident by the fact, that even as late as the 5th of November, they were not sufficiently defended, and would have been swept into the sea, had they been a little less brave. The carnage at Inkermann was due to our being encamped in face of a wily and

powerful enemy, without having entrenched every assailable point. This being so, from the moment of the army's arrival before Sebastopol, the first duty was to arm and defend their ground. But *we had too much to do*. On our landing, our force was rather superior to the French, and we took half of the labour, and the post of danger. Before Sebastopol we still retained our post, having many miles to protect, and a bad country of six or seven miles to traverse from the port to the trenches, and with no considerable reinforcements. The French, whose number continued to increase, had a road of only three miles, free from the chance of attack, and with almost every side already secured either by the British or the sea, except that immediately before the town. Is there any wonder, therefore, that every available hand in our army was—and rightly—used for the purposes of military defence only; and that none could be spared for the carriage of provisions, or comforts, or clothing, which were in abundance at Balaklava. So that the men who were not able for a long time, even to recover their knapsacks, were employed and worn out in dragging guns and shot* through six miles of slush and snow, and passed every alternate night in the trenches; i. e., on duty in the open air. Illness and misery overtook them, and the evil went on augmenting; for the reinforcements that did arrive, were not enough to supply the gaps made by disease. We need not contrast this condition with that of the French, who had none of these misfortunes to contend with.

It is very possible that many disgraceful blunders have been committed by individuals. Military men of long standing declare that it is impossible to go to war without them. We confess we are rather glad to hear it; for, horrible as war is, it would be far more horrible if we could enter on it without incurring affliction. Some admirals or captains may be held up to public execration for not having done this, or for doing that. We are not going to excuse them; but let not the country be hoodwinked into believing that these few incapables could, of themselves, have brought us into our present condition. The real point of inquiry is this: Lord Raglan undertook too much; he defended lines with only half the number of men he ought to have had. If he had reason to expect great or quick reinforcements, he acted well; but then *who is to blame that these expectations were not fulfilled?*

* Some of the shells required three or four men, for a hard day's work, to carry one from Balaklava to the batteries.

On the other hand, if he had no reason to look for many more men, *why did he overtask and wear out the few brave thousands he had with him?* The ministry are in fault, if he ought to have had 20,000 more men; he is in fault if it was impossible to send them.

During the first few weeks we had possession of the road from Balaklava to Sebastopol; but Liprandi drove us from it, and we then had no road. Was it possible to construct another? We should say, that Lord Raglan could not spare men to make roads while the Russians were threatening him. But could not our government have sooner done what is now being done so effectively—send out a body of navvies to take this labour off the soldier's hands? We might have saved 10,000 men, and a million pounds sterling, if this had been done.

Lord Lucan comes out of the accusation made against him with a very ill grace. He pleaded the exact order of his commander, Lord Raglan. It was said he should have exercised his discretion, and have rather run the risk of being tried for disobedience to orders, than throw away the lives of his men in an utterly useless charge. The order was to recover our guns from the enemy. When Lord Lucan directed the brigade of light cavalry, numbering some 800 men, to charge the whole Russian army, and run the gauntlet through three tiers of batteries, *these guns were irrecoverable*. It now appears that Lord Lucan had received a previous order from Lord Raglan, which he did not obey, and which was supposed to have been obeyed when the second order was given. He was moreover directed to secure the co-operation of the heavy dragoons, and to invite the support of the French cavalry, which he did not attend to.

We suppose that something is to be done in the Baltic this summer; or, at the least, such a demonstration is to be made, that a large Russian force may be detained in the north. Sir Charles Napier was censured, and (in effect) dismissed, because he did not attack some stronghold. We think he has been hardly dealt with; for the country should feel itself deeply indebted to him, for having kept a Russian army of 30,000 men on the shores of the Baltic doing nothing but watch our fleet; while the Russian navy was blocked in; the maritime trade of Russia entirely destroyed; our own coasts preserved from bombardment; and our fine ships brought back uninjured, and their crews greatly improved. The country would soon have thought so, and found means to express their thoughts, if Sir Charles had been discreet

enough to hold his tongue. The fleet now to be sent out is larger than that of last year, consisting of 100 vessels, of smaller draught than before, in order to navigate those shallow seas, and including a formidable flotilla of gun-boats. It is said that we shall be joined by fifty French vessels.

CONVOCATION.

Many persons, doubtless, have been somewhat surprised at the grave, and occasionally the dignified proceedings of Convocation. It was expected that when high-churchmen and low-churchmen met on such an arena, we should witness nothing but strife and unprofitable wrangling. It is honourable to the clergy generally, that such has not been the case. They have shown themselves to be capable of business, and of forming a deliberative assembly. We are not, as it is well known, among those who advocate the immediate resumption of powers by the church. There are many reasons against such a course, which we have more than once freely stated. But we must confess that the experiment has been useful, in as far as we are now the better able to see where are the defects in Convocation, as at present constituted. We find the Upper House, *i. e.*, the bishops—as we might expect, more decorous and staid than the Lower. And we find also that the bishops are evidently more alive to the need of improvement, and more anxious to do something towards giving the Church of England a broader basis among the people, than are the members of the Lower House. And we are not surprised at this, when we remember that this Lower House does not represent even the clergy, much less the Church;—it consists of the dignified clergy only, *i. e.*, the archdeacons and deans, together with a sprinkling of a few rich rectors;—men, above all others, most opposed to everything like change, even though that change, in the opinion of the vast majority of Englishmen, of churchmen, and of clergymen, be improvement and progress.

Here then is the bad constitution of the present synod,—that it does not represent the clergy. We should like to see more than this. We should like to see our Church assembly contain, not only the working clergy, but a very large infusion of laymen. And until this is done, we have very little confidence in its proceedings.

Our readers are aware, we presume, that the Convocation is only that of the province of Canterbury. The province of York and the Irish Church, not to speak of our Colonies, have no voice whatever in it.

The Upper House met on the 6th and 9th of February, at the Bounty Office; and the Lower House at the Jerusalem Chamber. The subjects under consideration were chiefly three:—

1. Whether licensed curates and chaplains, as well as incumbents (as at present), should be allowed to vote for the election of proctors in Convocation.

2. The expediency of considering some modifications of the Liturgy.

3. The appointment of a court of heresy, for the adjudication of cases affecting the discipline of the clergy.

In nothing, however, did Convocation arrive at a decision. All these matters are postponed till the 29th of June next; till which day the two Houses are prorogued.

LITURGICAL REFORM.

By far the most important matter considered in Convocation, was whether our Liturgy is capable of being modified with advantage, so as to meet the requirements of the age. Although nothing has yet been *done*, this question is undergoing a thorough sifting in the minds of reflecting and intelligent Christians, and will be brought to some satisfactory conclusion. When the Convocation was sitting last summer, the committee appointed for the purpose of recommending any measures, that might seem fit, for the better advancement of the Church, suggested several important topics, which we gave in the "Church of England Quarterly Review" of last October (page 518.) When the Convocation met again on the 6th of last February, the Archbishop of Canterbury read the report that had already been received from the committee. The Bishop of London, while agreeing with the general tone of the report, deprecated any discussion upon it, in the present juncture; but he urged that an address should be sent to the Queen, praying for leave to deliberate. The Bishop of Oxford expressed himself in full accordance with the Bishop of London, and moved that, in any proposed modifications of the Prayer Book, it should only be remodelled;—and that nothing of it (except some of the Rubrics) should be lost. This motion was carried; the only objection being that made by the Bishop of Exeter, who would not have the Rubrics altered.

The Lower House, however, would not assent to the resolution of the Upper House; and after some considerable discussion, in which the speakers only manifested a fear of all movement, lest bad should be made worse; sent back to

the Upper House an amendment which was to pledge Convocation, not to interfere with anything except the Rubrics, the Psalter, and the Lessons. The bishops, much to their honour, refused to receive this amendment; but consented to postpone the consideration of the question till the next meeting of Convocation, i. e., on the 29th of June.

Some of our readers, we fear, are not sufficiently acquainted with this intricate subject; and we should be glad if it were more carefully pondered by the common sense and Christian feeling of the country. We confess we think that the bishops are adopting the best means for evading the difficulty of the position, in accordance with that prudent assertion at the commencement of the preface to the Prayer Book: "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it."

But this *mean way* lies between two very unreasonable and violent extremes. On the one hand there is a society called "The Church of England Liturgical Revision Society," who would deal with the Prayer Book with too much haste. Along with this society may be reckoned "The Church Reform League," which makes the change of the Prayer Book, only part of a grand system of Church Reform or revolution. Their organ is "The Courier." On the other hand we may place the richly endowed incumbents who are afraid of *all progress, for obvious reasons*; and some timid people who dread the beginning of every change. The "Clerical Journal," which has lately become a great upholder of *things as they are*, shakes its head at the proposed change, even before fully knowing what that change was to be. It seems to have made a mistake, in finding itself opposed to the views advocated by the bishops, whose champion it appears to desire to be.

ARCHDEACON DENISON.

The Commissioners appointed by the Archbishop for enquiring whether there were grounds for proceeding against Archdeacon Denison, began their sittings at Mason's Royal Hotel, Clevedon, near Bristol, on Wednesday, 3rd of Jan. last. They consisted of the following clergymen. 1. Bishop Carr, rector of Bath. 2. Rev. Charles Langdon. 3. Rev. Charles Pole. 4. Rev. R. C. Phillips. 5. Rev. H. Parr.

Dr. Bayford appeared for the promoters, and Dr. Phillimore for the accused. Dr. Haggard being assessor of the commission.

The point at issue was whether the Archdeacon did, or did not, preach doctrine adverse to the 29th article of the Church of England, which declares "that the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." He was proved to have taught that the act of consecration alone makes the Real Presence; and that Christ is received by both worthy and unworthy; although he explained that the reception by the unworthy was to their disadvantage. Here, however, was a doctrine most clearly adverse to the church article; and the commissioners were acting in accordance with their duty, when they recommended that a case had been made out for further proceedings.

Dr. Phillimore, on the part of the Archdeacon, objected that the Commissioners were not competent judges in the cause, as they were known to be adverse to the accused. But it was answered, very properly, by Dr. Bayford, that these Commissioners were, in fact, the representatives of the Archbishop, with whose opinions they were identified. And that, as it was not fitting for a clerk to demur to the jurisdiction of his diocesan on account of difference in doctrine, so he could not, on the same ground, oppose the authority of those who merely had to inquire, whether, *according to the Archbishop's mode of thinking*, there existed *prima facie* reasons for carrying the question before the Court of Arches.

It was utterly futile to protest that one part of the sermon should have been allowed to explain the other. It was not denied that the Archdeacon had preached such and such things, and so there was no occasion to investigate farther. Still less was there any reason in the complaint, that witnesses to Mr. Denison's character were not examined; when, as Bishop Carr remarked, there was no question raised about character at all, but only about doctrine. Indeed, the line of defence adopted, and the attempt to evade the charge, by quibbles concerning the publication of the sermon, were most unworthy of a clergyman; as they reduced his case to the same level as that of some Old Bailey practitioner.

The next step would be for his own diocesan, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to sign letters of request against him. We understand that the Bishop has refused to do this. So that, if any trial ensue, it must be independent of him. Two courses are thus open. The one, for the Archbishop to cite the matter before himself, and decide it according to his own authority, which we believe he is disinclined to do; the other, to apply to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel the Bishop of Bath and Wells to

proceed. From the fact that the Archdeacon has ceased from advertising for pecuniary aid towards meeting the expenses of the prosecution, we argue that he does not anticipate any trial. And yet we are told that the promoters of the suit are seeking to raise funds for the purpose of continuing the contest.

ST. PAUL'S KNIGHTSBRIDGE.

We are glad that the unseemly dispute between Mr. Liddell and his parishioners appears to be in the course of settlement. Mr. Westerton, the churchwarden, has instituted legal proceedings against the incumbent, in the Consistory Court, in order to compel him to remove the altar, credence table, cross, candlesticks, and other baubles, from the church of St. Paul. And, although the judge said he would take time in forming his decision, we rejoice to see that the Bishop of London has issued a monition to Mr. Liddell to remove the stone altar.

THE NEW EDUCATION BILL.

Sir John Pakington introduces a bill into Parliament, for the better promotion of national education. It will, if successful, do away, in a great measure, with the present voluntary system, which works well in some instances, but not in others. Where the clergyman and his parishioners are cordially working together, we believe that the present system, which gives government assistance in proportion to the resources raised by the parish, has given a great impetus to education. But where the clergyman is an overbearing man, full of his own whims, or committed to some impracticable scheme of the Church; or where his committee are chiefly anxious to oppose him, it does not produce the desired good. Lord John Russell proposes, in *his* new bill, to give powers to boroughs in their town councils, and parishes in their vestries, to levy a local rate not exceeding sixpence in the pound, for the establishment and the maintenance of schools: an appeal always lying to the Committee of Privy Council. The bill will further enact that every attendant at the schools must read the Bible—Roman Catholics and Jews alone being exempt; while the Catechism is to be taught only to members of the Established Church. There are many obvious objections to the proposed measure. One being that, in many cases, the power to raise these funds will rest in the hands of those hostile to education, and who, therefore, will prevent any schools being ever formed. And we do not quite

see how the old difficulty concerning religious instruction is to be avoided.

VARIOUS SUBJECTS AFFECTING THE CHURCH.

The Marquis of Blandford renews his efforts after capitial reformation, and Mr. Heywood proposes some very sweeping changes in the Universities. The vexed question of church rates continues much as it was. It is said that the friends of Mr. Veley intend to raise a fund, in order to repay him the large sum he expended in the celebrated Braintree case. Several important practices are gradually, and almost silently, becoming common in the Church. One is book-hawking, in imitation of the colportage of France, by which good and cheap books may be brought before our poor, in order chiefly to counteract the horrible effects of literature of a very objectionable character, Sunday papers, &c. Open air preaching is becoming more and more general. The great towns of Norwich, Gateshead, and Bristol, have set the example. Norwich has been divided into fourteen districts for that purpose; and at Bristol, Churchmen and Dissenters have cordially united in order to carry it out. The Bishops of Salisbury and Winchester especially, men of very opposite opinions, sanction and encourage it. The Committee of Convocation, in their report, recommended a pretty general employment of laymen in all Church matters, not of a directly ministerial character; such as visiting the sick, teaching in schools, &c. And they suggest that it would be advisable if the bishop would admit persons of good character and tolerable Scripture knowledge, to serve as deacons, even though they possess no classical attainments.

THE BURNETT PRIZE.

A great deal of interest has been excited about this prize, on account both of the magnitude of the reward proposed, and the celebrity of the writers who would be sure to contend for it. This prize is given from time to time to the best original essays on Natural Theology; and the founder directed that, of the sum to be given away, three-fourths should be for the best, and one-fourth for the next best essay. The last, and the only previous distribution, took place in 1814, when the first prize of £1,200 was awarded to Principal Brown, of Marischal College, Aberdeen; and the second prize of £400 to the present Archbishop of Canterbury. In the present instance the sum to be given away was no less than £2,400. The subject of the essay was to be "The Being and

Attributes of God." As many as 208 essays were sent in to the adjudicators, viz., Professor Baden Powell, Mr. Henry Rogers, and Mr. Isaac Taylor, who met on the 15th of September last, in the Town-hall of Aberdeen, in order to make the required declaration that they would decide impartially. At length, on the 10th of last January, their decision was published in Aberdeen. The first prize of £1,800 being awarded to the Rev. Robert Anchor Thompson, of Louth, Lincolnshire; and the second of £600 to the Rev. John Tulloch, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's, Scotland; some others being honourably mentioned. It is reported that among the unsuccessful candidates were Drs. Mac Neill, Dick, Cumming, Harris, Croly; and the Revs. Hugh Stowell, R. C. Trench, T. Binney, Robert Montgomery, J. A. James, and Ex-Professor Maurice.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Public opinion has never been brought to bear upon a great question with more decided success, than upon the defects hitherto existing in the dispensation of the patronage of our vast Indian Empire. The East India Company was originally a company of merchant adventurers, trading to the East, and first incorporated by an act of Queen Elizabeth. For 150 years they possessed nothing but a few stations scattered along the coast of the Indian Peninsula. It was natural that they should appoint their own servants; whether the clerks at their various factories, the sailors who navigated their ships, the few clergymen and surgeons whom they sent out, or the few soldiers they paid for the protection of their property. About a hundred years ago, however, this state of things began rapidly to change. The ambition of Colonel Clive, and the treachery of native princes, the vigour and decision of Warren Hastings, and, in some cases, the unscrupulous avarice of the Company's servants, greatly aided by the palpably superior government by Europeans over the miserable tyrannies by Mahommedans and Hindus, converted the merchant adventurers into the most powerful empire in the world. Their governors ruled more people, and possessed more authority, than most sovereigns; their clerks became civil servants, deciding causes, and levying taxes, among 100,000,000 of subjects; and earning salaries of many thousands of pounds annually. Their chaplains and surgeons became highly paid functionaries. Their merchant marine was raised to the dignity almost of ships of war. And their

few companies of soldiers grew into the finest, and perhaps the largest, army in the world.

When these facts began to force themselves upon the attention of those at home, there was an immediate necessity for the nation to modify or controul the enormous powers exercised by the Court of Directors. In 1784, Mr. Pitt's India Bill created the Board of Controul, whose functions are, in effect, vested in the person of its president, who is indeed a cabinet minister for India; while the Court of Directors became his instrument for the political government of the country. The directors, however, still retained the right to trade in India and China, and exercised the entire patronage. But in 1833 they ceased to be a trading company at all; and were a body of men in whose hands all the valuable appointments were lodged; it would seem because the jealousy of Parliament prevented the possession of this patronage by government.

Various abuses began to be felt. The chaplains were quite useless as spiritual guides and correcters of wickedness; for they were the servants of the Company, whom they must not resist. Their object was, in most cases, to serve a certain number of years, and earn a pension upon which they might retire to their native land. The surgeons became a clique, and almost a caste; the greatest talent and fitness being kept out, unless accompanied by interest with the twenty-four gentlemen in Leadenhall Street. The civil servants, as they are called *par excellence*, holding the office of judges, of police magistrates, or of revenue commissioners, were better paid than others; which superiority did not attract the best men, but only those who were fortunate enough to own a director for their uncle.

When the charter expired two years ago, the country generally manifested a desire that these things should be remodelled. The constitution of the Court of Directors was altered, some of them becoming nominees of the crown, instead of being, as before, elected by the proprietors of India stock. It was proposed to throw open to public competition all the civil appointments, the medical offices, and such military nominations as belong to what are called the scientific corps, viz. the engineers and artillery. This last department was however retained in the end for the directors, who now therefore appoint all their clerical and military servants, but not the medical or the civil. We have lately seen an interesting result of the throwing open the surgeons' appointments. A Dr. Chuckerbutty, originally a high-caste

Hindu, had, under great difficulties, acquired a knowledge of the English language, together with an appreciation of English science and habits. He abandoned his Brahminical caste, came over to England, and studied medicine at University College, London; but could not obtain the object of his ambition—a medical appointment under the Company; for neither he nor his friends could offer any reasons, except indeed his great proficiency and high character, why a director should make him a Company's surgeon. And so he returned to India. But as soon as he learned that the medical appointments were thrown open to public competition, he recrossed the seas, and came to England again; passed the required examination with the utmost credit; and has now gone back to his native country a covenanted servant of the Company. The effect of this will be certainly most beneficial. He will show to the natives of Hindustan, who hitherto have been kept bound down and fettered by a degrading superstition, because in abandoning that they would cast aside respectability at home, with only the chance of some menial office among the proud foreigners;—he will show to them that it is possible for vigour and intelligence and integrity to triumph over prejudice; and for a black face to confront a white one on equal terms.

In the civil service, the consequences will be perhaps even more remarkable. Here are forty of the best appointments in the world, to be annually competed for by young men under 23 years of age. Incomes of some thousands, joined to high social position, are to be given to those who show themselves most proficient in literary and scientific attainments. The scheme of examination has been most wisely considered. Various subjects are proposed, including Latin and Greek, mathematics, modern languages, the classical tongues of India, and some others. A great preponderance is given to the classics and mathematics; so much so, that any one who is well acquainted with them, will, in most cases, carry off the palm. Great care has been taken not to allow mere *cram* to be mistaken for solid learning; and the intention throughout has been to secure young men of sound *general* education, leaving to the future the duty of acquiring *professional* knowledge. By which means those who offer themselves for these appointments, will not have thrown away their time or study; as their acquisitions will be available in any other sphere, if they fail in this. Whereas, if the examination had been in those things directly affecting the position of the Company's civil servants, such as the vernacular languages of India,

Indian jurisprudence, &c., there are numbers of deserving young men who would shrink from the competition, under the feeling that they might be labouring in vain; as these things would be quite useless if they should not be so fortunate as to go to India.

We believe, moreover, that great wisdom has been displayed in still holding up the old humanities of our universities as the chief subjects for study. We are well aware of the great outcry now made for *useful* information, and the contemptuous tone in which Latin and Greek are sometimes spoken of as being of little use to most men in their course through the world. But there is a great and grievous mistake in this outcry. Few men learn what they actually use in the world before the age of twenty; but, if we may so say, they learn how to learn. How many lawyers, or theologians, or statesmen, or preachers have learned their art or their science in their extreme youth? Those who have been taught what are called useful things *only*, such as history, or geography, or botany, or chemistry, or any of the numerous *ologies*, end by having learned a quantity of dry facts, which are soon forgotten; or they have a confused notion of the meaning of what they have read, which they never have cleared up, because they fancy that they really have learned these various sciences. Whereas the youth who has *accurately* studied either the classics, or the mathematics, or both; and then, upon such a basis, erects his own self-education in his own peculiar department, gains not only broader ideas than the other, but he really knows these things a great deal better.

And the obvious reason is that in youth it is of much more consequence to acquire the habit of learning than to learn. Any subject, perhaps, might do for this purpose, if capable of being very accurately learned; but as no other has yet been found to be thus capable, except a classical language, or an exact science, we prefer infinitely to cleave to the principles of the old grammar school system (modified, of course, in detail), than in cramming a quantity of matter into minds that are quite unable to receive it.

We know that there is a mistake made, on the other side, equally deplorable. A man learns his humanities and graduates in arts, and fancies himself an educated man; whereas, in truth, he has only acquired the *means* of education. The degrees in arts, at our universities, were only intended to be subsidiary to future progress. It was never designed that a master of arts should be a good theologian, any more than he

should be a good lawyer. He should, after his first education, advance to educate himself. And so, as we at first said, we are much more likely to have good judges, and magistrates, and commissioners of revenue in India, by securing a good general education first, and upon such a foundation, when assured, erecting the superstructure of *professional* knowledge.

There are few men in this country, we believe, able to form an opinion upon the question, who do not heartily approve of the proposed scheme. One objection has been suggested. To have very efficient men we should not be content with book learning; a good bodily presence, if not indispensable, is valuable. We repudiate, indeed, the idea, that clever or learned people must necessarily be undergrown, sickly, or downcast. On the contrary, we believe that *mens sana in corpore sano*, is in general to be looked for. Vigorous minds most usually are found along with vigorous bodies. At the same time it is not always so; but we should much prefer that, in selecting the fittest men from our English youth, care should be taken not to overlook personal strength or even beauty. It would, indeed, be somewhat difficult to decide between the clashing claims of two competitors, if we had to give marks for comeliness or grace. But a great part of the difficulty would be avoided by assigning some credit for excellence in gymnastic sports; and, if other things were equal, we should give the preference to him who could jump or run well, over him who was uncouth in his movements or clumsy in his gait.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

The great glass building at Sydenham bids fair to become a highly-decorated public-house. The directors have given notice of their intention to apply for a licence for the sale of spirituous liquors, and, we believe, have obtained it. It will be said at once, that here is a very flagrant violation of the original understanding; a departure from the design of making the Sydenham Palace a successor of that which stood for a year in Hyde Park. The only difference, we were told between the two was, that in the one case the funds were provided on the authority of a royal commission; in the other, they were to be brought forward by a company of intelligent and patriotic gentlemen. The size of the building was increased, and attractive grounds added, in order to receive the vast numbers who would flock to a place possessing so many more attractions than its predecessor. Unfortunately, these anti-

cipations were not realized. People would draw a line of distinction between a great national undertaking and a private speculation. The directors of the latter showed themselves too eager in turning every opportunity to account that might add to the profits of the proprietors. It was said, "We would go over and over again to promote the objects of our own building in Hyde Park; but we will consult simply our own convenience in going to the property of Crystal Palace shareholders;" and so the value of that property began to depreciate. In mercantile phrase, *Crystals went down*. The promoters had tried the public pulse about opening the place on Sunday; but they found a very decided and strongly-expressed opposition to such a profanation, and they wisely forbore to press what threatened to array the whole of the religious feeling of the country against them, and to give them an ill odour among the working classes. We remember, however, about a year ago, seeing coloured prints in the shop windows and at the Croydon Railway Station, representing the contrast between the drunken scenes at tea(?)-gardens on Sunday at present, and the expected temperance, and virtue, and order that would prevail in the Sydenham Gardens if opened on Sunday.

Divers expedients have been adopted for modifying the public taste on these points. Christmas-trees, and toys, and *bon-bons*, would at any rate please the children; and if their mammas would let them stop till it was dark enough to light up these pretty things, an opinion might be formed whether Londoners would patronize an evening entertainment. The finest possible music, the most elaborately painted courts, the most tastefully arranged gardens, were too refined for English money-spenders. Cold lunch and bottled porter were subjoined, and materially added to the charms of the Alhambra, the orange-trees, or—the savages. Still, there was the Sunday scheme. On the lowest computation their expenses might remain much the same, while the profit might be increased by one-sixth, and perhaps the present feeling of the respectable classes of Englishmen against Sunday desecration, in time, be changed.

Now it is proposed to afford the same opportunities for drinking and revelling in the *school of art*, that are offered at any vulgar Cremorne or Rosherville. And if this movement is but a preliminary to the admission of people on Sunday by the same subterfuge as is adopted at Chelsea or Gravesend; where the viands and liquors are charged for, and admission given gratis, we feel satisfied that the place

will—if thus opened on Sunday—present the same disgraceful scenes as may be witnessed on the Sabbath evenings at similar places elsewhere. One good however would follow, if the plan were successful; the Crystal Palace would be so vulgarised, that the refinement of the educated classes would revolt at what their piety might pass unchallenged. We cannot avoid the conclusion that such a plan is in contemplation. For if the object were merely to supply the visitors with necessary refreshments, that object would be amply fulfilled by the present arrangements.

We observe that a Trade Association has been formed of the people in Norwood, to deprecate, and defeat, the design of the directors. We hope they will succeed. But, from the tone of their complaint, and from their suggesting that pass-tickets should be given to the visitors of the Palace, so as to enable them *to visit the neighbourhood*, there is a strong probability that these tradesmen are in fact the inn-keepers around, who desire to share with the Company, some of the shillings to be spent by the wine-bibbing, lunch-consuming Londoners.

JEWISH INTELLIGENCE.

The mention of Sunday trading and tippling introduces us to another subject, upon which we should like to say a few words. In our last number we noticed a pamphlet published by Mr. Charles Cochrane, descriptive of his very successful endeavours in France to procure a better observance of Sunday. He has continued these efforts in England, though, we think, without fully understanding the ground he is going on. In the Jews' quarter of London, in the neighbourhood of Houndsditch, he found a considerable traffic on Sunday morning, chiefly by the Jewish residents—old-clothes merchants, foreign fruit factors, and jewellers. He thereupon charges the Jews with not only violating the Lord's day, but, as the Lord himself once charged some Jews, with making the locality a den of thieves. The charge of Sabbath-breaking is absurd as brought against Jews, for they do not observe Sunday in any religious sense; and the accusation of dishonesty, which he seems to have founded upon the general character of the neighbourhood, has so deeply offended the Jewish community, that the jewellers, who thought themselves most affected by the report, have held several meetings in order to rebut the calumny. It has been stated, that the

jewellers were the most respectable and wealthy in the trade, and that the business transacted involved change of property to the amount of £200,000 annually. So well known is the predominating influence of the Jewish dealers in all sales of plate or jewellery, that the auctioneers, in conducting these sales, are provided with a Hebrew almanac, in order to have them on days when Jews can attend. It is not generally known how useful a traffic is carried on by the old-clothes trade (in spite of occasional trickery), which is almost in the hands of the Jews, and that means are hereby provided, by which the poor may, at a small cost, obtain comparatively decent clothing, which otherwise would be altogether out of their reach. The foreign fruit trade is also nearly confined to the Jews, from whom the Irish retailers in the streets obtain their goods.

The "Jewish Chronicle" has lately been amalgamated with the "Hebrew Observer," and the united papers, under the management of Dr. Benisch, are the organ of Jews in London. Dr. Benisch conducts his journal upon so fair and liberal a principle, and is so candid and courteous in his allusions to Christianity, that the "Jewish Chronicle" is extending its circulation among Gentiles. We wish it all the success it deserves. We have learned from it some important and interesting facts relating to the Jews. After having been exiled from Spain ever since 1492, they have recently petitioned the Cortes to repeal the act of Ferdinand and Isabella, which drove them from the Peninsula, but without success. Spain still prefers to be a persecuting country. The refusal is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Jews prayed only to be admitted to the same privileges as they enjoyed in the Pope's dominions. In Sweden, on the other hand, the various restrictive laws against them are likely to be all soon abrogated.

The effect of the present war upon the Jews will very probably be exceedingly striking; for the great bulk of the nation inhabits those countries most concerned in the contest, viz., Poland, Turkey in Europe, and Hungary. Even out of the 704,410 Jewish subjects of the Austrian empire, 313,700 are in Galicia or Austrian Poland, and 228,110 in Hungary. In the Holy Land, the Jews are sunk in the most deplorable poverty. Out of 5500 Jews in Jerusalem, it is said that no less than 4357, or very nearly four-fifths, receive charitable relief. Sir Moses Montefiore has gone on a mission to relieve them.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF EASTERN EUROPE.

We must add a few words to what we have already said on the war and its consequences, to point out the religious effects it will probably have on Eastern Europe.

There is no man of sound judgment and clear forecast, who does not perceive the inevitable advent of religious troubles on either bank of the Danube. It is in this point of view that grave complications are yet in store for this country. The man of the world and the political heresiarch have ever met on common ground—their systems are co-adaptations; the former sins, the latter forgives him; the money-changer still sits in the temple. A guarantee has been given by the Sultan in favour of equal religious toleration within his dominions. What will be the result? Undoubtedly the rapid fall of that spurious Christianity now slumbering in Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Servia. These people will inevitably advance in commerce, in the arts, and still more in a vigorous and vital Christianity. What then? The great highway of Austria runs through these provinces, and her influence will be powerfully felt along that great artery of commerce. It will be in her power to throw impediments in the path of the legitimate enterprise of a people reinvigorated by the settlers of the West, and renovated by THE TRUTH. Sooner or later her whole energies must be put forth to keep down a heresy so perilous to her policy and so close to her very door. Can she afford to allow religious freedom, or permit toleration in the Danubian provinces? She cannot: she cannot do so in her Italian possessions—she cannot do so in her own—she will not do so in Wallachia. If she really permit this, it is certain that a journey of a few dozen miles beyond her southern frontier, would bring emancipation, political and religious, to thousands of her most energetic population. Shall she prohibit such emigration, or will she demand the extradition of these Bible readers? There is no question but the provinces of the Danube may become some of the richest, most energetic, and most practically Christian in Europe. Their movement may be vigorous, commercial, and virtually autonomous. With the nominal headship of the Sultan, with an easy system of taxation, with rich agricultural products, and ultimately with a healthy municipal action pervading their chief towns, the result is obvious; viz. the life and vigour of a prosperous colony.

The question then arises, will the guarantee of the Moslem, in the face of Austrian influence and threats, be honestly, practically, and independently applied? With the prepon-

derating influence of the Greek Church abolished in these lands ; with that of its rival irresistible in Austria on the north, of Italy and France in the west, what power remains but England to maintain the vital integrity of the treaty? Soon will France possess a large army of reserve on the shores of the Bosphorus ; her influence in the Divan will be prodigious. What, in the mean time, is England doing to develop her vast resources? With an Indian population of 150 millions, of whom the north and north-western sections are pre-eminently warlike, she overlooks this vast recruiting ground of martial Rajpoots, Sikhs, and the tribes of the sub-Himalayas, which alone would furnish one hundred thousand troops of first-rate quality. The equipment of a force like this, large as it may appear, is no chimera—it could be done and done well. It would mightily raise our national *prestige*—would strike terror into our foes—would excite the admiration and respect of Europe, and with the Porte would equalize our influence with that of France. The future of Turkey is henceforth the future of Christianity. The head may yet for some time be Moslem, but the prime functionaries, military and civil, will ere long be European. Soon from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Kurdistan will the religious struggle begin ; this struggle involves a great political element. We know what the Bible did in Europe in the sixteenth century ; it will not do less in Asia in the nineteenth. Unbounded zeal for and against this TESTIMONY will be lavished throughout this vast arena. One countervailing influence however is ever ready to arise. No true statesman can see any real stability in the system of Austria. Any sudden change in the political conditions of the West—and we know that surprises, novelties, and experiments have been, for the last sixty years alarmingly common—may give a terrible expansion to republican institutes, which would burst with tremendous power among the Trans-Rhinane and Trans-Alpine populations, and upturn the foundations of the Vatican. If the present be not the era of a flatulent civilization rather than of adult morality, it is high time that our congresses should lay down and establish the great principle of liberty of conscience, as a right inherent in the condition of MAN, applicable in every region of the world, and intangible save by the finger of Omnipotence.

THE SABBATH.

We were not wrong in stating in our last number, that a systematic attempt is about to be made on the sanctity of the

Sabbath in England. Certain conspirators have banded together to make our English Sunday like that of France or Germany. We deem it of the utmost importance to be on our guard against this attempt, for the attack is conducted in the most subtle manner. The country would not tolerate all at once the abandonment of our notions, which we are told are antiquated, puritanical, or pharisaical; and so Sir J. Walmisley brings on a very mild measure, to open the British Museum after church hours on Sunday morning. It is very refreshing to find that the House of Commons saw through the subtlety, and rejected the motion by a very large majority; rightly taking the proposal, not as it stood by itself, but as connected with a whole host of exhibitions, and shows, and amusements that must follow in its wake. Mr. Goulburn's speech upon this question was well worth reading. We are sometimes taunted with the present actual desecration of the Sunday; as though the proposed changes would make but little difference. But every one must clearly see that the difference is enormous between private speculators violating God's laws—which we deplore but cannot help, and for which we are not responsible—and the deliberate vote of the nation to legalise such things, in which we, as members of the nation, would be deeply concerned.

THE FAST DAY.

We may thank God that England is still a religious nation, and is able to observe a day of solemn humiliation before the Almighty Disposer of all events. It is, however, very distressing to see a portion of the press using its influence to jeer at the observance of such a day under any circumstances. Whoever may be in fault as the secondary causes of our misfortunes, and however true it may be that we are not suffering under any peculiar manifestation of the Divine anger, certain it is that we have abundant cause to humble ourselves before God, even were it only for our neglect of our duties as citizens of a free country.

Literature of the Quarter Classified and Reviewed.

I. THEOLOGY.

The National Restoration and Conversion of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. By Walter Chamberlain, M.A. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

Mr. Chamberlain has devoted himself to his task with the most commendable diligence, and has produced a work which well deserves to become a book of reference on the very interesting and momentous questions connected with the future restoration and glory of all Israel. His volume will, without doubt, go far towards making these questions more known and better understood than they are at present. We agree cordially with what he has proved, relative to the unvarying voice of Scripture on the recall of God's people to their ancient heritage. We only regret that he has confused this grand promise with what we cannot but regard as a mistake, viz., the discovery of what are called the lost ten tribes.

The schism between the two provinces of Israel is as old at least as the time of David, when the formerly dominant tribe of Ephraim was vexed at the elevation of Judah to be the chief tribe. On Solomon's death, Ephraim, confederate with the northern tribes, instituted an independent kingdom; which, as a schism, at last dwindled down into the poor and unimportant Samaritans, now numbering not more than 200 individuals. That these Samaritans were truly children of Israel, although rebellious and schismatic ones, is proved by one or two striking facts. (1.) Hezekiah invited them to the Passover, and called them especially children of Israel (2 Chron. xxx. 1—11.) (2.) St. Peter and the other apostles, while embarrassed with scruples about holding intercourse with a pious Gentile like Cornelius, had no hesitation in consorting with Samaritans, who were not, therefore, counted as Gentiles. (3.) The Samaritan Pentateuch being the only portion of the Scriptures they have received, it follows that the separation of the Samaritans from the Jews must have been previous to the formation of the Hebrew Canon, and that they are the true successors of the ten tribes in their schismatic state.

The great body of the ten tribes undoubtedly became incorporated with the Jews. We notice, in corroboration of this opinion, that the term *Israel*, which was only applied to the ten tribes, became afterwards the sacred name of the

Jews, so that they considered themselves as the sole representatives of the twelve tribes. And it may be observed that, throughout the New Testament, not only is there not the slightest allusion to any body of Israelites separate from the Jews, either then existing, or hereafter to be expected; but St. Paul speaks of *our twelve tribes* as the name of the community to which he belonged (Acts xxvi. 7), and St. James addresses his epistle to the same. Some of the Jews, as Anna, could trace their descent from one of the ten tribes; and to the present day there exist, and there have existed from time immemorial, two divisions of the Jews; the one, the Sephardim, believed to belong only to the tribe of Judah; the other, the Ashkenazim, to consist of mixed tribes. So that there is no reason for expecting any representatives of Israel except among the Jews.

A large portion certainly gentilised, and in a few generations lost all traces of their sacred descent. It seems useless to look for the ten tribes among Gentile people; for if they abandoned their Israelite position, they, at the same time, abandoned their rights and claims to inherit any of the peculiarly Israelite promises. The prophecies, said to point to a restoration of the ten tribes as distinct from that of the two, will be found, on examination, to speak only of the removal of the schism between Judah and Ephraim, which has already taken place, unless we think the 200 poor Samaritans of sufficient importance to constitute a separate tribe.

We regret the introduction of the fancy that the ten tribes are yet to be discovered, as it has tended materially to confuse and obscure the real hope of the restoration of *Israel*, which, ever since the destruction of the kingdom of Samaria by Shalmaneser, has had no representative but among that people, who, for common purposes, are called *Jews*, but whose sacred name has always been *Israelites*. We hope that Mr. Chamberlain, in his second edition, may be induced to consider this.

The Christian Life, Social and Individual. By Peter Bayne, M.A.
Edinburgh: Hogg, 1855.

Mr. Bayne has taken in hand a task of no ordinary magnitude, and he has accomplished it with no ordinary skill, to exhibit Christianity as the basis of social life, and equally as the basis of individual character. To clear up the preliminary questions, what are the great social problems of our age, and how far are they reached by exertions arising from individual character?—to exhibit a few bright specimens of

Christianity in action—and to protest against what is foolishly called positive philosophy on the one hand, and spiritual pantheism on the other—such is the design of the truly valuable and beautiful work before us.

It is a contribution of great importance to the philosophical theology of our day, deserving to be ranked with the very highest of its class. We are not prepared to endorse all the estimates of Mr. Bayne; we quite agree with him about Howard and Wilberforce, about Foster and Arnold and Chalmers, but we decidedly object to the admission into the same category of Samuel Budgett. They were great lights of humanity; they worked a great work which remains to this day, and will remain to all time. Mr. Budgett was a good man, and an able tradesman, of great benevolence, and of equal sharpness in driving a bargain; to call him a merchant is a misapplication of the term. He was a first-rate tradesman; and, speaking in a commercial sense, nothing more. "Tact, *push*, and principle," such was his motto, and an excellent motto for the counter it is. He was a provision dealer, and he made a large fortune; he cared for his own soul, and the souls of all who were in his employ; his memory deserves respect, and nothing can deprive him of this, save the foolish attempt to make him a great leader among Christian heroes.—Arnold, and Chalmers, and *Budgett*! No, Mr. Bayne; even you may not thus bestow thrones in the empire of mind.

Truth's Conflicts and Truth's Triumphs; or, the Seven-headed Serpent slain. A Series of Essays, with an Allegorical Introduction of some of the Chief Errors of the Day. By Stephen Jenner, M.A. London: Longmans, 1855.

We are no admirers of allegories, even at the best they are but riddles; they hide truth and spoil fiction; and Mr. Jenner is far too valuable a writer to be under any obligation to use them. We should have liked his work better, and felt that it was more likely to be useful, if the allegory had been omitted; if he had substantiated the statements in his imaginary sermon, by references to Tractarian writers, which he might easily have done, and then proceeded to their refutation. The essays are excellent; they contain much original thought, and are thoroughly sound in their theology. We hope Mr. Jenner will not neglect the gift that is in him. He is an able reasoner and a correct divine; but not a good maker of allegories, even if allegories were good things to be made.

Israel in the World ; or, the Mission of the Hebrews to the Great Military Monarchies. By William Henry Johnstone, M.A., Chaplain of Addiscombe. London : Shaw. 1855.

This work is one of the most remarkable which has been produced for a considerable period ; not in point of magnitude, for it is comprised within the limits of a small volume ; not even in point of erudition, for the author, though a "ripe and good scholar," has contented himself with elucidating in the simplest and plainest way one important idea ;—but because it enables us to look from an entirely new stand-point on the whole of the Hebrew polity, from the time of the settlement of the land of Canaan to the period of the carrying away captive of Judah to Babylon.

The idea of Mr. Johnstone, and it is one which few who read his work will refuse to accept, novel as it may appear at first, is, that the mission of the Hebrews was to illustrate and establish constitutional government. Among them alone, in ancient times, freedom was understood and appreciated. They were to be a model people, and as such they were to be trammelled by none of the disadvantages of despotism. Their law was to be binding on king as well as people ; before its majesty the rich and the poor were to be on a perfectly equal footing ; and lest, seduced by ambition, their rulers should seek to copy Egypt on the one side or Assyria on the other, their king, when they were permitted to have a king, was strictly prohibited from multiplying to himself wives, whereby he might cement foreign alliances ; and horses, whereby he might raise a standing army. They were to be peaceful and commercial, and as such they had a promise of Divine protection ; but as soon as they fell into the errors against which they were thus warned, that protection was withdrawn. They were left to their own strength ; and what that could avail them against such monarchs as Shalmaneser, and Sesostris, and Nebuchadnezzar, may be well imagined, even if the result were not recorded. The reign of Solomon Mr. Johnstone treats as one magnificent error—"the beginning of the end : " and he shows how incomplete were the preparations of Solomon for the foundation of an empire which could compete with the overwhelming might of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon.

This is a totally new view of the subject, and one which is as striking as it is novel. We are accustomed to hear of the religious defalcations of the Jews ; of their turning aside to the worship of the idols adored by the nations around them ; and we are accustomed to look on their demand of a king as

a departure from the simpler and nobler theocracy which they had previously enjoyed: but to be told that their political unfaithfulness; their neglect of their high privileges as freemen; their desire for warlike renown and territorial aggrandizement; that these things were at once the causes and the instruments of their fall, is a lesson which Mr. Johnstone has been the first to read, and which he has read most successfully.

We are hardly inclined to agree with him in his idea that this mission of the Hebrews is still in operation; that they are called, if they will understand the call, to put down despotism by withholding the sinews of war. If, says Mr. Johnstone, the Jews of our own day only knew for what causes they are now scattered and dispersed; if they only knew the powers committed to them, and their duty in consequence;—we should have a Hebrew synod, resolving not to lend money to Nicholas or Francis Joseph, but to aid only with the capital of the world those constitutional Powers who would maintain civil and religious freedom. Mr. Johnstone says—

“It is evidently useless to sigh after influences that are out of our reach. We may regret the absence of high principle in society; but the only thing that will save society, is the proper employment of some real power that now actually moves it. That power most manifestly is money. The possessors of capital can sway the destinies of society: and they do govern the world in all matters where they will unite together. More especially, in military operations nothing can be permanently effected without ready money or credit. For a time a campaign may go on, propped up by fictitious supplies, and by unstable currency, which must work out its own ruin. But eventually no army could keep in the field, whatever the resources of a country might be, or whatever the energy of its ruler, if the capitalists all over the world were to agree to withhold their supplies.

“God forbid that I should defend the corrupting and selfish influence of money; I am afraid that there is little that is virtuous or wholesome in it. . . . Base and ignoble as lucre may be—I am referring merely to facts when I say, that the influence of money is the great motive power, and that it can be wielded with irresistible force by the Hebrew people.

“The direction of capital is in their hands; and if the princely Jewish money-lenders were to *agree* that any potentate should have no money, they could have their own way. Despotism can never now hold up its head, if the Hebrew people, mindful of their own mission, use this mighty influence *for good*. And if Gentile nations were to recognize in the Jews some higher purpose than the mere accumulation of wealth, they would be far more ready, than at pre-

sent, to sympathize with the hope of Israel ; and look to Israel as the only source whence the true arbitrator and judge of human destinies can come ; while the sacred people would begin to understand what great things are in store for them, when they feel that they are indeed the salt of the earth."

Now to this we take leave to demur. First, we do not believe that Hebrew capitalists have a preponderating money power, as Mr. Johnstone supposes ; secondly, we feel quite satisfied, that if they had it, they would lend it where they could get the most interest, be their debtor constitutionalist or despot. At present they are decidedly in favour of absolutism. It is pretty generally known that the Rothschilds, who are the chief creditors of the Austrian government, are also large shareholders in the "Times ;" and hence, through every other variety of change, the faithfulness of the misleading journal to the house of Hapsburg. We admit we should lift up the eyebrows of astonishment to see any better principle of action prevalent among the great bulk of the Jewish people. Here and there we see a fine, noble, philosophic mind ; but whatever their mission may have been of old—and we are quite inclined to agree with Mr. Johnstone on the subject—they seem to have lost and forfeited all other mission now than merely to amass "filthy lucre."

Politicians as well as divines should read this remarkable work ; it will well repay the trouble, and will add greatly to the already high reputation of its author.

The Ethics of the Sabbath. By David Pirrett. Edinburgh : Constables. 1855.

This work is one which will please a select but not very numerous class of readers. The author is in the right, and he is philosophical as well as right ; and he carries on his argument simply on the ground of the requirements of conscience—laying apart Scripture authority and the demands of experience. Few will argue on these grounds ; but those who do, will be satisfied with Mr. Pirrett's mode of treating the subject, and will admire his originality, as well as acquiesce in his conclusions.

The Exodus Papyri. By the Rev. D. I. Heath, M. A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight. London : J. W. Parker.

We were anxious, if possible, to obtain a sight of this book before we should go to press with our present number ; but, upon inquiry, we found that we could not wait until its publication, which was looked for every day. We believe that

it will be published by about the time that these lines meet our readers' eyes: and we wish to draw their attention to so important a work at the very earliest possible moment. That the work is of an exceedingly important character will be evident to all who learn, that it gives a translation of certain Egyptian papyri now in the British Museum, which appear, upon very satisfactory evidence, to be of the age of the Exodus; and to be, in fact, a bundle of newspapers of that period, containing contemporary intelligence, and the current gossip of the day. Mr. Heath, who is an expert Egyptologist, says he finds mention made of Jannes, Moses, and Balak the son of Zippor; and, most remarkably, of the emigration of an Aramæan people, under the leadership of a Moses. There is also a kind of elegy upon the sudden and mysterious death of some noble youth, accompanied by a royal order for the hasty departure of a people to celebrate their feast of *passing the dead*. Mr. Heath supposes he has here discovered allusion to the death of the first-born, and the first Passover.

We shall, in our next number, review this book at some length.

The Restoration of Belief. Cambridge: McMillan, 1855.

This book is now complete. It has been three years reaching its close, and the last part has, for a long time, been anxiously looked for. It is anonymous; we know not the author, nor even the rumours about the authorship; but had we to judge by the style, we should, without hesitation, ascribe it to Mr. Maurice. There is the same evident ability, the same nebulous style, the same holding off from conclusions; while the doctrines are such as may very well be held by the accomplished ex-professor. To be candid, we think this work has been over-rated. It is less original than it assumes to be, and could it be subjected to an intellectual hydraulic press, the result would be greatly to its advantage. The idea is no new one, that it is the personality of our Lord which lies at the root of all true Christianity, and that this personality is too often lost sight of; but it is not true that it is more lost sight of now than in former days; we trust, indeed, on the contrary, that it is more kept in view; and we will do Mr. Maurice the justice to say, that much as we differ with him on many points, we hold that the age owes much to him on this very account.

"The Restoration of Belief" must not be regarded by our readers, from what we have said, as a slight or unimportant

contribution to the theology of the day. It deserves, and will repay an attentive perusal; only the reader will do it more justice, if he does not sit down to read it with very extravagant expectations.

A History of the Book of Common Prayer, with a Rationale of its Offices. By the Rev. Francis Proctor, M.A., late Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, Vicar of Wilton, Norfolk. Cambridge: McMillan. 1855.

When we saw Mr. Hardwick's "History of the Christian Church from the Seventh Century to the Reformation," we observed of it, that though it regarded some, indeed many events, from a somewhat different stand-point to that which we occupy ourselves, that it was yet a book of extraordinary merit and value. We may say the same, even with less reservation, of another of these manuals—that of which the title is given above. It is, indeed, a complete and fairly written history of the Liturgy: and from the dispassionate way in which disputed points are touched on, will prove to many troubled consciences, what ought to be known to them, viz., that they may, without fear of compromising the principles of evangelical truth, give their assent and consent to the contents of the Book of Common Prayer. Mr. Proctor has done a great service to the Church by this admirable digest.

While we speak thus, we do not mean thereby to imply that the Liturgy needs no revision. We only say, that if *rightly understood*, it is not unscriptural; but it is often *wrongly understood*, and we would gladly see many stumbling-blocks removed from the way of the less learned, both among clergy and laity. This may be done without sacrificing any *real* Church principles, and will have only the effect of cutting off those grappling irons which semi-papists throw out to hook themselves to Rome.

The True Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as instituted in Scripture, and received by the Catholic Church in all Ages, in Refutation of Archdeacon's Wilberforce's Book, "The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," and the Popish Views of that Sacrament in general. By the Rev. J. Taylor, M.A. London: Longmans. 1855.

An Appeal to the Lord Archbishop of York on the uncondemned Heresies of the Venerable Archdeacon Wilberforce's Book, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist." By the Rev. J. Taylor, M.A. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1855.

Mr. Taylor is the Head Master of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and also even-

ing lecturer at the parish church in that town ; and, we fear, he has now reached the summit of his earthly preferment. He has dared to speak the truth, and the whole truth, and to make an appeal to the Archbishop of York, which that prelate will neither be likely to comply with nor to forget. Our only hope is that the *lay* patron of some valuable living will bear in mind the services rendered to the Church by this able, learned, and single-minded man. The larger of the two works now before us is quite exhaustive ; we should have devoted an article to its consideration, had we not lately allotted so much time and space to the subject which it discusses. But the work is only the more needful, as it seems now that Archdeacon Denison is to escape all further proceedings, and that the rankest Popery may henceforth be legally taught in the Church of England. Mr. Taylor is a master in Israel ; he has given us sound argument and valuable history ; we have at length the testimonies of Scripture and the Fathers, the Book of Ratramnus, the Homily of Alfric, and a large mass of evidence, as to what the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has been in every age of the Church, and what have been the causes which have led to its increasing corruption.

We would recommend all who are in any kind of doubt on this momentous subject, to have recourse to the sound and judicious treatise of Mr. Taylor, and we question not but that their doubts will be resolved, and their minds set at ease.

History of Christian Churches and Sects from the Earliest Ages of Christianity. By the Rev. J. B. Marsden, M.A. Parts I. II. III. IV. London : Bentley. 1855.

Mr. Marsden, in his preface, states that this work owes its origin to a suggestion of Mr. Bentley's, and that it is his purpose to complete it in eight parts, or two volumes. It will be valuable as a book of reference, but bears tokens of too much haste ; and it requires its authorities to be stated. Probably this will be done in an index, but it is far more satisfactory to have them at the foot of each page. With this exception, we are well pleased with the work ; and shall probably give it further attention when completed.

The Mormon's Own Book ; or, Mormonism tried by its own Standards, Reason and Scripture. By T. W. P. Taylder. Dedicated to the London City Mission. London : Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

This little work will be very useful to the body to whom it is dedicated, inasmuch as it enters into a logical refutation

of the absurdities of Mormonism. Hitherto we have had only historical sketches of the sect, accounts of their cities, analyses of the Book of Mormon, and narratives of the warfare carried on by them against the authorities of the United States. No attempt has been made to show the internal evidence of folly and falsehood, as it has been thought sufficient to leave that to display itself. That this has been a great mistake we do not doubt, and are glad to find the work done so satisfactorily as it is in the volume before us.

The Present Crisis in connection with Christian Union and Missionary Labours. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

An extremely valuable *resumé* of the causes which give us reason to hope that the Evangelical Alliance will, by God's blessing, be productive of great good.

Bible Teaching; or, remarks on the Books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus. With a recommendatory Preface, by the Rev. W. B. Mackenzie, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Holloway. New Edition. London: Shaw. 1855.

This book is by three sisters, and it displays at once their piety and their judgment. We cannot agree with Mr. Mackenzie, that there is any dearth of plain and practical commentaries, we should rather say that we laboured under "*un embarras de richesses*," yet, in the midst of our plenty, we are glad to see another book so useful and so simple as this, and glad too to observe that the present is a new and enlarged edition.

Preces Paulinæ; or, the Devotions of the Apostle Paul. London: Nisbet. 1855.

A very pleasing little volume, and worthy to be read in company with Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

God and his Works; or, the Existence of God in Harmony with Human Consciousness. By the Rev. T. Roberts. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

Pearson on Infidelity: its Aspects, Causes, and Agencies. People's Edition, 19th thousand. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

We have classed these two works together, because they have the same aim in view, and pursue it with equal ability. The first is more metaphysical, the second more practical; and from both may sound and effective arguments be taken

against the common objections to Christianity. Mr. Roberts would have made his work more complete, if he had consulted the curious and important work of the great Leibnitz recently discovered by the Count de Careil—the refutation of Spinoza.

Entrance into the Kingdom ; or, Reward according to Works. By R. Govett. Norwich : Fletcher. 1855.

This is a very remarkable little book : the author's theory is, that the life eternal is *a free gift* to all who believe ; but the entrance into the kingdom, (or millennium) is *a reward* to those who labour and strive. So far the work is at once a protest against antinomian error, and an assertion of the millennium doctrine of the first resurrection. But, in addition to this, the author enters into some very curious speculations as to the causes which hinder the attainment of the first resurrection ; marriage with an unbeliever being, in his view, one of these. We shall not follow him into these topics, but merely recommend the book as one both curious and useful.

Plain Papers on Prophetic Subjects. London : Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

It is impossible not to admit that the writer of these papers has diligently studied the prophetic Scriptures ; they are of a decidedly evangelical millennialian character. That on the First Resurrection is particularly valuable.

The Gate of Prophecy : being the Revelation of Jesus Christ, by Saint John, theologically and historically considered ; and shown to elucidate various Prophecies of Jonah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah and St. Paul. By William Brown Galloway, M.A. 2 Vols. London : Rivingtons.

The Messiah, theologically and practically contemplated in His Person, Work, and Kingdom. By William Brown Galloway, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mark's, Regent's Park. London : Rivingtons. 1855.

It is now nine years since the first of these two works made its appearance, and if it has not superseded all other commentaries on the Apocalypse, it has gradually obtained that position to which it had a good right. No careful student would now think his apocalyptic studies complete without carefully perusing it ; and where it differs from other commentaries, as carefully comparing it with them. The earlier part of the book will be found the more valuable, there are few propositions in it which will not be finally acquiesced in by the devout reader ; and the latter part, though more theoretical, will be studied with advantage. From the

unusual grasp of mind and logical power displayed in the Gate of Prophecy, it would naturally be expected that a new work from the same author would be of considerable value. Nor will such expectations be disappointed. We have in Mr. Galloway's new volume, a philosophical account of the Redeemer's kingdom. Some profound reflections on the *Logos* "begotten, not made," introduce us to the consideration of the Incarnate Deity; and we then have the person, the work, and the kingdom of the Messiah discussed in a series of essays. That these have been successively preached as sermons, is somewhat to their disadvantage, as the form and object of a sermon requires the enforcement, and re-enforcement of practical truth, in a way which Mr. Galloway is far too conscientious to omit; yet in the present work some retrenchment might have been made of these portions. While, however, we speak thus, we cannot help feeling that pulpit addresses are reaching to a high degree of excellence indeed, when such as these, and the "Consecrated Heights" of Dr. Ferguson, may be held forth as examples.

A Word in Season; or, Comforting Thoughts to the Relatives of the Fallen Brave. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. London: Shaw. 1855.

A word in season indeed. It is one of the peculiar merits of Dr. Cumming, that his words are words in season. He allows no opportunity to escape, of pressing into the service of his Heavenly Master, the events which each day brings forth: and while we look for no great literary excellence in works so hastily produced, we rarely find any conspicuous defects, and always matter enough to comfort, encourage, and strengthen the reader.

II. HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Gospel History between the Death of Christ and the Day of Pentecost, &c. Set forth in a Harmony and condensation of the Statements of the Four Evangelists, in respect to the Events of that Period, with a few brief Notes. By the Rev. W. Blackley, M.A. London: Hatchard. 1855.

This is a kind of work which scarcely admits of criticism: it is, however, well and accurately done; and as the present is a kind of trial or specimen, and the author intends to complete the whole of the Evangelical History, we can only hope that he will find encouragement to go on.

A Short History of the Waldensian Church in the Valley of Piedmont, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By Jane Louisa Willyams, Authoress of *Chillon*, &c. With a Preface by the Rev. W. S. Gilly, D.D., Canon of Durham. London: Nisbet. 1855.

The name of Dr. Gilly will be a sufficient guarantee that the statements in this small but comprehensive volume, may be received with confidence. That they are deeply interesting, need not be said; and the present state of the Waldensian Church is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the book. Charles Albert had reason before he died to admire the constancy and loyalty of his Protestant subjects: and his confidence among them, and in them, is beautifully described in Miss Willyams' narrative.

A Memoir of the Rev. Robert Francis Walker, M.A., Curate of Purleigh, Essex. With a Selection from his Correspondence and other MS. By the Rev. Thomas Pyne, M.A., Incumbent of Hook, Surrey. London: Nisbet. 1855.

The retired life of a country clergyman, however pious, can hardly be expected to furnish much matter for biography. In the present case we have a great many letters, some interesting enough, and others very common-place; a mass of notes on Genesis, respectable for learning, but exhibiting no originality; and a number of pages occupied by a translation into verse of the Apocalypse! There were some points about Mr. Walker pleasing, and worthy to be preserved; but, alas! what a wasteful effusion of Christian ink is here.

Heroines of Charity, containing the Sisters of Vincennes, Jeanne Biscot, Mdle. le Gras, &c. With a Preface by Aubrey de Vere, Esq. London: Burns and Lambert. 1855.

We can have no objection to our Roman Catholic brethren celebrating, in their own way, the praises of the good and devoted among them; but we must not be blamed if we say, that we read with deep regret the lives of those really admirable women. If they were such as we find them in the midst of the darkness of Popery, how illustrious would they not have been, had they been blessed with the light of Protestantism.

Select Extracts from the Diary, Correspondence, &c. of Leila Ada. By Osborn W. Trenery Heighway. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

The editor of this book says in his Introduction, that "he always felt a dislike that her simple, lovely character and writings should be made the subject of comment and criticism by a

cold and waking world." We question whether he would not have done better had he allowed this sentiment to weigh finally with him. Leila Ada was undoubtedly a very lovely character; but her correspondence is not always of a kind profitable to print. Some of the extracts from the diary are most beautiful, particularly the scene at the house of the venerable Jew, who, with his daughters, lament over her conversion to Christianity. But these should have been included in the first publication. We are not sure that the narrative, if told as much as possible in her own words, would not have been even more interesting than it is in these two volumes; and much irrelevant matter might have been avoided.

Biographical Sketch of the late Dr. Golding Bird. Being an Address to Students, delivered at the request of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. By John Hutton Balfour, M.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society is, as its name imports, a Society for missionary efforts among the medical professors and students of the modern Athens. Its object is not merely this, but to call the attention of the students of medicine in that great school, to the importance of those things which concern their eternal well-being. Before this Society, one of the most distinguished professors in the University, Dr. Balfour, who occupies the chair of Medicine and Botany, has just read the deeply interesting Memoir of Dr. Golding Bird, which is now printed and lying before us. Such a sketch is worth far more than the heavy two or three volumes, commonly made up for the market, with extracts from diaries, and reprints of letters. We hope to see the day when such memoirs will be more common, and when they will be bound up at the end of every year into a few really valuable volumes, comprising all that the world wishes to know, or ought to know, concerning those eminent persons departed during the course of the twelve months.

III. SERMONS.

Sermons by Thomas Chalmers, D.D., L.L.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

This volume is the third of the select works of Dr. Chalmers, which the Messrs. Constables are now issuing. It contains the astronomical discourses, the commercial discourses, the sermons on public occasions, and the two kingdoms. Golden works all; and by the diffusion of which, Christian philosophy cannot but be benefitted.

The Seven Sayings of Christ on the Cross. Seven Lent Lectures.
By the Rev. Job Edmunds, M.A., formerly Fellow of the
University of Durham. London: Hatchard. 1855.

We find nothing to call for special attention in these sermons; they are, as they were intended to be—plain, practical, and affectionate, adapted to a rustic congregation. We see no reason for their publication, save such as would apply to the great majority of pulpit addresses.

Gethsemane. Lectures delivered in the Lock Chapel in Lent, 1854. By the Rev. Capel Molyneux, B.A., Minister of the Chapel. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1854.

Mr. Molyneux has a high reputation as a preacher. We may expect, knowing his doctrinal views, to find statements in his pages from which we may probably differ; but we shall hardly expect to find fault with his style and language. Yet the reverse of this is what we experience when we open this volume. His theology is guarded and orthodox; neither profound nor original in its mode of regarding truth, but still practical and useful; indeed, we may say, conspicuously practical and eminently useful. His style, on the other hand, is broken and abrupt, frequently harsh and inelegant; and all that we can suggest to account for this is, that, perhaps, those very passages which read most disagreeably, may have been the most effective as portions of an oral discourse.

The Work of Christ in the World. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge on the four Sundays preceding Advent in the Year of our Lord, 1854. By George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Bishop of New Zealand. Cambridge: McMillan. 1855.

These four sermons will be read with deep interest even by those whose theology does not quadrate with that of the Bishop. Like himself they are nervous, manly, full of pith and substance. They show the views which an able and earnest man takes of the work of Christ in England, in the colonies, and among the heathen. And the practical character of the author is exemplified in the first of the four, the title of which is—"Christian Work the best interpreter of Christian Doctrine."

The Death of the Emperor Nicholas I. By the Rev. B. S. Hollis, Minister of Islington Chapel. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

A very excellent sermon, remarkable as well for its truthfulness as for its adaptation to the circumstances of the case.

IV. PHILOSOPHY.

The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart. Edited by Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Vols. IV. and V. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

This magnificent edition is making progress. We have now two more volumes before us, containing the conclusion of the Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and the Philosophical Essays with many new and important additions. We can do little more at present than merely chronicle the appearance of the volumes as they come out; but when the series is complete we shall return to them. The work deserves to be considered as an original production. It is brought up to the requirements and discoveries of our day by the masterly hand of our first living metaphysician: and there are many points which will invite discussion, some wherein we agree, and some wherein we differ, both from Stewart himself, and his still more distinguished successor.

A Refutation recently discovered of Spinoza. By Leibnitz. With Prefatory Remarks and Introduction by the Count A. Foucher de Careil. Translated at his request by the Rev. Octavius Friere Owen, M.A., F.S.A. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

Some numbers ago we noticed the discovery, by M. de Careil, of so interesting a work as the refutation of Spinoza, by Liebnitz, we can now congratulate the reader on an English translation. The introduction by the translator is good, but it strikes us as not altogether original. We think we could point out the source from which it is almost verbally taken. We should have been better pleased had an acknowledgment been made of this. Setting aside this matter, we are glad to see so important a work placed within the reach of the English reader.

A Lecture on Respiration: being the Sixth of a Series of Plain and Simple Lectures on the Education of Man. By Thomas Hopley. London: Churchill. 1855.

Mr. Hopley is a true philanthropist. He is publishing a series of able and most useful lectures, and another of smaller publication called "HELPS," on topics intimately connected with physical education. The first are intended for delivery, and the second for extensive circulation; and he offers them at so low a rate that they are within the reach of all sanitary reformers. If there should be any profits, they will be devoted to the same good cause; and we are glad to hear that the writer has other plans maturing.

VI. TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Wanderings in Corsica, its History and its Heroes. Translated from the German of Ferdinand Gregorovius, by Alexander Muir. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

There are few parts of Europe so little known as Corsica. Mr. Tyndale has told us all about Sardinia, and Mr. Christmas all about the Balearic Islands. Malta is as well known as Brighton, and the little Elba has recently found its traveller and historian. It is then with more than usual satisfaction that we open these pleasant volumes about an island so interesting, and to the majority of tourists so new.

The work is wonderfully complete. Every patch of ground has its history, every ravine its legend; but its chief charm will be the light which it throws on the early annals of the Bonaparte family; the youthful life of the great Emperor; and the strange story of Pascal Paoli. With these volumes we need seek no farther account of Corsica, but sit down quite contented and sure that we know all that is worth knowing.

There is however something, and it is difficult to say what, which makes the book hang somewhat heavily. The author's personal adventures are not very interesting; his enthusiasm does not always come in in the right place: so that we prefer him when he is giving us solid information, to when he is endeavouring to amuse us. All this is very German, and so, we are bound to say, is the amount of good, solid, useful material which Herr Gregorovius does unquestionably supply us withal.

Tonga and the Friendly Islands; with a Sketch of their Mission History. Written for Young People, By Sarah S. Farmer. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1855.

This little book has three merits: it is comprehensive, reliable, and pleasantly written. Miss Farmer has given a brief but scientific account of the Tonga Islands; their physical geography; the progress of coral reefs and islands; and the nature of the vegetation that succeeds—the fauna and flora—next occupy her attention; and she then proceeds to give an animated picture of the missionary work which has been carried on there. She speaks principally of the Wesleyan missions, and relates many most delightful instances of the power of religion over the heretofore savage mind. Nor is this all: we have a well-arranged account of the natives,

their habits and customs, their superstitions, and their gradual advance to civilization. On the whole, we are able to speak very highly of Miss Farmer's book.

The Crimea; its Towns, Inhabitants, and Social Customs. By a Lady, resident near the Alma. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

"The Lady" is sure of an attentive circle of readers. Who would not desire to know all about the Crimea? and they may learn much from so intelligent an informant. In the compass of 140 pages we have here as much real information as many a pretentious work in three volumes would give. There is no spinning out, no book-making. The lady writes because she has something to say, and believes that her countrymen at home will gladly listen to her; and she is right.

Burghersh; or, the Pleasures of a Country Life. Illustrated with Engravings. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1855.

As it is extremely probable that this book will be taken up by some unfortunate wight, who, misled by the title, will look forward to such a feast as the hands of Wilmott or Akerman might provide; and probably imagine that Burghersh is the name of some recluse, such as Cowper would have loved to depict; let us hasten to "*de-orientalize*" them, by stating that Burghersh is a pleasant village near Tonbridge; that there is an hotel there, whereof a very pretty picture is to be seen in the book before us; and that the pleasures of a country life consist in taking up one's quarters at the hotel aforesaid, ordering a chaise and pair every morning, and proceeding to the exploration of those spots marked by the "illustrations" as agreeable drives, and getting back to a well-arranged dinner at the hotel hereinbefore mentioned—a guide-book, in fact, to a country village and its hotel!

V. FICTION.

Philip Lancaster. By Maria Norris, Author of the "Life and Times of Madame de Stael." 3 Vols. Saunders and Otley. 1854.

Miss Norris has been for some time known as an able writer of biographical history. We have here a specimen, a and very favourable specimen too, of her talents in another line. The tale is a chequered one, and there is a general air of sadness in it, but too consonant with the common experience of life; but it is not wanting in gleams of sunshine, nor the

narrative in flashes of wit. There seems a desire on the part of the author to show Church and Nonconformity in close contact; and this she does, not with any wish to expose the peculiar faults of either, but rather, that whatever is wanting in either may be rectified by the example of the other. We have some good, strong sanitary lessons; and, did space permit, we would willingly extract a scene in which some pet religious prejudices are cleverly exposed.

We shall not enter into a detail of the plot, because, as we can conscientiously recommend the tale to all our readers, and especially the young, we should be sorry to injure the interest which it will inspire. The characters are extremely well drawn, and talk dramatically, but rather too much. We should prefer to have more narrative and less conversation. We cannot close our notice of these volumes without specially commending the close, nervous, and yet graceful style of the writer. Those who read the book for amusement, may study the style for their profit.

Lucy; or, the Housemaid, and Mrs. Brown's Kitchen. By the Author of "Sunlight in the Clouds." London: Mozley. 1854.

A simple and pretty little book, and a very good present to a housemaid.

Chronicles of Woolferts Roost and other Papers. By Washington Irving. Edinburgh: Constables. 1855.

We hardly know whether the Messrs. Constables have strictly carried out the meaning of the words "Miscellany of Foreign Literature," by including in it American works; though we would be sorry indeed to quarrel with a resolution to which we owe these delightful sketches. Washington Irving a foreigner! Why he is more English than the English themselves! All the idealisable qualities of an English head and an English heart meet in him. And in the American and old Dutch and Spanish tales before us, we trace everywhere the English feeling which dictated "Bracebridge Hall." Other volumes of the series may be more curious, some, as records of foreign life, more instructive, but this will be the most often read.

Les Rayons du Soleil. Londres: Rolandi. 1855.

Augustine; or, the Happy Child. Edinburgh: Constables. 1851.

These two tales are addressed to young people; the first is written in elegant and classical French by an English lady;

the second, a translation from the work of a French lady into English. The object of "*Les Rayons du Soleil*" is to depict an ill understood character, displaying its beauties as circumstances more favourable tended to develop them. That of "*Augustine*," to point out, the true sources of happiness in childhood. Both authors succeed. The first is adapted to a more advanced age than the second; but we have placed them with perfect satisfaction, in the hands of young persons of seventeen and ten respectively. Those who are looking for books as presents, may rest very well contented here.

Westward, Ho! or, the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of Burrough, in the County of Devon, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Rendered into Modern English by Charles Kingsley. 3 Vols. Cambridge: McMillan and Co. 1855.

To say that this romance is the best of the season, is not saying much for it. We may say that it is by far the best that has appeared for many years; it is by many degrees the most important work which Mr. Kingsley has yet given to the world; and it will, we trust, have a lasting influence upon the rising generation among us. The grand old Elizabethian character is fully brought out, and with such graphic truth, that we feel ourselves taken back into the reign of that glorious woman, who, with all her faults—and they were neither few nor small—was an English Queen to the very heart's core.

Mr. Kingsley has read deeply and extensively on the subject of early maritime discoveries; and he has combined with this as the elements of his book, a more than usual acquaintance with the plots and intrigues of the stirring period he has selected; an intimate knowledge of the history, topography, antiquities and genealogy of Devonshire; and a broad hearty system of old English theology and philosophy. From such materials, distilled in the alembic of such a mind, we can only expect a pure and rich spirit, nor are we disappointed. Amyas Leigh, the hero, is the son of a Devonshire gentleman, who early becomes a lover of adventure, and joins himself first to a body of troops who have to resist a Spanish invasion in Ireland, and afterwards, with Drake and others, he carries on the war against them in the Spanish main.

We have admirable sketches of Spenser and Raleigh, of Jesuits and the Inquisition, of home life and court life; and, from time to time, we hear of the great sovereign controlling all and ruling in all the hearts of her people.

Reflected in Mr. Kingsley's pages we have the straightforward philosophy of that day; the determination to do right, come what would; the confident trust that God would stand by the just and righteous cause; and the perfect willingness, having made all necessary human exertions, to leave the result in His hands. We are too careful of our *interest* in these days—our spiritual interest, as well as our temporal; our *own* souls are our first care, instead of our duties. We love others, not for Christ's sake; but because we cannot reach heaven without love. Against this subtle selfishness our author rightly and grandly protests; he shows us that our object should be to serve God, the great, the only good; that in him we may and must find, all wisdom, and beauty, and love, and power; and that if we follow him, He who loves our souls far more than we can do, will take care of them for us.

Very beautiful are the descriptions of tropical scenery, which, from time to time, we find in these entrancing pages. And the tale of deadly combat, of siege and scale, of Indian ambush, and, above all, of stormy sea-fights, is told so as to make the reader hold his breath, while he follows the fortunes of the hero and his companions.

One character is admirably drawn, that of John Brindlecombe, who is evidently a favourite with the author. His simple truth, his earnest loyalty, his pure and noble love, and, when called for, his unhesitating bravery, make him dear to all who know him, notwithstanding all the drawbacks of fat, and awkwardness, and ugliness, and low manners, and a little spice of gluttony to boot. Who would call Jack—the Rev. John Brindlecome? or imagine a letter addressed to him beginning “Reverend sir!”

But there are two or three causes which make this book particularly valuable at the present moment. Very little justice is done by the public, and especially the literary public, to the character of Queen Elizabeth. One thinks of her as a wife, and will none of her—rightly enough—for she was fit to be no man's wife. Another looks on her self-will and despotism, and fancies what we should say to a sovereign of our own day who should go and do likewise. But they seem to forget that she was in her own place on the throne of Henry VIII.; that she was in her own person the embodied national feeling; that what she wanted England wanted, and she took glorious care that England should get it. There was no preference of continental interests in her mind; no mixing up of England with petty states abroad,

save to protect the oppressed and to pull down the oppressor ; and this she did, not by shams and false-hearted negotiations, but by hearty and heavy blows, administered by such hands as those of Howard, and Drake, and Hawkins, and Frobisher. Time it is that justice should be done to this truly English Queen, and all honour to Mr. Kingsley for doing it.

At the same time we do not agree with his vehement hatred and condemnation of Mary of Scotland ; we are minded to think as well of her as events will let us ; and while we stand up for our own Queen, not too eagerly to run down the less fortunate Mary.

And here we have a word or two, not of blame, but of somewhat diminished praise, for Mr. Kingsley himself. We are of opinion that he cannot paint a true woman *in action* ; as a piece of still life nothing is better than Mrs. Leigh. But Rose Salterne and Ayacanora are failures. Rose is sadly insipid ; and though the brotherhood of the rose be a magnificent order, from the grand master down to (or *up* to) the chaplain ; yet the lady of their love is about as colourless a heroine as we happen ever to have met with in the pages of romance. Ayacanora, too, is a wild girl, who is never civilized, and who is all outside ; she has nothing but descriptions inside her. We presume she has feelings, but we must take Mr. Kingsley's word for it.

Why should there not be a literary partnership here as in France ? Why cannot Mr. Kingsley, and Mrs. Marsh, or Miss Pardoe, write a novel together, and each take that part for which they are best fitted ? What a lasting work would they not produce.

And while we are finding fault, we will go on to object to the spoiling of the hero. That stern, very savage pursuit of Don Guzman, which ends so fearfully, is an anomaly. The Spaniard comes out blameless ; he loves the Rose, and he marries her ; he displays his affection just as a Spaniard would do and ought to do ; and he had no power to deliver her out of the claws of the infernal Inquisition. Sir Amyas was bound by his oath, not only not to pursue this noble-minded, however erring, man to death, but to aid him in every lawful way. He comes out, therefore, in the latter part of the work as a fierce savage, blaspheming when his cruel devices cannot be brought to pass, and paying a direful penalty for his impiety and presumption. All this we regret ; but it does not incline us to retract what we have said about the high merit and noble purpose of the book. Glad shall we be to meet Mr. Kingsley on the high seas again.

K K 2

VII. SCHOOL BOOKS AND BOOKS FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

A School History of Modern Europe, from the Reformation to the Fall of Napoleon. With Chronological Tables, and Questions for Examination. By John Lord, M.A. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1855.

Such a book as this has been long wanted for schools, nothing less ponderous was attainable than "Russell's Modern Europe," and here we find the essential facts well and correctly set forth in a small volume.

A School Compendium of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. Embracing the Elementary Principles of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Pyromonics, Optics, Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism, Electro-Magnetism, Magneto-Electricity, and Astronomy. Containing also a description of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph. By Richard Green Parker, A.M. London: Allman. 1855.

This compendium really does all it professes to do, and may therefore be called a wonderful work.

Grammatical Exercises on the Moods, Tenses, and Syntax, of Attic Greek. With a copious Vocabulary for the use of Schools. By James Ferguson, M.D. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1855.

A good exercise book, and none the worse that it is confined to Attic Greek. The examples are principally selected from Thucydides and Xenophon, with a fair sprinkling from Plato; the Dramatists and the Orators. The book may with all confidence be adopted in classical schools.

The Science of Arithmetic. A Systematic Course of Numerical Reasoning and Computation. With very numerous Examples. By James Cornwell, Ph.D. and Joshua G. Fitch, M.A. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1855.

School books upon Arithmetic are common enough, but we have not yet seen any attempt, save in works intended for the Universities, to explain the philosophical principles of the science. The chief object of the little volume before us is to supply this defect, so that the student while he learns the use of figures, may take his first step, and no inconsiderable one, into the philosophy of mathematics. It is the only book of the kind extant, and the work is conscientiously executed.

Familiar Fables. By Miss Corner. London: Dean and Son. 1855.

Little Plays for Little Actors. By Miss Corner and Alfred Crowquill. Series the second. Puss in Boots, and Mother Goose. London: Dean and Son. 1855.

The selection of fables, partly in verse, and partly in prose, and illustrated by very pretty cuts, will doubtless be a pleasing present to many youthful philosophers. And the more mercurial of the younger generation, will with equal delight betake them to the enjoyment of the pastime provided for them by good Miss Corner, who has spent so much time in instructing them; and now, relaxing with them, comes forth for their amusement.

VIII. TEMPERANCE LITERATURE.

1. Morning Dewdrops. By Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour, with an Introduction by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stow. London: Cash. 1855.
2. The British Workman. Partridge, Oakey, and Co.
3. The Band of Hope Review.
4. Illustrated Hand-bills. Cash and Co.
5. Orations delivered on various occasions. By John B. Gough. London: Tweedie, 337, Strand.
6. Facts and Phases of the Temperance Enterprise. London: W. Tweedie, 337, Strand.

It will not be denied by any enquiring and unprejudiced observer of the "signs of the times," that one of the most striking, and not the least praiseworthy of the signs, is the existence of a public movement for the promotion of universal sobriety. It is not thirty years since a movement of the kind was utterly unknown, although the historian of the nineteenth century will have to relate few undertakings more successful in their operations, and more pregnant with useful consequences to the world. Dismissing direct religious agencies from consideration, it would, we confess, be difficult to name any other institution more remarkable in its progress, and more fruitful in its good results than the Temperance Society. It is but honest to allow this; and we have no sympathy with, but a very decided contempt for, the sneers in which some popular writers indulge with regard to this movement. These scribes might surely cater to the public taste without going out of their way to corrupt it. The "Edinburgh Review," in its number for July last, showed a more excellent way, devoting a long, and on the whole impartial article in the discussion of temperance, and its collateral topics.

Our readers probably know enough of this subject, to be aware that the Temperance Society is based on the twofold principle—of abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and of associated effort for the promotion and effectuation of this object. The success of the society must not therefore be estimated simply by the number who correct themselves with it, but by the number who are induced to abstain from alcoholic drinks; and even in a measure by the influence excited in diminishing that use where it is not totally abandoned. In arguing the question, the two grounds of discussion occupied by the advocates of total abstinence, are the *dietetic*, and the *moral*. With reference to diet, they reason that intoxicating drinks are needless, and in a degree injurious; and by their manufacture seriously subtract from the amount of corn available for the people's food. The moral ground, has respect to all the social, intellectual, and religious benefits, which a complete and radical change in the drinking customs of society would, it is believed and asserted, produce.

Regarded in its organization, the Temperance Society certainly presents an imposing appearance. There are three principal associations in England;—the British League (established in 1835), which has its chief office in Bolton, Lancashire, employs agents, prints a monthly journal, the "Temperance Advocate," and encourages local efforts; the National Society, (established 1842) which publishes numerous tracts of a superior order, and the "Temperance Chronicle" monthly, holds meetings, and conducts a large correspondence with societies in every part; and the London League, (founded 1851), which has held some great annual demonstrations in the Surrey Gardens, and has engaged, from time to time, the services of several able advocates.

On the other side of the Atlantic, public sentiment is still more advanced, and in more than five States of the Union a law prohibiting the *sale* of intoxicating liquors (commonly called the Maine Law, from the state by which it was first adopted) is not only on the statute books, but is extensively put in force. A regulation of the liquor traffic, they aver, has been tried and failed; and as they are each and all reaping numerous advantages from the execution of the new policy, it is not probable that they will speedily exchange it for the old. The effect of this crusade in the United States, has been to animate our fellow subjects in North America to exertions for the same object; and it is believed, that before long, our British provinces in that part

of the globe will live under a similar *regime*. Nor is this all. In England an "Alliance" exists, formed on the first of June, 1853, to agitate for the adoption of such a law in the United Kingdom; and as it is the express object of this Association to act upon the Legislature, *through the public opinion* of the country, no one need fear that the success of such an agitation would bring with it any invasion of our public liberties, or any encroachment on the vital principles of the British Constitution. If the people demand a Maine Law, it will be no more tyrannical in the Parliament to enact it, than it was to pass a law abolishing slavery under the same public preface. To deny the people this right, would be to deny them the right of legislating for their own good; and in all such cases we may lawfully alter the well-known maxim, and make it read *vox populi vox libertatis*, even where we stand in doubt, whether we can justly regard the people's voice as the "voice of God."

Of Mrs. Balfour's pretty little book it will be sufficient to say that it is gracefully written and elegantly got up, and the name of Mrs. Stowe will probably make it still more acceptable.

"The British Workman" is sanctioned by Lord Shaftesbury, and seems well adapted to do good in more ways than one.

We shall now proceed to another and more important claimant to public notice.

Ten years have scarcely elapsed since the name of Mr. Gough became identified with the temperance enterprize; but having been himself redeemed by it from a condition of deplorable inebriety, it was not long before he exercised his talents in its advocacy. These, and a variety of thrilling facts, in connection with his earlier life, are detailed in his autobiography; a composition, of which the fascination is at times intense, but the moral influence uniformly good. It is as a public speaker, however, that we have now to view him, and more directly as regards the fourteen orations reported in the volume before us. The first, on "Habit," was delivered Nov. 22, 1853, before the Young Men's Christian Association (in this year's course of lectures Mr. Gough's has given an address on "Man and his Masters"), and the last on the "Liquor Traffic," Aug. 10, 1854. The intermediate ones embrace such topics as "The Importance of the Temperance Enterprize;" "The Dangerous Drinking Customs;" "The Evil of Drunkenness;" "Our Duty to the Intemperate;" "Are they all Fools who become Drunkards?" "Who is

my Neighbour?" "Prevention better than Cure," "The Force of Example;" besides a few others addressed to special classes; one to children, one to females, one to young men, and one to the working classes. These speeches, it will be seen, supply the means of arriving at a correct acquaintance with the staple matter of Mr. Gough's general oratory, the attractions of which have been so great, that it has crowded the largest buildings in London and the provinces with hearers, each of whom has paid a certain sum for admission; and this not once, but for several nights in succession, and several times repeated in all parts of England and Scotland. We very much question, though Mr. Gough did not arrive in this country (which he left when quite a child for America) till the August of 1853, whether there is a single public speaker within the four seas, who has addressed more distinct audiences and individuals. How then are we to account for this truly wonderful result? What are the characteristics of an oratory so seductive and influential? These published orations furnish a perfect answer. If we examine them we shall find that this effect is not attributable to any eccentricity (in a bad sense), any profundity, or special originality, or singular beauty of style, or uncommon subtlety of ratiocination. We shall look in vain for the concatenated logic, the splendid climaxes, and the "linked sweetness long drawn out," which distinguish many orators of ancient and modern fame. Yet these are extraordinary productions, and their particular excellence consists in good common sense reasoning, clearly expressed, relieved by piquant anecdotes, and illustrated by vivid descriptions.

The contents of this last-named book may be briefly described, consisting, as they do, of eleven distinct papers, ten of which has been separately published by the National Temperance Society.

OBITUARY OF THE QUARTER.

On the 23rd December, 1854, The Right Rev. OWEN EMBRIC VIDAL, D.D., Bishop of Sierra Leone, in Africa, in the 36th year of his age; having been the first bishop of that newly constituted Colonial See. He was a sizar and scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1842 as senior optime and second class classic. He had given much attention to the African dialects, and became, on this account, almost the only fit person for the diocese of Sierra Leone, when it was first made in 1851. The deceased gentleman was on his way out to his diocese the second time, after having returned to England for his health.

On the 10th January of this year, Miss MARY RUSSELL MITFORD died, near Reading, in her 66th year. She was born in 1789, at Alresford, Hampshire. Well educated, but reduced, by the good-natured thoughtlessness of her father, to dependence on her own labour, she diligently applied herself, at a very early age, to the toils of authorship, with such success, that she supported both herself and him. Some of her stories, especially "Our Village," were deservedly popular, and she earned for herself an honourable name among the stars of English literature.

On the 23rd January, the Ven. Archdeacon JULIUS CHARLES HARE, at his rectory, Herstmonceux, Sussex, aged 59. He was known as a preacher and writer of great power; and his two courses of sermons, on "The Mission of the Comforter," and "The Victory of Faith," gained for him a reputation among thoughtful men, which he never lost. We well remember the time when the Archdeacon preached the first named course; and the interest with which crowds of undergraduates, who affected (perhaps with too much reason) to despise the sermons sometimes uttered in the university pulpit, thronged to hear one who seemed to touch their inner natures. It would have been well if his fame had been allowed to rest on these sermons. Of their kind there is nothing to equal them in the English language. Unfortunately the Archdeacon wished to stand at the head of a church party, which, sometimes called the Eclectic, and at other times the Broad Church, never had a homogeneous existence, and never followed Julius Charles Hare, although they respected him. One great cause of his not reaching the prominent place in public estimation, to which his great talents and attainments, as well as his large heart, might have been thought to entitle him, was his habit of *diffuse* writing, which is lamentably manifest in the otherwise valuable notes to the "Mission of the Comforter." In the "Guesses at Truth," which he wrote in conjunction with his brother Augustus, he recommends young authors to acquire the practice of composing, *currente calamo*, and not rewriting their compositions. We are convinced that the

Archdeacon himself would have written better—because more compactly—if many of his thoughts had been subjected to revision, before sent forth to the public.

We could not but regret that he should descend to such a trifle, as an attempt to change the ordinary mode of orthography; and we deplored the damage he did to his reputation by publishing the biography and *opuscula* of his unfortunate kinsman and curate, John Sterling. For Archdeacon Hare in some degree identified himself with a man, whose only good quality seems to have been an affectionate disposition, but who lacked even the manly tone of an honest sceptic, and allowed his pantheism to creep out in querulous attacks on all things known, and displayed the jaundiced feelings of an invalid. The essays, moreover, were unworthy of such an editor, as being very mediocre, and only fit for the obscurity of a third rate magazine.

On the 26th January, the Right Rev. DAVID LOW, D.D., formerly Bishop of the united Diocese of Ross, Moray, and Argyll, in the 87th year of his age. He was a type of the ancient Scottish Episcopal clergyman, now almost lost, and resembling in his externals the old polished French abbé, rather than a modern English ecclesiastic. He was an interesting link also between the present generation and the Stuart politicians of the last century, with many of whom he had been personally acquainted. He was the prime mover in the separation of the See of Argyll from that of Moray and Ross; and contributed, from his own personal funds, no less a sum than £8000 for its endowment. This was in 1847, when Dr. Ewing was appointed Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. Dr. Low resigned the diocese of Moray and Ross in 1851, on account of his infirm health, and was succeeded by the present Bishop, Dr. Eden.

On the 20th February, at Burnley Hall, Norfolk, JOSEPH HUME, in the 78th year of his age. He was born at Montrose, in Scotland, in the year 1777, of respectable parents. He began life as an assistant surgeon in the East India Company's service, and in that service he accumulated some wealth. He became a proprietor of India Stock, and applied himself, with all his perseverance and diligence, to reform the abuses of the Indian government. He was a member of Parliament from 1812 to the day of his death; during most of which time he represented either Middlesex or his native town of Montrose. As a financial reformer, and plain common sense man of business, he was a most valuable senator, and his loss will not easily be repaired.

On the 2nd of March, at about 10 a.m., in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, the CZAR NICHOLAS PAULOWITCH, Autocrat of all the Russias, in the 59th year of his age.

In an obituary like ours, we must refrain from dwelling at any

length upon this most momentous death. But for the general information of our readers, we subjoin some of the leading events of the late Emperor's life. He was born on the 7th of July, 1796, being the third son of the Emperor Paul. He was not five years old when his father was assassinated by some of the chief men of the empire, and (it is said) with the connivance of the imperial family, on the 23rd March, 1801. The boy was educated under the auspices of Councillor Stork, and the celebrated philologist Adelung. Probably, on account of his youth, he seems to have taken no part in the defence of his country against the French invasion in 1812. His eldest brother, Alexander, died in 1825; and the second son, Constantine, being set aside partly by his own consent, and partly in consequence of the will of Alexander, Nicholas succeeded to the throne. His first years were troubled with a most formidable insurrection of those who made use of Constantine's name, but who were aiming at a total revolution of Russia. Nicholas exhibited the utmost courage and resolution in quelling this revolt, and the sternest severity in punishing the promoters of it. Ever afterwards he retained the character of a man of iron will, who would not stop at any measures for carrying out his own schemes. He persevered in destroying the last vestige of Polish freedom, and in gradually but surely gaining influence over Turkey.

In the European convulsions of 1848—51, he stood aloof, content with exhibiting his own perfect command over his subjects, and with becoming the terror of all revolutionists, and the hope and safeguard for all existing governments. At length, in 1853, he threw aside his mask, and reckoning upon several things in which he has been disappointed,—viz., the disunion of England and France, the utter decay of the Ottoman power, and the aid of all the Christian subjects of the Porte—he ventured to attack Turkey, and roused that war which we are now deploring, and with whose course we are so well acquainted.

The news of the union of Sardinia with the Allies, and of the repulse of his army by the Turks from Eupatoria, produced the natural effect upon an irritable constitution, already worn and harassed by the exciting events of the last year. He was seized with paralysis of the lungs, and died before we well knew that he had been ill.

The suspicion of foul play appears to have been caused by the suddenness of the death, and the recollection of the murder of his grandfather, Peter III., in 1762, by order of his own wife, the infamous Catherine II.; and that of his father Paul, in 1801, with the assent of his own family. And it has not been forgotten that the death of Paul was first announced to the world in similar terms to those in which we have heard of the death of Nicholas.

Of the late Czar's brothers, Alexander, the eldest, died in 1825; Constantine, the second, in 1831; Michael, the fourth, in 1849.

Nicholas, the third of these four brothers, leaves four sons behind him, called by the same names, and in the same order as their

uncles and father ; viz., Alexander, Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael. Alexander, who succeeds his father, is thirty-seven years of age, having been born 29th April, 1818. He is supposed to be peaceably inclined.

The title of Czar is believed to have been held by the sovereigns of Russia ever since they were allies of the Byzantine empire. The name of Cæsar, originally that of a Roman family, having been given, first to the relations, then to the dependents, and lastly to the allies of the Augustus at Rome or Constantinople. The Czars call themselves *autocrats*, which is the very name adopted by the Roman emperors for the supreme person in the state—a fact, we think, of some significance, when it is remembered that the Russian Czar aims at occupying the seat of the old Roman *autocrator*.

On the 3rd March, at Trieste, CHARLES MARIA ISIDORE DE BOURBON, commonly called Don Carlos. He was born 1788, and was the second son of Charles IV., king of Spain. When Napoleon I. put an end to the dynasty of the Spanish Bourbons, Carlos was detained a captive in France, along with his elder brother Ferdinand VII.; and when Ferdinand returned as king, Carlos was the heir-presumptive of the throne, according to the Salic law, which excluded females from the succession. King Ferdinand died in 1833, leaving two daughters; the elder of whom, the present Queen Maria Isabella, was appointed his successor, as he had prevailed on the Cortes, a short time before his death, to revoke the Salic law. Her mother, the infamous Maria Christina (a princess of the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbons) was immediately engaged in war with Don Carlos; and long, disgraceful civil commotion agitated Spain. For many years he, Don Carlos, had lived in retirement, under the name of the Count of Molina. He leaves to his son, the Count of Montemolino, (born 1818) his own claims and pretensions.



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